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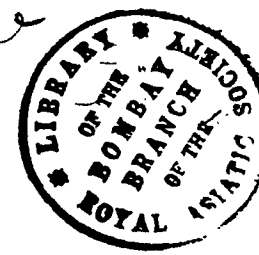

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THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—MAY, 1839.—NO. 1.

ART. 1. *Remarks on the present crisis in the opium traffic, with inquiries respecting its causes, and the best course to be pursued by those now connected with it.*

UNDER existing circumstances, a few thoughts on the aspect and bearing of the traffic in opium will form an appropriate introduction to a new volume of the Repository. The same intrinsic importance of the subject — its intimate connection with all that is most interesting in the prospective intercourse with China — which has so often led us to discuss it in times past, still compels us to give it a prominent place in our present volume. The high commissioner, 'a plenipotentiary of the celestial court,' is sworn, in the name of his master, to stand or fall by the question now pending. Commercial, political, and moral interests of very great magnitude are suspended on this crisis. Whenever the drama closes, we shall feel in duty bound to review it in all its parts, and make it the subject of such remarks and deductions, as shall seem most likely to inform and satisfy the inquisitive reader. At present, new scenes are opening in quick succession, and it is impossible for us to foresee when and how they will terminate. We therefore limit ourselves, in this article, to a few introductory observations; after these the narrative, with which our last volume closed, shall be resumed. We must also defer, to the proper place in order of time, the particulars of a recent visit to Chuenpe, where we witnessed the process of destruction to which the drug is subjected, and were admitted to an audience with Lin himself, who in person

superintends that work. It may be stated here, however, that in the course of the interview the commissioner declared, in the most explicit terms, that, while his government will deal most severely with those who henceforth attempt the introduction of opium, additional favor shall be shown to all who pursue an upright and honorable commerce, and that the contraband, shall not in any way involve the legitimate, trade.—It ought to be added here, that the publication of this number has been considerably retarded.

The present remarkable crisis in the commercial intercourse with China is the consequence of several concurring causes. First, among these we are constrained to place the low state of morality, among western nations, touching their political and commercial relations with the east. The origin and the extraordinary growth of the traffic in opium have resulted from this cause. Seventy years ago, when colonel Watson first proposed to the council at Calcutta, to avail themselves of the Chinese taste for opium to support the Indian revenue, no moral principle influenced his colleagues to prevent its adoption. It was received and accepted as a happy expedient; and from that time to the present, none of those expostulations, so often addressed to the Indian authorities, by the friends of China and of temperance, have had the slightest influence. The representatives of the East India Company in this country were not, we believe, so unmindful of their just obligations as to hide from their superiors the effects of the drug on the Chinese people. But these representations were all unheeded; and when, in the course of time, the honorable Company's hold on Chinese commerce was lost, and mercantile consequences became as little influential as moral effects, a still looser rein was given to the production of the drug, and to the traffic in it. Indeed had the old adherents of that monopoly been sworn to bring about those fatal results, which they constantly foretold as inevitable under the *free trade*, they could not have chosen more effectual means of realizing their prediction, than those to which they proceeded,—namely, the extension of the cultivation of opium. Driven from the possession of the legal trade with China, they contrived to lay the illicit under double contribution. Their revenue from the drug for the year 1837, rose to $12,000,000; and but for that energetic interposition of the 'celestial court,' which we both admire and deplore, Chinese silver would have been drawn off to India, in exchange for its 'flowing poison,' in an annually increasing amount, until exhausted of its resources, China would no longer have held the rank of an independent empire.

Unhappily, the morality of Bengal was the morality of the mother country. When the Commons of England reported on the subject of Indian revenue and commerce in 1832, their language was at once a full confession of acquaintance with the evils of the opium traffic, and a full assumption of responsibility for them. The decisions of the Indian government and of the imperial parliament of Great Britain were confirmed by at least the tacit consent of the public. The most eminent merchants engaged freely in the traffic; and no man received a less ready welcome to the highest ranks of society because his eastern fortune had come from the sale of opium. And up to the present day, throughout India and in China, many of the most distinguished merchants — men who would be slow to engage in any other than what they regarded as just and honorable pursuits — have been foremost in this traffic. And here is found a source of error in the public mind; men have looked more at the parties engaged in this business than at the thing itself.

At present we rather forbear to discuss, at full length, this great question in morals. It deserves, and it shall receive, the most careful attention. The frightful evils, resulting from the use of intoxicating spirits, are now engaging the public mind with irresistible power in the west. The evils resulting from the use of opium are not less—we think they are much greater—than those caused by the use of alcoholic liquors. In China they seem to be many fold greater. So they evidently are in some of the Malayan states: and so too they may yet be in England, and other western countries. We name England, because it stands first and almost alone in the production of opium. That England, enlightened and Christian, should grow and farm a means of vice, with the proceeds of which, even when in her possession, China, benighted and pagan, disdains to replenish her treasury, is one of the most singular moral contrasts ever exhibited; yet we are slow to believe that one of the first nations in Christendom for her philanthropy and religious principle will long suffer herself to occupy, in comparison, a place so incompatible with her duty and honor. Such an example of the strength of principle in a heathen government, resisting the demoralizing temptations presented by a Christian people, cannot and will not be without its effect.

The smuggling of opium has been, and, so long as it is persisted in, must be, the fruitful source of evils, destroying life, property, and morals. The smoking of the drug the Chinese describe as one of the worst evils, as the greatest calamity, that now afflicts their land. Its victims are of all ranks, from the imperial household to the hovel

of the poorest peasant. An idle few, by birth and fortune placed in the highest ranks, became the patterns for the many; the contagion ran, and family after family were soon infected with the direful mania. From these high ranks, the habit extended to the literati, to official personages civil and military, and thence spread among the soldiery, and all classes of the poor. The '*victimized*' opium smoker is the most wretched being we ever beheld, and is looked upon by his relatives as an object of pity and disgrace. So far as we know — and we have read and heard the sentiments of thousands of the Chinese — no one ever regards the use of the drug in any other light than as a physical and moral evil. 'It is a noxious thing,' they say, 'and with it, seeking to benefit yourselves, you do injury to others.' This is truth — and a truth which ought to constrain every good man, whether Christian or pagan, to keep clear from cultivating, carrying, selling, or consuming, this noxious thing. By it thousands of the rich have been impoverished; multitudes of the middling classes have been reduced to beggary; crowds of whom, driven by want to desperation, have committed suicide, or acts of robbery which have subjected them to public execution. Moreover, we learn from the inspired oracles, that there are evil habits, which not only entail wretchedness and misery in this life, but which pursue their victims with perpetual and everlasting woes. Such we know are the bitter dregs of the drunkard's cup. And who, that has witnessed its demoralizing effects, can doubt that a doom equally dark awaits the victimized smoker of opium? When the minds of western nations are duly sensible of these dire evils, to which they have long been accessary, they will not only desist from their former courses, but like true Christian philanthropists they will strive to repair the desolations already made.

Another cause which has induced the present crisis, may be found in our disbelief of all sincerity in the wishes of the imperial government to suppress the traffic. 'The great emperor' says the objector, 'has no concern for the welfare of his people in this matter; and if he has, surely he would not deny to them the use of a harmless luxury.' Confirmed in a belief like this, foreigners have treated with utter contempt all edicts and appeals issued against the introduction of the drug. Such documents have been regarded as 'mere waste paper.' So late as the 25th of March last, we find it declared, and with entire sincerity, 'that being *now* made fully aware of the imperial commands for the entire abolition of the traffic in opium, the undersigned foreign merchants hereby pledge themselves not to deal in

opium, nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese empire.' For ourselves, we have no doubt that the first prohibition of the drug, thirty-nine years ago, was the expression of a sincere desire to avert a vice, which was then discovered to be just fastening itself on the people. That prohibition was probably reported to his majesty as having been duly carried into effect. Thus for a while the matter slept. But when subsequently, from time to time, additional evidences of the existence and progress of the vice were disclosed, new edicts were issued, and new laws ordained, to check its growth and to guard the people. But alas! these acts were neutralized by the pusillanimity and cupidity of local officers, aided and abetted by foreigners. No one will deny these facts; yet no one concerned in them, will admit that they were at all criminal. The amount of fees, paid for connivance, has sometimes been $75 per chest. We are not prepared to assert that the highest provincial officers, generally, have been encouragers of the traffic; for of this we have no proof; nor is it believed by many of the most intelligent natives with whom we have intercourse. That there have been exceptions, is readily admitted; yet even in these cases, their profits have usually come through channels too indirect to be availed of as evidences of their corruption. And the slumbering of Chinese officers over the approaching crisis, seems ascribable rather to their love of quiet and their dread of foreigners resenting any interference, than to their hopes of receiving bribes. We are willing to admit that the lower officers have been, in many instances, the open licencers of the traffic, we do not deny that the imperial government is in a measure answerable for the conduct of these its accredited instruments. But, if it be admitted that these inferior officers of government have been unfaithful to their trust in receiving bribes, what shall be said of the conduct of those who have proffered and paid the same? If any rules or prohibitions be manifestly unjust, let the foreigner, adhering to the high principles of Christian ethics, protest against them. And if he is in doubt as to the intentions of the legislators of the empire, let him be sure that he is doing what is in itself right, before he sets at naught the plain declarations of imperial edicts. For the past, apologies may be made; but now to persist in a course so full of evil, will be unreasonable and dangerous in the extreme. It is with deep sorrow and grief we learn that there are efforts making to renew the traffic. It is not now as formerly. The imperial will is now made clear; and from the wretchedness that attends the use of the drug the veil is in part removed, and sad are the disclosures of its rava-

ges. Yet we are constrained to believe that not the half — nay not one thousandth part — of the whole truth has been told.

The last cause which we shall notice — though many minor ones exist — is the apathy of foreign governments regarding the course of events here. It is indeed true that some of the western states have endeavored to gain commercial and political ends, by sending hither embassies, national vessels, &c. It is much to be regretted, however, that no suitable efforts have been made to establish that only foundation, on which an honorable intercourse can rest — an honorable, an unblameable character. In the eyes of the Chinese our character is low. As individuals, or as a community, very little has been done to elevate it; and we speak the words of truth and soberness when we affirm, that the course of western governments, respecting all their interests here, has been calculated to degrade, rather than to elevate, the foreign character. Whether this be ascribable to the lax morality already noticed, or to mere indifference to national standing in this further east, or to some other cause, we leave it for others to determine; yet the fact seems incontestable, and we grieve that it is so. Our national character is in the dust, prostrated by our own folly and negligence. The British flag, claiming preëminence here, has been struck three times during the last few months; and now no foreign flag floats in the provincial city; nor is there here one accredited agent of any foreign government. The consular laws and consular institutions of western nations evidently contemplate the preservation of their national flags, free from all stain, leaving every private obliquity to rest on the head of the offending individual. But unhappily the application of these instructions to Chinese affairs has hitherto been such as to draw down the whole weight of Chinese reprobation upon the foreign governments. We do not wonder that some of these representatives have been dissatisfied with the functions they have been called to exercise. Our chief surprise is that they have not at once laid down their commissions, and retired from all public duties, until they could exercise the same with due honor to themselves and to their countries. Had western governments instructed their representatives to pursue the course most likely to bring odium on themselves, and screen the misconduct and guilt of private individuals, none more wise could have been selected than that which has been pursued, from the first exercise of delegated authority to the present day.

With the close of the surrender of the opium a new scene opens. The immense losses that have been sustained, by individuals and by

governments, must rouse the wise and the thoughtful to a careful consideration of existing difficulties, and of past errors and misdeeds. A new leaf is about to be turned in the annals of foreign intercourse with China. Could we make future events correspond to our views and wishes, we would inscribe on this yet unsullied page the adoption and careful execution of the following measures.

In the first place, we would record the adoption, by the whole of our resident community, of that truly noble and Christian standard of conduct, which makes the frailty of our neighbor the object of our compassion, and not the mark of our cupidity or ridicule. We know, and we rejoice to know, that this topic is engaging the thoughts of many around us. And many more there are, who, with us, deeply deplore the reckless conduct of some of those who have sojourned among us. No enlightened conscience can find true and solid satisfaction in any other course than that of conscious rectitude. And beyond the secret happiness, always derived from acting in conformity to this standard, the elevation of mercantile character is evidently of vast importance. The influence exerted in this way on the Chinese will also produce great and good effects. The merchant is acting, and must act, a leading part in the grand drama of universal amelioration. His influence, if consecrated to the high cause of human improvement, must rank among the strongest means, vouchsafed by Divine Providence, to hasten a period of universal felicity on earth. Such a consecration involves, of course, the adoption of the principle, that to the virtue and good of man commerce is a handmaid, but that to vice and ruin she disdains to minister.

In the second place, we would record, on the first page of the new annals, the resolution of all western states, having commercial relations with the east, to maintain none other than a just and honorable intercourse with China. The direct and public contributing to what the Chinese denounce as criminal vice, by producing and bringing into the country a noxious drug, in the face of clear and repeated remonstrances on the part of the emperor, is replete with mischief. It cannot but be exceedingly unfriendly and offensive in the eyes of the honest supporters of this government. For whatever dishonor and injury western governments may have caused to the Chinese by this unheeded and ill-advised course, no remedy remains but frank acknowledgement and simple reparation. This England especially owes to China. As she has been chief in the offense, let her be first to afford reparation. And when this is honorably done, then let her with becoming majesty call on China to follow her example, and make reparation for

all injuries received from her. There have been mutual distrust, dishonor, insult, and injury. Where now shall the reform commence? With whom? We have heard it said, and it is generally believed, that foreign ships, engaged in the contraband trade have repeatedly fired on Chinese junks, while in the honest and peaceful performance of their duty. Was this right?

In the third place, we would have the era, which has been now reached, marked by an effort to bring the united moral power of the western world to bear, with an irresistible pressure, on the high barriers which have so long separated China from the most enlightened and peaceful states of Christendom. The real grounds of dissatisfaction with the Chinese are *common* to all. The principles or rights to be demanded from them, are such as would not be diminished by division. One great reason why previous efforts to ameliorate intercourse have failed, has been because that these efforts have been *selfish;* they have not been based on the broad principles of universal right and equity. European envoys have been the representatives of single and rival interests. A combined mission on the part of all the states, carrying on commerce with China, would wear a different aspect. It would no longer be a separate suit, pleading for narrow interests. It would be the western world *versus* China, or rather *for* China.

In closing this article we will not hazard any predictions. Another year cannot be expected to pass without great and important changes. Direct intercourse, on just and honorable principles, is indispensible for the maintenance of good faith and friendly offices. For the establishment of this intercourse we will continue to plead. Our judgment is, that if England, Russia, the United States of America, France, and Holland, would direct their envoys to rendezvous at the mouth of the Yangtsze keäng, or at Teëntsin, in 1840, and *stay there,* proffering every explanation, and pressing peacefully every fair and just demand — until conceded — the result would be a new era — an era happy for us, happy for our nations, and above all happy for China!

Let us add a word for our friends and readers in distant parts: they ought to be cautious how they condemn the conduct of those who have been involved in these troubles, and they should beware how they proclaim that the traffic is finally stopped. The consuls, and especially the British superintendents, have had an arduous task imposed on them, and their difficulties are not yet terminated, but the conclusion we sincerely hope will be honorable and satisfactory, resulting in great good to all parties.

ART. II. *Letter to the Queen of England from the imperial commissioner and the provincial authorities requiring the interdiction of opium.*

[The paper of which a translation is here given — purporting to be a letter addressed to the Queen of England — was permitted to obtain circulation among the people, in the same manner as many official documents commonly do, about three months since, when the commissioner and governor were about to leave Canton to receive the opium surrendered in the name of the British crown. Presumptive evidence of its authenticity is afforded by the expression on the part of the commissioner of an anxious desire to know how he should convey such a communication to the English sovereign.]

Lin, high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Hoo, — Tang, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Kwang, — and E, a vice-director of the Board of War, and lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, — conjointly address this communication to the sovereign of the English nation, for the purpose of requiring the interdiction of opium.

That in the ways of heaven no partiality exists, and no sanction is allowed to the injuring of others for the advantage of one's self, — that in men's natural desires there is not any great diversity (for where is he who does not abhor death and seek life?) — these are universally acknowledged principles. And your honorable nation, though beyond the wide ocean, at a distance of twenty thousand miles, acknowledges the same ways of heaven, the same human nature, and has the like perception of the distinctions between life and death, benefit and injury.

Our heavenly court has for its family all that is within the four seas; the great emperor's heaven-like benevolence — there is none whom it does not overshadow: even regions remote, desert, and disconnected, have a part in the general care of life and of wellbeing.

In Kwangtung, since the removal of the interdicts upon maritime communication, there has been a constantly flowing stream of commercial intercourse. The people of the land, and those who come from abroad in foreign ships, have reposed together in the enjoyment of its advantages, for tens of years past, even until this time. And as regards the rhubarb, teas, raw silk, and similar rich and valuable products of China, should foreign nations be deprived of these, they would be without the means of continuing life. So that the heavenly court, by granting, in the oneness of its common benevolence, permission for the sale and exportation thereof, — and that

without stint or grudge,— has indeed extended its favors to the utmost circuit [of the nations], making its heart one with the core of heaven and earth.

But there is a tribe of depraved and barbarous people, who, having manufactured opium for smoking, bring it hither for sale, and seduce and lead astray the simple folk, to the destruction of their persons, and the draining of their resources. Formerly the smokers thereof were few, but of late, from each to other the practice has spread its contagion, and daily do its baneful effects more deeply pervade the central source — its rich, fruitful, and flourishing population. It is not to be denied that the simple folk, inasmuch as they indulge their appetite at the expense of their lives, are indeed themselves the authors of their miseries: and why then should they be pitied? Yet, in the universal empire under the sway of the great and pure dynasty, it is of essential import, for the right direction of men's minds, that their customs and manners should be formed to correctness. How can it be borne that the living souls that dwell within these seas, should be left willfully to take a deadly poison! Hence it is, that those who deal in opium, or who inhale its fumes, within this land, are all now to be subjected to severest punishment, and that a perpetual interdict is to be placed on the practice so extensively prevailing.

We have reflected, that this poisonous article is the clandestine manufacture of artful schemers and depraved people of various tribes under the dominion of your honorable nation. Doubtless, you, the honorable sovereign of that nation, have not commanded the manufacture and sale of it. But amid the various nations there are a few only that make this opium: it is by no means the case that all the nations are herein alike. And we have heard that in your honorable nation, too, the people are not permitted to inhale the drug, and that offenders in this particular expose themselves to sure punishment. It is clearly from a knowledge of its injurious effects on man, that you have directed severe prohibitions against it. But what is the prohibition of its use, in comparison with the prohibition of its being sold — of its being manufactured,— as a means of thoroughly purifying the source?

Though not making use of it one's self, to venture nevertheless on the manufacture and sale of it, and with it to seduce the simple folk of this land, is, to seek one's own livelihood by the exposure of others to death, to seek one's own advantage by other men's injury. And such acts are bitterly abhorrent to the nature of man — are utterly op-

posed to the ways of heaven. To the vigorous sway exercised by the celestial court over both the civilized and the barbarous, what difficulty presents itself to hinder the immediate taking of life? But as we contemplate and give substantial being to the fullness and vastness of the sacred intelligence, it befits us to adopt first the course of admonition. And not having as yet sent any communication to your honorable sovereignty,—should severest measures of interdiction be all at once enforced, it might be said, in excuse, that no previous knowledge thereof had been possessed.

We would now, then, concert with your honorable sovereignty means to bring to a perpetual end this opium, so hurtful to mankind: we in this land forbidding the use of it,—and you, in the nations under your dominion, forbidding its manufacture. As regards what has been already made, we would have your honorable nation issue mandates for the collection thereof, that the whole may be cast into the depths of the sea. We would thus prevent the longer existence between these heavens and this earth of any portion of the hurtful thing. Not only then will the people of this land be relieved from its pernicious influence: but the people of your honorable nation too (for as they make, how know we that they do not also smoke it?) will, when the manufacture is indeed forbidden, be likewise relieved from the danger of its use. Will not the result of this be the enjoyment by each of a felicitous condition of peace. For your honorable nation's sense of duty being thus devout, shows a clear apprehension of celestial principles, and the supreme heavens will ward off from you all calamities. It is also in perfect accordance with human nature, and must surely meet the approbation of sages.

Besides all this, the opium being so severely prohibited in this land, that there will be none found to smoke it, should your nation continue its manufacture, it will be discovered after all that no place will afford opportunity for selling it, that no profits will be attainable. Is it not far better to turn and seek other occupation than vainly to labor in the pursuit of a losing employment?

And furthermore, whatever opium can be discovered in this land is entirely committed to the flames, and consumed. If any be again introduced in foreign vessels, it too must be subjected to a like process of destruction. It may well be feared, lest other commodities imported in such vessels should meet a common fate — the gem and the pebble not being distinguished. Under these circumstances, gain being no longer acquirable, and hurt having assumed a visible form, such as desire the injury of others will find that they themselves are the first to be injured.

The powerful instrumentality whereby the celestial court holds in subjection all nations is truly divine and awe-inspiring beyond the power of computation. Let it not be said that early warning of this has not been given.

When your majesty receives this document, let us have a speedy communication in reply, advertizing us of the measures you adopt for the entire cutting off of the opium in every seaport. Do not, by any means, by false embellishments evade or procrastinate. Earnestly reflect hereon. Earnestly observe these things.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d month, ——— day. Communication sent to the sovereign of the English nation.

ART. III. *Crisis in the opium traffic; continuation of the narrative, with official papers, &c.* (*Continued from vol.* VII., *page* 656.)

On the 20th of April, an edict was received from the commissioner, the governor and the lieut.-governor, addressed to the superintendents, consuls, and all the foreigners, in the following terms.

No. 27.

Edict requiring the voluntary bond.

Lin, high imperial commissioner and governor of Hookwang, Tang, a president of the Board of War, and governor of the two provinces Kwangtung and Kwangse, and E, vice-president of the Board of War and lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, issue this edict to the English superintendent Elliot and the deputy superintendent Johnston, the American consul Snow, the Dutch consul Van Basel, and the foreigners of every country; let them fully acquaint themselves herewith.

Whereas we, the high imperial commissioner, the governor, and the lieutenant-governor, did receive the great and august emperor's mandatory will, to interdict opium, and to cut off the sources whence it comes, accordingly we gave commands to the said superintendents and consuls, by them to be enjoined on all the foreigners, to take the opium accumulated in the store-ships, and make an entire surrender of it; now it appears that, in obedience to those commands, the surrender is being made, evincing respectful submission, worthy of praise. And hereafter, for ever, foreigners will never more be

allowed to bring opium into this country. The decree is already passed, and if they do so, they shall be capitally punished, and their cargoes confiscated.

You, the English superintendent Elliot, have desired that warning may be given before execution, and now again declare that you will act in obedience to the law, the period being indulgently extended. This your statement seems reasonable; but as to the request that a period of five months be allowed for the Indian ships, and ten months for those direct from England, these periods are indeed too long.

Further it appears that the American consul Snow also has declared that while residing here he always feels obligated to conform to the laws of the empire, and that hereafter the merchants of his country, acting in obedience to the new regulations, will not presume to traffic in opium. This likewise seems perfectly proper. But he adds, 'if they bring any opium to Canton, I will communicate to them the prohibitory regulations, requiring them to return to their country,' which does not at all agree with what is said about acting in conformity to the law; for if he announces to them the prohibitory regulations, how can he stop with merely ordering them to return to their own country?

The Dutch consul Van Basel, also states, that he has received the commands to give the bond, in terms like these: — After the autumn of this year, if any ships come to Canton, and on examination are found to have opium on board, both ship and cargo shall be confiscated, and the parties left to suffer death, by the law of the country. On this occasion he is ready to obligate himself that hereafter he will never trade in opium, and that according to the tenor of the edict he will report to the great officers of his government, that they may submit the case to their sovereign; this is nearly in accordance with what is required in the bond; but, then, in his address he speaks about the lives of his countrymen being involved, which is still inconsistent with what is reasonable. It should be known that this severity of the celestial empire's laws, extending even to capital punishment, is *only in reference to the traffic in opium.* If therefore all the foreigners, in compliance with this, never bring any more opium, then there can be no more violations of the law, and how, in that case, can there be any involving of life?

With reference to Elliot's request, the period ought to be changed and fixed at four months for the Indian ships, and at eight for the direct ships, at the expiration of which periods they must conform to the new regulations. If within these periods, they presume to bring

opium, they shall according to the existing laws, surrender it all to the government, but the parties shall be freed from punishment and their other cargo from confiscation; this will be equitable and just.

Again, special and earnest commands are given in general to all foreigners, that, in accordance with the prescribed form, they all present bonds duly signed and attested, thereby evincing on the part of every one a mind respectfully submissive. Then an honorable commerce will be lastingly continued. Let there be no obstinacy cherished, to their own injury. A special edict.' (April 19th, 1839.)

During Monday, the 22d, the linguists went around to the several houses, and noted down the names of their inmates, in order to determine what number of servants could be licensed,—it being said that in future only one servant would be allowed to each foreigner. This limitation has not been carried into effect.

Three foreigners — two of them Lascars and one a Malay — were brought to Canton on the 23d, said to have been lost from a vessel wrecked on the coast. The truth probably is that they are from some of the ships engaged in the smuggling of opium, as we have no information of any ship having been recently wrecked on the coast.

On the 26th, letters were received from Chuenpe, confirming previous rumors that one half of the opium had been delivered, prior to the 20th, and that there had since been a suspension in the deliveries. There is a dispute between the British superintendents and the commissioner, about the passage boats, which have not yet been allowed to run. According to the terms stipulated by the commissioner, servants were to be returned when one fourth of the opium was delivered, and the boats were to run when one half was delivered. The commissioner affirms that, in view of the faithful conduct of captain Elliot, he gave instructions for the return of the servants previous to the delivery of the one fourth; and we are informed that he now affirms, that before the half was delivered he dispatched a communication to the hoppo for the boats to run; but immediately after doing so, he heard that Mr. Johnston had received instructions to stop when one half was delivered and to wait for the passage boats; this, he further says, taken in connection with the tardy and irregular arrival of the receiving ships, induced him to withdraw and delay his order for the boats. Whether all this be true or not we cannot affirm.

On the 29th, it was reported that the deliveries had been resumed, and that a much greater quantity would have been surrendered, but for the tardiness with which the ships arrived at the station off Chuenpe.

On the 4th of May the following edict, public notice, and letters were made public.

No. 28.

Opening of the trade.

From the Kwangchow foo, communicating the commands of the commissioner and governor, for reopening the trade.

It is on record that when the English superintendent Elliot represented that he would deliver 20,283 chests of opium, I, the high commissioner determined on certain terms: one being, that when one half should be delivered, a measured permission should be given for the passage boats to apply for passes and run to and fro. To this effect commands were given to the said superintendent that he might act accordingly. Recently, when the amount received approached a half, we, the commissioner and the governor, had prepared instructions for allowing the communication by passage-boats. But Johnston suddenly desired to stop the deliveries, with the design of coercing us. We for this reason withheld the before-prepared instructions, and did not issue them. It now appears again that he has hastened up several vessels, which have consecutively made delivery. It behoves us, therefore, in accordance with the previous declarations, to give a measured permission to the passage-boats, upon examination; to run to and fro; also to remove the guards from the foreign factories, and at the same time to permit the opening of the holds for trade. The said superintendent Elliot, although he himself represented that he should wait the completion of this matter before he should go down to Macao, yet now that the boats can run, he may be allowed to pass to and fro as usual, to enable him to call together with more celerity, and to give such orders and make such arrangements as from time to time may be called for. Those of the foreigners who have been long in the habit of dealing in opium, sixteen in number, as by the annexed list, must still be temporarily detained in the foreign factories, waiting until the whole matter be entirely completed, when they will have permission to leave. This is in accordance with the force of the terms 'measured permission,' made use of in the former declaration.

But at the time when the boats leave Canton, if officers be not appointed to proceed to the front of the foreign factories, and there, with the hong merchants under their direction, take cognizance of each by name, it is to be apprehended that these sixteen persons may get on board the boats, and unknown take themselves away from Canton. We therefore instruct the expectant sub-prefect Le Suh, together

with the Kwangchow heë to give previous orders to the hong merchants, that they enjoin it on the foreigners, to give them prior notice of the time of any boat leaving Canton, that they may report to the officers aforesaid. These are then to proceed in person to the place where the boats are anchored, and to ascertain what number of persons are on board, and what are their names and surnames; and are to direct the hong merchants to take cognizance of them severally. If there be not among them any of the sixteen named, they shall then give to the boat a stamped passport to be shown for examination at the various custom-houses that it may pass.

This sealed passport shall be printed according to the form herewith transmitted, and sealed with the seal of the Kwangchow foo, the blanks being filled up at the time. The officers aforesaid must by all means faithfully examine, and must permit no confusion or escape, whereby they will render themselves heavily culpable. The Kwangchow heë, too, must give directions to all the forts and other places of defense to pay obedience.

We forthwith proceed to issue these commands, requiring the Kwangchow foo immediately to take with him the magistrates of Nanhae and Pwanyu, and to require the original merchants, Howqua senior, &c., to act in accordance herewith, and immediately to remove all the vessels surrounding the foreign factories.

The boats registered under the designation 'obedient,' are to have a measured permission to run to and fro, still being subjected to examination at the custom-house stations.

The ship Esperance at Whampoa, which has already applied for a port clearance to return home, and the captain of which, Linstedt, is now in the foreign factories at Canton, may at once make application to the hoppo, to give permission for him to leave Canton and take his departure.

All the cargo ships at Whampoa are permitted to open their holds for trade. Those that being already fully laden, have made application through the security merchants for their port clearances, are permitted to obtain the same on representation to the hoppo, that they may be enabled to set sail and return home.

As to all the foreign merchant-ships arrived in the outer waters, they must wait till this matter is brought to a conclusion, when on examination they will be directed to enter their names, and proceed to Whampoa.

The registered boats, proceeding from Whampoa to Canton, must still be subjected to careful examination by the military guard at the

posts at the new and Macao passage forts, on the way up. And if they have contraband articles, or weapons, or gunpowder on board, they must be immediately driven back, and instant report thereof rendered, in order that examination may be made and measures taken.

Let the tenor of these commands be also declared to Elliot, that he knowing may act accordingly. Be urgent and speedy. (Promulgated May 4th, 1839.)

No. 29.

Public Notice.

In the present state of circumstances, the chief superintendent is not in a situation to do more than refer her majesty's subjects for general guidance to his public notice dated at Macao, on the 23d March last.

He need hardly observe, however, that it is his purpose to remain in Canton till his public obligations to this government are fulfilled, and he will afford the best information in his power of the probable period of his departure from time to time. Parties will therefore be pleased carefully to regulate their proceedings accordingly. There is a part of the public paper promulgated this evening (not desirable to advert to particularly,) which need give no uneasiness. He hopes it will be felt that the circumstances shall be suitably arranged at the proper moment. May 4th. (Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE,
Secretary and treasurer to the superintendents.

No. 30.

From the hong merchants.

To Mr. Wetmore. We beg to inform you that we have received permission from government for the licensed passage boats to run to and from Canton as usual. The names and number of passengers and crew of each boat must be entered in her license, before she will be permitted to start. The small unlicensed boats of Canton and Whampoa cannot for the present be allowed to come and go; but when the opium deliveries are completed we will apply to government for the requisite commands, and inform all the foreign merchants thereof for their obedience.

It is for this we write, and trusting you enjoy good health, we remain, The HONG MERCHANTS. May 4th, 1839.

No. 31.

From the hong merchants.

To Mr. Wetmore. We beg to inform you that we have received orders from government to allow the licensed passage-boats to come

and go [as usual]. The following new regulations must be observed by all foreigners leaving Canton in these boats, viz. an officer will be deputed to examine them before they will be permitted to start; and on arrival at the several forts and custom-house stations they must also report themselves to be examined. A weiyuen will come out every day to ascertain the number of boats about to leave, and the hour of their dispatch, so that when he shall come to superintend their examination, there may be no delay. The names and number of the passengers and crew of each boat must be inserted in the license, and a list thereof must be previously handed in, that the requisite entries may be made. Hereafter no boat will be allowed to carry guns or ammunition, or leaden ballast, as stones will fully answer the purpose. It is for this we write and with compliments remain.

May 4th, 1839. (Signed) The HONG MERCHANTS.

P. S. A list of the sixteen foreign merchants who for the present are not allowed by government to leave Canton by the passage-boats is subjoined.

No. 32.

From the hong merchants.

To Mr. Wetmore. A respectful communication. We have just received instructions from government to forbid foreigners, for the present going outside of Old China Street: when the opium is all delivered, they will be permitted to pass in and out as usual. We therefore write this to inform the foreign merchants of all nations for their obedience. With compliments, &c.

May 5th, 1839. (Signed) The HONG MERCHANTS.

On the 5th, in the afternoon, we had the satisfaction of seeing the triple cordon, which for six weeks had hemmed us so closely in, safe from all harm, broken up. All the large boats were removed, and the companies of soldiers were disbanded.

On Monday, the 6th, the first passage-boats left for Macao; the number of passengers, including seamen for Whampoa, was about fifty. It was a pleasing sight to see the boats once more moving down the river.

On Wednesday, the 8th, the following edict was issued, occasioned by addresses respecting the proposed bond.

No. 33.

From the Kwangchow foo to the hong merchants, communicating the order of the commissioner, the governor and lieut.-governor, regarding the punishment of foreigners for dealing in opium.

Choo, by special appointment prefect of Kwangchow foo, issues commands to the original hong merchants, and to the several senior and other hong merchants, for their full information. He has now received from Lin, the high imperial commissioner, &c., Tang, the governor of the two Kwang, and E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, the following orders:

"It appears that the English superintendent Elliot, the American consul Snow, and the Dutch consul Van Basel, have presented addresses, requesting that they all should return home at the head of the people and the vessels of their several nations. These addresses coming before us, the commissioner and the governor, and being duly authenticated, we reply. China has indeed no need of commercial intercourse with outer barbarians. But because you have come from afar over the seas, it cannot bear to push you utterly away; you have enjoyed the overshadowing, the comprehensive, and deep benevolence of the great emperor, who has given sanction to the trade with Kwangtung; you have come to the territory of the celestial empire, have not only eaten of the herbage and trodden the soil equally with the people of the land, but have also by your buying and selling acquired very rich advantages. It is naturally your duty to rest in your stations, observing the laws. But for tens of years past, you have on the contrary employed a thing hurtful to men, as a means of gaining and possessing yourselves of people's wealth.

"The great emperor anxiously regardful of the general wellbeing, has therefore declared his pleasure that this should be severely prohibited. And if the laws be not plainly declared, how shall the future ingress be put a stop to? While now, all you superintendents and consuls, aforesaid, are aware that the prohibitory enactments of the celestial court may not be opposed, you are yet anxious in regard to points of difficulty as relates to your own countries, and request that, at the head of the people and vessels of your several countries, you may all together take your departure to return home.

"Those of the foreigners whose names are prominent as having been habitual sellers of opium, have already ere this been ordered away. But besides Jardine, and others, who have gone away back to their countries, there yet remain many lingering behind. If indeed all leave China for ever, there will of course no opium gain entrance into the inner land, and this evil may be removed. After then the full completion of the present deliveries, let it be even as requested. It shall be left to you entirely to return to your countries. You will not be allowed to make pretexts for procrastinating and

delaying. And after you have thus returned, you will not be allowed to come again. Let there be no turning backwards and forwards, no inconstancy, whereby investigation and proceedings thereon will be involved. Having reference to the great numbers of the foreigners of the various nations, and the openness of communication by sea in every part, the laws and enactments of the celestial court being extremely strict, it is still requisite that the punishment attaching to the prohibition against the importation of opium should be plainly proclaimed. All you foreigners of every nation, should you not come hither, there the matter rests; but should you come to the territory of the celestial court, be you foreigners of any country whatsoever, so often as opium is brought, in all cases in accordance with the new law, the parties shall be capitally executed, and the property entirely confiscated. Say not that it was not told you beforehand!

"We proceed to issue these orders, commanding the prefect immediately to enjoin the orders on the original hong merchants and on the several senior and other hong merchants, that they may plainly enjoin the same on the several superintending officers aforesaid, that they having knowledge thereof may offer no opposition."

This having been received by the prefect, he proceeds to issue these commands. When they reach the said hong merchants, let them immediately enjoin the same plainly on each of the said superintending officers, that they may have knowledge thereof, and offer no opposition. A special command.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 3d month, 25th day. (May 8th, 1839.)

The preceding edict, in the first instance reaching the chief superintendent of British trade in an unofficial manner, through the hong merchants, he refused to receive it; in consequence of this, a copy was shortly after duly transmitted, under the seals of the proper authorities. Whereupon captain Elliot issued the following.

No. 34.

Public Notice to British Subjects.

The chief superintendent yesterday received an edict, of which the annexed is a copy, to the joint address of the consul of the king of Holland, the consul of the United States, and himself. By this law the ships and crews of all nations, henceforward arriving in China, are liable to the penalties, the first, of confiscation, and the last, of death, upon the determination of this government that they have introduced opium. The danger of confiding to this government the administration of any judicial process concerning foreigners, can scarcely be more strikingly manifested than in the list of names lately

proscribed by the high commissioner. Evidence that has been good to satisfy his excellency that these sixteen persons are principal parties concerned in introducing opium, and therefore to justify their detention as hostages, would of course be equally good for other convictions of the like nature. It may be taken to be certain, however, that the list contains the names of persons who have never been engaged in such pursuits, or, let it be added, in any other contraband practices. In investigation upon such subjects, the Chinese authorities would probably be guiltless of any deliberate intention to commit acts of juridical spoliation and murder; but it is plain, that in the present state of the intercourse, there would be excessive risk of such consequences, and therefore the present law is incompatible with safe or honorable continuance at Canton, if nothing else had happened to establish the same conclusion. It places, in point of fact, the lives, liberty, and property of the whole foreign community here at the mercy of any reckless foreigners outside, and more immediately at the disposal of the hong merchants, linguists, compradors, and their retainers. The chief superintendent by no means ascribes general wickedness to those parties, but their situation and liabilities make them very unsafe reporters, and yet it is mainly upon their reports that the judgment of the government will be taken. It will be particularly observed that persons remaining are understood by the government to assent to the reasonableness of the law.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

It should have been remarked before, that the resumption of trade, since the 4th inst., has been attended with some disadvantages, no foreigners being allowed to go to the warehouses of the hong merchants, by which prohibition they have been cut off from all opportunity to inspect their goods now being exported. This, it is understood, would be only a temporary hindrance.

An edict from the local authorities, containing orders to shut up all the streets leading into the square, except Old China street, and commanding the shopmen in them to remove, was now made known.

No. 35.

Proclamation from the Kwangchow foo, and the Nanhae and Pwanyu magistrates.

Choo, the prefect of Kwangchow foo, &c., Lew, the Nanhae heën, &c., and Chang, the Pwanyu heën, &c., respecting arrangements and regulations for strictly preventing the too familiar intercourse of natives and foreigners, proclaim for the information of all.

Former perspicuous edicts have been issued on this subject, which are on record. And there has now been received from Lin, the imperial commissioner, Tang, the governor of the two Kwang, and E, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, the following commands.

"The surrender of the opium being nearly completed, it is necessary to make in order, preventive regulations as regards the future. The houses, shops, streets, and lanes in the near neighborhood [of the foreign factories] are generally the resort of native traitors, and it is of the greatest importance at the present time to examine and place them under strict management; and that the laws be promulgated everywhere, in order to put a stop to a too intimate connection, and that such connections be guarded against accordingly. Let these our orders be immediately obeyed. The said prefect and magistrates are immediately to meet with the Chung heë and Kwang heë, (commanding brigades,) and in company with the original hong merchants Howqua and Mowqua, and the other hong merchants, are to inspect the said places in person. All the back doors of the foreign factories are to be blocked up, not permitting the foreigners to use them as formerly. The square in the front of the factories is to be enclosed with railing and gateways as formerly. The passages through all the streets near the foreign factories are to be cut off and never again opened, and the walls are to be built higher and thicker for greater security. It will be proper to appoint one thoroughfare, where there should be a gate at which a military guard is to be stationed to keep watch. The said officers are to meet together and arrange this matter safely, and then report, that there may be proof that these orders have been obeyed.

"As to the people who open shops in order to obtain a livelihood, there are regulations which show what they are allowed to do. But the shops in Leuenhing and New China streets are so intimately connected with foreigners, that they suspend signboards on which the foreign characters are written: this is disorderly conduct, and in opposition to the laws, and cannot be compared with trade as conducted by good people, and must now be finally forbidden and prevented, that evil practices may be cut off and a purer state of things be perfected.

"The said foo and heën magistrates are first to issue a perspicuous proclamation, fixing a decided limit of time, when they are to issue the most positive orders of the people to remove to other places; they are not to be allowed to remain where they are and keep their shops open. The private houses are also to be closed and locked up; and

if any of the shopkeepers or landlords dare to disobey, or fall into the evil habit of assembling in multitudes to go to the temples—they are to be considered as a set of sturdy vagabonds, and the said foo and heën magistrates are immediately to unite with the Chung and Kwang heë, leading the military and police are to examine and seize the instigators of the disturbance, and the houses are to be laid in ruins. A constabulary force, or a body of tything-men, is to be established in every street, in order to separate good from bad subjects, and that the traitorous natives among them may be known.—The said foo and heën magistrates must employ their utmost energies in safely arranging this affair, that an eternal stop may be put [to these practices] and traitors be for ever swept away."

These orders having been received by us, the prefect and heën magistrates, we have met the Chung and Kwang heë, and at the head of all the hong merchants have directed the orders to be carried into effect. The entrances to Hog lane, New China street and Leuenhing street have been already walled up; the entrance to Old China street is to remain open as a public thoroughfare, where a gateway is to be erected on a low wall, so that all connection with the outside foreigners may be completely prevented. The shops on the east and west sides of Old and New China streets are all closed to the foreign residences, as they afford great facilities for traitorous connections; the orders of all the superior officers must be obeyed. All the people are ordered to remove and to shut up and lock their houses, in order to cut off evil communication. We first issue this urgent and perspicuous proclamation, by which we order the inhabitants of the said two streets, that ten days after the issue of this proclamation, all the goods in those streets must be removed; and thus change to a right system of things. Let no one tread in their former footsteps, opposing the laws, secretly storing up goods and delaying, that they may continue their former practices; and should any persons not remove within the given time, the offender against the laws shall surely be forcibly expelled his shop or house, and his goods and chattels be sealed up. At the north end of Leënhing street on the east side, the shops abut upon the wall of the foreign factories, and from the windows of the factories natives carry on an illicit entercourse. Now this street must be included under the same orders as the others as to the limited term of ten days, when the inhabitants must remove, and their houses be closed and sealed up. Shops in the street on the west and south sides, are a little further off from the dwellings of the foreigners, and a lawful trade being carried on there, the shops may

continue open according to custom. The said hong merchants are especially charged, forthwith to examine whether there are any prohibited goods for buying and selling stored up, and whether any clandestine intercourse is carried on with foreigners; and on conviction, they are immediately to state the facts to the district magistrate, who will forthwith try and punish the offender according to law.

Further, in Hog lane there are many natives who make for and sell to the foreigners, clothes and caps; these are necessary articles which are in constant use and demand, and therefore if the hong merchants are willing to give a bond for the good behavior of these tradesmen, they may continue their callings as heretofore; but if the hong merchants are unwilling to give such a bond, they are forthwith to be expelled, and the inhabitants of those places that are close to the foreign chambers are, in the same manner as those of Old and New China streets, to remove within ten days. With reference to those shops at which sign boards in the foreign characters are suspended, this practice has long been forbidden by the laws; but the laws have for a long time been slackly administered, and the people have encouraged each other to disregard them more and more. But now it is of moment that the old regulations be obeyed, and this practice be forbidden and stopped for ever. Henceforth, without distinction of thoroughfares, lanes, &c., if there are any who dare to tread in their former footsteps, most assuredly they shall catch 'three inches of law,' and then suffer capitally. Decidedly there will not be any indulgence granted. All should implicitly obey. Oppose not. A special edict. Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 2d day. (May 14th, 1839.)

On the 19th and 20th, the chief superintendent of British trade published the two following notices.

No. 36.

Public Notice.

The chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China gives notice and enjoins all her majesty's subjects, either actually in China, or hereafter arriving, merchants, supracargoes, commanders, commanding officers of ships, seamen, or others, having control over, or serving on board of, British ships or vessels, bound to the port of Canton, not to be requiring, aiding, or assisting in any way in the bringing into the said port of Canton any such British ship or vessel, to the great danger of British life, liberty, and property, and the prejudice of the interest and just claims of the crown, till a declaration shall be published under his hand and seal of office to the effect that

such bringing in of British shipping, or of British property in foreign shipping, is safe in the premises. And the chief superintendent making these solemn injunctions for the safety of British life, liberty, and property, and in the protection of the interests and just claims of the British crown, reserves to her majesty's government in the most complete manner the power to cancel and disregard all future claims whatever, on the part of her majesty's subjects or others, preferring such claims on account of British property, either left behind, or to be brought in, if any such British subjects or others preferring such claims shall disregard these injunctions now put forward, respecting the keeping out of British shipping and property, till the declaration aforesaid shall be duly published. May 19th, 1839.

[L. S.] (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

No. 37.

Having reference to the draft of his public notice submitted to the perusal of the merchants for their guidance fourteen days since, the chief superintendent has now to acquaint her majesty's subjects that he has reason to hope for the report of the whole delivery of the opium in the course of the next twenty-four hours: and his own departure will be regulated by that of her majesty's subjects and any other foreigners, who may claim his protection, presently detained in Canton by the commissioner's commands. Upon that subject he will make another communication at the proper moment. May 20th, 1839.

(Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE,
Secretary and treasurer to the superintendents.

About this time, the hoppo, on being requested by one of the hong merchants for the usual permit for a pilot to go on board and conduct the Reliance, a large Indiaman down to Second Bar, thought proper to deny the request, although the practice had ever been usual; and when the captains of two other ships of the same class united with the first, and requested pilots for their ships to go down to Second Bar, the hoppo again refused. The reason of this new restriction was said by the hoppo, in his reply, to be because these ships had not yet taken in as many catties of export, as they brought of import, cargo; but the whole affair bore the marks of a desire on the part of the Chinese to impede the departure of foreigners.

The following edict from their excellencies, the commissioner and governor was called forth by the answer to an order from them to measure the draft of water of the ships lying in Macao Roads, at this time amounting to nearly fifty sail. This was done to ascertain

whether between the interval of their arrival and entrance into the port, the vessels changed their cargo.

No. 38.

Lin, high imperial commissioner and governor of the two Keäng, and Tang, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the two Kwang, issue this edict to the original senior and all the other hong merchants for their full instruction.

On the 17th instant, Tsëang Leïhgang, the sub-prefect of Macao, and Wei Changyaou, commodore of the squadron of Heängshan, presented to us a joint report, in which they state: "Having received your excellencies' orders to proceed to the Nine Islands and the Macao offings, to examine the ships recently arrived with cargo, to ascertain their draft of water, and to present a report of the same in detail; we in obedience thereto went in person, taking with us pilots and measurers. Each of the several ships was duly measured, before, behind, right and left, according to the prescribed form; and on the 15th the measuring of the thirteen ships having cargo was completed. But there was one ship, Peïh-ta-le, laden with cotton, seeing the ships were being measured, got under weigh on the 14th, and sailed away to the eastward, evidently unwilling to be measured. As soon as we can ascertain where she has gone and anchored, we will make another report. Moreover, the masters of the vessels declared, that on the 20th of this month hitherto there have been gales of wind, and that the anchorage off the Nine Islands being open and exposed, they were afraid they could not remain there with safety, and wished to remove their anchorage to Tseënshatsuy (Hongkong) so as to avoid the winds and waves. Respectfully we present this report."

The above has come before us, the high commissioner and governor, duly authenticated. We find that the delivery of the opium from the foreign ships is nearly completed, that the ships at Whampoa have been already allowed to reöpen their trade; the newly arrived To-le and other ships, thirteen in number, have been duly measured by the sub-prefect of Macao, in obedience to our orders, but the cargo of the several ships has not been ascertained in detail. The masters of those ships, having come from afar to trade, how can they be without particular accounts of their cargoes? Certainly it cannot be difficult to specify clearly each particular kind of the goods. Yet, now they only speak in general terms, in their usual delusive manner. But as they have consented to be measured, and as they have moreover declared that hitherto there have been gales of wind on the 20th of this

month, and that the anchorage off the Nine Islands is open and exposed, they were afraid they could not remain there with safety; it behoves us to show them compassion, and early instruct them to enter the port to escape the storm.

Besides, when they all arrive at Whampoa, according to the regulations, let them wait for the instructions of the commissioner of customs. We issue our commands to the sub-prefect of Macao, and the commodore of Heängshan, and they must immediately transmit the same to the ships To-le and others, declaring that it be unnecessary for them to remove their anchorage to Hongkong, that they may receive passports for pilots directly from the sub-prefect of Macao to come speedily to Whampoa, there to await the hoppo's examination for the unloading of their cargo. The ship Peĭh-ta-le, which refused to be measured, and presumed to sail away eastward, has evidently done so for evil. We have sent a communication to the hoppo, that he convey commands to the hong merchants not to trade with her, but to hasten her departure back to her country. The said sub-prefect, &c., will give direct commands to the cruizers to take with them the linguists and pilots, and ascertain plainly where she has gone; and, finding her track, convey to her the commands; that, having been unwilling to be measured, it is evident she has brought contraband goods, and has dared to show opposition; that, while orders have been given for the others to enter the port of Whampoa, she is not allowed to trade, but must sail back to her country and not loiter about. If she dares to sail to other places on the high seas, where it is unlawful for her to go, to form connections with the vessels of Chinese marauders, and traffic in opium, the cruizes will all unite in attacking her, when repentance will be too late. As soon as any real traces of the said vessels are found, let the same be clearly reported to us by express.

Moreover, we now issue this edict: when it reaches the hong merchants, let them act in obedience to it. When the ships To-le and others all arrive at Whampoa, according to the regulations, let them await instruction from the hoppo. But the ship Peĭh-ta-le, which was unwilling to be measured, and dared to sail away to the eastward, has done so evidently for evil. Let the said hong merchants communicate this edict, forbidding them to trade with her, and requiring her immediate return to her country. Let them search out faithfully the traces of the vessel, and report thereon. Let there be no opposition. Haste, quickly! A special edict.

May 18th, 1839.

The delivery of the 20,283 chests of opium was completed on Tuesday, the 21st, at 2 o'clock A. M., and all safely stored in buildings prepared for its reception, at Chinkow near the Bogue, there to await orders from Peking for its disposal. This called forth the following notice from Capt. Elliot, and an edict from the commissioner.

No. 39.

Public Notice to her Britannic majesty's subjects.

The disregard of formal offers upon the part of her majesty's officer to adjust all difficulties by the fulfillment of the imperial will, the unjustifiable imprisonment of the whole foreign community in Canton, the still more wanton protraction of the captivity, and the forced surrender of property, of which the incidents have been the utmost public encouragement direct and indirect upon the one hand, and violent public spoliation on the other: such are the chief facts which have sustained the declaration put forward in the notice of the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects, dated at Macao on the 23d day of March last, that he was without confidence in the justice and moderation of the provincial government.

Correction remaining to be made for the circumstances that these later deeds have been perpetrated mainly under the authority of the imperial commissioner, he is also to declare that he is without confidence in the justice and moderation of the said imperial commissioner.

Acting on the behalf of her majesty's government in a momentous emergency, he has in the first place to signify, that the demand he recently made to her majesty's subjects, for the surrender of British-owned opium under their control had no special reference to the circumstances of that property: but (beyond the actual pressure of necessity,) that demand was founded on the principle, that these violent compulsory measures being utterly unjust per se, and of general application for the forced surrender of any other property, or of human life, or for the constraint of any unsuitable terms or concessions, it became highly necessary to vest and leave the right of exacting effectual security, and full indemnity for every loss, directly in the queen. These outrages have already temporarily cast upon the British crown immense public liabilities; and it is incumbent upon him at this moment of release to fix the earliest period for removal from a situation of total insecurity, and for the termination of all risk of similar responsibility on the part of her majesty's government. He is sensible too, that he could not swerve from the purposes now

to be declared, without extreme danger to vast public claims already pending, and to general and permanent interests of highest moment.

Thus situated then, and once more referring to his public notice dated at Macao on the 23d day of March last; he has again to give notice to, and enjoin, all her majesty's subjects, to make preparation for quitting Canton before, or at the same time with, her majesty's establishment; which departure will take place as soon as the chief superintendent has completed his public obligations to this government. For the general convenience, he will afford the best information in his power from time to time, concerning the probable period of that event. And he has further to give notice that British subjects or others thinking fit to make shipments of property on British account, on board of British, or any other foreign, shipping actually in this river, will be pleased to regulate their proceedings in these respects, upon the understanding that such shipments must be made at their personal risk and responsibility after the date of this notice. And he again enjoins all her majesty's subjects in Canton to prepare sealed declarations and lists of all claims whatever against Chinese subjects, to be adjusted as nearly as may be, to the period of their respective retirements from Canton before him, or at the same time with him. And whilst it is specially to be understood that the proof of British property, and value of all such claims handed in to him before his departure, will be determined upon principles and in a manner hereafter to be defined by her majesty's government, he has to recommend, with a view to uniformity and general clearness, that claims for British property left behind, should be drawn up as far as may be practicable on invoice cost.

And he has now to give notice to, and enjoin, all her majesty subjects, either actually in China, or hereafter arriving, merchants, supercargoes, commanders, commanding officers of ships, seamen, or others having control over or serving on board of British ships or vessels, bound to the port of Canton, not to be requiring, aiding, or assisting in any way in the bringing into the said port of Canton any such British ship or vessel to the great danger of British life, liberty, and property, and the prejudice of the interests and just claims of the crown, till a declaration shall be published under his hand and seal of office to the effect that such bringing in of British shipping, or of British property in foreign shipping, is safe in the premises. And the chief superintendent making these solemn injunctions for the safety of British life, liberty, and property, and in the protection of the interests and just claims of the British crown, reserves to her majes-

ty's government in the most complete manner, the power to cancel and disregard all future claims whatever, on the part of her majesty's subjects or others, preferring such claims on account of British property, either left behind, or to be brought in, if any such British subjects or others, preferring such claims shall disregard these injunctions now put forward respecting the keeping out of British shipping and property, till the declaration aforesaid shall be duly published.

And he has once more to warn her majesty's subjects in anxious terms, that such sudden and strong measures as it may be found necessary to adopt on the part of competent authorities, for the honor and interests of the British crown, cannot be prejudiced by their continued residence in Canton, beyond the period of his own stay, upon their own responsibilities, and in spite of the solemn injunctions of her majesty's officer.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Canton in China this 22d day of May, 1839.

[L. S.] (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

No. 40.

Lin, high imperial commissioner, and Tang, governor of the two Kwang, issue these commands to the original, the senior, and other hong merchants for their full information.

Opium, pervading with its poisonous influence the inner land, has been a source of very great injury. These ten persons, * * * * * * * * * * natives of England and other countries, have all been habitually used to deal therein. They have eagerly snatched at gain, and strove for clandestine advantages. At this time, when measures of investigation are being so urgently adopted, and the regulations of government so strictly enforced, it would have been right to put the laws in force for their punishment. But, taking into indulgent consideration the conduct of the said foreigners, after they had received commands to deliver up their opium, in speedily joining with Elliot to deliver it up, and thereby showing that they are yet sensible to fear of the laws, we, the commissioner and the governor, have reverently embodied the heaven-like benevolence of the great emperor, and remitted the punishment of their offenses. Now, that the store-ships have given up the entire amount of the opium, it is not expedient that they should be allowed any longer to delay their stay in Kwangtung, lest their own cunning should bud forth again.

We proceed therefore to give our urgent commands. When these reach the said original merchants, &c., let them immediately enjoin these commands on each of the said foreigners, Dadabhoy and the rest, individually, that they speedily return to their countries, and that they give duly prepared voluntary bonds, that they will never again venture to return. These being placed on record, let them wait until passports are given them to go outside. Should they presume, under cover of altered names, to come here again, so soon as the fact shall be discovered, their offenses shall surely be punished with severity. There shall certainly be no renewed leniency of indulgence.

The said original merchants are imperatively required to proclaim the favor and the majesty [of the emperor], and with earnestness to enjoin the commands. Let them immediately procure the bonds and report in answer. Let there not be any connivance shown, nor any delay allowed, lest they bring investigation on themselves also. Be earnest and speedy! Be earnest and speedy! A special order.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 11th day. (May 23d, 1839.)

(True translation.) J. Robt. Morrison,
Chinese secretary and interpreter, &c.

Thursday, the 23d, captain Elliot announced his departure from Canton in the following notice. Mr. Van Basel, the Dutch consul, had already left for Macao by the inner passage.

No. 41.

The chief superintendent will leave Canton for Whampoa to-morrow forenoon at about 11 o'clock; and the persons lately detained by the commands of the government are requested to be ready to accompany him. It is also particularly requested that there may be no general assemblage of her majesty's subjects at the period indicated.

(Singed) Charles Elliot,
Chief superintendent of the trade, &c.

Owing, however, to the delay of the two senior hong merchants, Howqua and Mowqua, who did not arrive at the British consulate, to identify the persons as they left, he did not leave till about 5 o'clock P. M., accompanied by all the British subjects then in Canton comprised in the list of the banished sixteen. Immediately after capt. Elliot and his party left, the guard of coolies in front of the factories and at the entrance of Old China street were removed, and access afforded to the streets in the neighborhood of the factories. The populace too were curious to examine the changes that had taken place, and the square was soon crowded with gazing multitudes.

A memorial, signed by many of the British merchants in Canton, (several having already left the city,) was forwarded by one of the early ships to England. It is a concise summary of the doings of the commissioner, and the grievances they require to be redressed.

No. 42.

To the right honorable lord viscount Palmerston, secretary of state for foreign affairs, &c., &c.

We, the undersigned British merchants, trading at Canton, consider it our duty to address your lordship regarding the recent acts of aggression on the part of the Chinese government.

These acts of violence, which will be officially communicated to your lordship by her majesty's superintendent, consist:—

1. In the stoppage of the whole legal trade of the port, even of vessels fully laden, and waiting only their port-clearances, and against which no ground of complaint is alleged.

2. In the forcible detention in Canton of all foreigners, including her majesty's superintendents, in order to compel the supposed holders of opium to the surrender of property belonging to themselves, and others in India and Europe, to the value of from two to three millions sterling.

3. In the open and undisguised threat to hold foreigners responsible with their lives for this surrender, and for any future infraction of the Chinese custom laws.

4. In the attempt to force foreigners to sign bonds, rendering not only themselves, but all others coming to China, over whom they have no control, liable to the same penalty; and on the refusal on the part of foreigners to sign such bonds, in the promulgation of an edict by the high commissioner, declaratory of the determination of the government to enforce such penalty.

We may be permitted to state that all foreigners reside in Canton on sufferance; that they have no means of ascertaining the laws, except from the acts of the provincial government; and that the opium trade has steadily increased from an import of 4,100 chests in 1796, to upwards of 30,000 chests in 1837, with the open and undisguised connivance of the local authorities. The importation of opium into China was at one time allowed on payment of a duty, but discontinued in 1796: its admission was again strongly recommended to the imperial government in 1836. No penalties have ever been enforced against foreigners bringing it to China, and the prohibitory laws have never been a rule to the functionaries of the Chinese empire, who should have administered them, nor to the Chinese people on whom

they were intended to operate, which facts are openly admitted in the recent edicts of the imperial commissioner, under date of the 18th March last, in which he states: "that the prohibitions formerly enacted by the celestial court against opium were comparatively lax," and that "the foreigners are men from distant lands and have not before been aware that the prohibition of opium is so severe." We may further state that the peculiar character of the opium trade was distinctly recognized in the report of the select committee of the House of Commons in 1830, and that in the subsequent report in 1832, the committee express their opinion; "that it does not seem advisable to abandon so important a source of revenue as the E. I. Company's monopoly of opium in Bengal."

We conceive it will, therefore, be admitted that British subjects have carried on this trade with the sanction, implied, if not openly expressed, of their own government; and at the same time with an advantage to the revenue of British India, varying of late years from one to one and a half millions sterling.

We do not attempt to deny the unquestionable right of the Chinese government to put a stop to the importation of opium, and have readily signed an agreement to abstain from that trade at Canton on the first requisition of the government to that effect; but we think your lordship will perceive that long prescription had hitherto given foreigners ample reason to question the sincerity of the Chinese government with regard to the discontinuance of the importation, and that under any circumstances that government cannot be justified, by the lax observance of prohibitions and open connivance of its officers, in at one time fostering a trade involving several millions sterling, and at another rendering its pursuit a pretext for spoliation.

There seems no reason to doubt, from the late proceedings of the local government, that they have always had the power most materially to check, if not totally to put a stop to, the importation of opium when disposed so to do; but that power has seldom hitherto been exercised, except for the purpose of exacting higher fees for its introduction. The proceedings of the high commissioner since his arrival in Canton, will be fully reported to your lordship by her majesty's superintendent; but we may observe that his demand for the unconditional surrender of the whole of the opium in the depôt ships, was one with which foreigners could not comply, the great bulk of that opium being the property of others in India and elsewhere; and they were equally unable to give the bonds required.

The high commissioner, finding at the expiration of three days, the

time within which he had ordered the whole of the opium to be delivered up and the bonds to be given, that his orders had not been obeyed, sent the hong merchants in chains to the foreign factories, threatening to put them to death before our doors, and at the same time commenced other menacing preparations against the foreigners themselves. At this stage of the business her majesty's chief superintendent arrived in Canton. We feel it our duty to express to your lordship our deep sense of the public spirit which induced this officer, at no inconsiderable risk, to endeavor to rescue British life and property from a position of fearful jeopardy; and we may assure your lordship that but one feeling existed of the extreme peril of the whole community at the period when he succeeded in forcing his way to Canton, and took charge of all responsibility in the negotiations with the Chinese government.

Although the measures of her majesty's representative have relieved us from all responsibility in surrendering so large an amount of property, we may still be allowed respectfully but earnestly to entreat your lordship's mediation to obtain the earliest possible fulfillment of the guaranty given on behalf of her majesty's government, and thus be the means of saving many of the owners of the property from inevitable ruin, and all of them from heavy loss. We deem it also an imperative duty to assure your lordship most solemnly of our firm conviction, that the public approval, on the part of her majesty's government, of this prompt interposition of her majesty's representative, and the early adoption of such measures as the wisdom of her majesty's advisers may determine on with regard to our future relations with the Chinese empire, can alone avert the occurrence of similar or even more violent outrages.

We beg further to state to your lordship that, independently of the opium now violently seized, there was at the same period British property of other kinds in Canton to the value of upwards of one million sterling, besides a large and valuable fleet of shipping lying at Whampoa, consigned to our care, but totally beyond our control; and although this property was not alleged to have incurred any penalty, the high commissioner never attempted to distinguish the participators in the one trade, from those in the other, but placed both under one common suspension, and the whole body of foreigners in arbitrary confinement.

After the completion of the delivery of the opium surrendered, the high commissioner has expressed an intention of opening the legal trade, under new regulations, but circumstances do not justify us in

entertaining the expectation that these regulations will afford any security for our life or property.

We therefore think your lordship will be convinced that some serious alterations in our relations with this empire are indispensably necessary; and that British commerce can never safely be carried on, and certainly can never flourish in a country, where our persons and property are alike at the mercy of a capricious and corrupt government.

In conclusion, it only remains for us again to urge upon your lordship and her majesty's government, the great importance of an early recognition of our claims on account of the opium surrendered for her majesty's service; and the pressing and paramount necessity of placing the general trade of British subjects upon a secure and permanent basis. Canton, May 23d, 1839.

Dent & Co.
Lindsay & Co.
Bell & Co.
Macvicar & Co.
Dirom & Co.
Gibb, Livingston & Co.
Charles S. Compton.
D. & M. Rustomjee.
Jamieson & How.
W. & T. Gemmell & Co.
Bibby, Adam & Co.
Turner & Co.
R. Wise, Holliday & Co.
Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee.
Hormasjee Framjee.
Shawuxshaw Rustomjee.
Cowasjee Palunjee.
Bomanjee Hosungjee.
Pallunjee Nasserwanjee.
Cowasjee Eduljee.
C. Sapoorjee Taback.
Burjorjee Maneckjee.
Daniell & Co.
Framjee Dadabhoy.
Bomanjee Maneckjee.
Sackhusson Budwoden.
Burjorjee Sorabjee.
Nesservanjee Dorabjee.
Nesservanjee B. Mody.
Dossabhoy Hormasjee.
Pestonjee Ruttonjee Saroff.
Abeedin and Sheemsoodeen.
Framjee Jamsetjee.
Cooverjee Jeewajee.
Pestonjee Nowrojee.
Jamsetjee Rustomjee.
Hormuzjee Byramjee.
Cursetjee Sapoorjee.
Jemsetjee Eduljee.
Cowasjee Sapoorjee L., for myself and partners

The commissioner, in consequence of his proceedings here, (as is supposed,) has recently had the office of governor of the provinces of Keängse, Keängsoo and Nganhwuy conferred upon him. This is considered the second gubernatorial seat in the gift of the crown, and was no doubt highly prized by Lin, as a mark of his imperial master's approbation. It was a current rumor among the Chinese for a long

time that the drug was to be conveyed to Peking, but the following proclamation from the commissioner and his colleagues, containing an imperial rescript, ended all speculations as to the manner of dealing with it.—The number of chests, it will be seen below, has increased to 20,291, eight having been subsequently added.

No. 43.

Lin, high imperial commissioner, &c., Tang, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and E, lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, issue this proclamation, plainly declaring that the opium surrendered from the store-ships is to be destroyed in the province of Canton, in obedience to the imperial will.

We, the aforesaid commissioner, governor, and lieut.-governor, having obtained the surrender of 20,291 chests of foreign opium, immediately made report thereof to the throne by an express. Now on the 17th of the 4th month (May 29th), we received from the cabinet council a dispatch, enclosing the following imperial mandate:

"Lin and his colleagues have reported that the opium in the store-ships has been all surrendered; and they request that it may be brought to Peking, and there be examined and destroyed. On the present occasion, the investigation and procedure respecting the foreign opium at Canton, has been most faithful and true; WE certainly do not entertain the slightest suspicion of deception. Moreover, as the distance for it to be transported is very great, and would require no inconsiderable demand on the people's strength, it seems inexpedient to bring it to the capital. Rather let it be given over to Lin Tsihseu, Tang Tingching, and E Leäng, that, when the whole amount surrendered is received, they may there on the spot assemble the civil and military officers, publicly and jointly make reëxamination, and in their presence destroy the opium; thus causing the inhabitants on the coast, and the foreigners in Canton, alike to see and to hear, that they may know and tremble thereat.—Respect and obey this mandate."

Accordingly, the 22d day of the month (June 3d), is appointed, for the civil and military officers, in the provincial city, to join those at the Bogue. There stone trenches will be opened; and lime and salt will be taken and mixed with the opium, until the drug is completely transmuted and destroyed. Then it will be poured off into the midst of the sea, even the very dregs.

This proclamation we issue in obedience to the recorded pleasure of the emperor; that all you inhabitants of the coasts, and you foreigners in Canton, may look up to it and be instructed. Hence-

forth you ought to respect and dread the celestial majesty, and carefully obey his mandates; you ought to know that this noxious and vile thing is not fit to be used even as manure upon your fields. You must never again seek clandestinely to purchase it, since it will ruin your fortunes and destroy your lives. Tremble at this. A special edict.

Nearly all the ships were now gone from Whampoa, and as the Chinese authorities had manifested no disposition to obviate the objectionable bond, serious doubts were entertained of their sincerity in wishing the ships to enter the port. The following letter from the hong merchants did not remove these apprehensions, and up to this date no ships availed themselves of the permission to enter the harbor to trade. The letter was addressed to one of the consuls.

No. 44.

Letter from the hong merchants.

Sir,— An edict from his excellency the commissioner of customs, transmitted from his excellency the governor, has been received, for the direction of the consuls of the several foreign nations [to this effect].

'Hereafter the foreign ships, coming for trade to Canton, must be required to conform to the regulations hitherto existing; and on entering Whampoa must anchor at Shintsing, waiting there for examination and the opening of the hatches for the discharge of cargo; they must not anchor at Yuchoo, Neaouyung, &c. Should they presume to oppose the regulations, they shall certainly be expelled and will bring trouble upon themselves.'

Having received these, their excellencies' commands, we communicate them to you, with the hope that you will observe the same, and make them known to the several gentlemen of your honorable country.

With great respect and our best wishes, we send this, and are Sir, yours, &c.

(Signed) Howqua and ten others.

(To be continued.)

ART. IV. *Remarks on the musical instruments of the Chinese, with an outline of their harmonic system.* By G. T. LAY.

I cannot introduce the remarks I am going to make upon a few of the musical instruments in use among the Chinese, better than by drawing a brief outline of their harmonic system. Harmony among the ancient Greeks implied the mutual adjustment of two or more sounds, and was not unlike what we call tuning an instrument. It must not be confounded with counterpoint, which seems to have been but partially, if at all, known among them. For in the first place we can find no trace of it in the works that have come down to us; and in the second, we are able to follow the history of counterpoint from its first beginnings to its full development at the present time. When, therefore, I speak of a harmonic system, I mean the several intervals in which the strings or pipes were tuned, in reference to each other.

In the more ancient harmonic system there were five sounds, instead of the seven that now obtain in our diatonic system. In the room of the Chinese notation I will call them,

A, B, C, D, E,

as it is more easy to deal with a new matter under old figures. For illustration, we will suppose that we have five strings, stretched upon a convex board placed horizontally before us, and that each of them can be tightened or relaxed at pleasure. Instead of a tuning fork, we would employ, after the Chinese usage, a bell, and screw the peg of that string, which was intended to be the fundamental note, till its sound coincided with the one given out by this guide and directory. This string and its note we will call A. To adjust the string D, we must tune it a fifth above A. From D, we descend and take B, a fourth below it. From B, we ascend a fifth to E. From E, we descend a fourth to obtain C. If A be eighty-one parts in length, the five strings will stand thus in arithmetical representation.

81	72	64	54	48
A	B	C	D	E

The relation of A and D is $\frac{54}{81}$ which equals $\frac{2}{3}$, or a fifth.

The relation of D and B is $\frac{54}{72}$ which equals $\frac{3}{4}$, or a fourth.

The relation of B and E is $\frac{48}{72}$ which equals $\frac{2}{3}$, or a fifth.

The relation of E and C is $\frac{48}{64}$ which equals $\frac{3}{4}$, or a fourth

Among the Chinese, pipes were used instead of strings, as having perhaps the priority of invention.

From this short specimen, which is substantially Chinese, as any one may see by looking into the 48th volume of the *Le Ke*, there are two things most worthy of our attention. In the first place, we see that melody, or the succession of agreeable sounds, grew out of harmony or the reciprocal arrangement of the several notes. We see also that the Chinese had all the materials for a mathematical contemplation of music, and that tubes and strings proportioned by art were the tutors, of whom the ear learned to measure out the distance of one interval from another. The Chinese student has often met with an allusion to the *five sounds;* here is an easy and compendious account of their derivation. By reasoning from the principles of western music he was enabled to form just as correct ideas of what they meant, as he would of what is going forward beyond the moon. Many things in Chinese literature, hitherto regarded as little better then puzzles and nostrums of no value, will I dare say admit of an exposition equally just and philosophical.

Stringed Instruments.

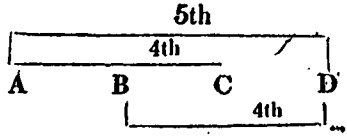
The most important among the members of this class is the *kin*, or scholar's lute, for which see fig. 7. This was the instrument played upon by Confucius and the sages of antiquity, and is for this reason, as well as its peculiar beauty, held sacred by men of letters. It is made from the *woo tung* or Dyandria cordifolia; it is convex above and plane below. There are two quadrangular apertures in the plane surface, which open into two hollows within the body of the instrument. The one in my possession is nearly four feet in length, and lacquered. At the smaller end, the breadth is a little more than five inches, and at the larger about six and a half. It has seven strings, which pass over the smaller end, and distribute themselves upon two immovable pegs below. A bridge within a short distance of the wider extremity affords them the necessary elevation and a passage to the under surface, below which they are tightened or relaxed by a row of pegs, which are in some cases made of gems or some kind of precious stone. For further ornament, seven very elegant tassels are attached to these pegs and hang down over the sides of the table, on which the instrument rests. The strings are of silk, and differ a little in their relative diameter. The length of the sounding board is divided by thirteen studs of nacre or mother of pearl, as a guide for the performer. These studs are placed so that the length of the strings is bisected or divided in sections, or aliquot

parts to eight with the omission of the seventh. The number of sections may be represented by the following arithmetical series.

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 0, 8.

If a musical string of several feet in length be allowed to vibrate freely, it will for the first moment pulsate with its whole length, in the next it will spontaneously divide itself into two equal parts, which will sound an octave above the fundamental. In the following moment it will divide itself into three parts, and so give us the twelfth; then into four, and utter the double octave, and so on till the sounds are no longer heard. It is not a little remarkable that the inventor of this instrument should have fallen upon a method of division so conformable to the laws of nature. If a musician were going to give a lecture upon the mathematical part of his art, he would find a very elegant substitute for the monochord in the Chinese kin.

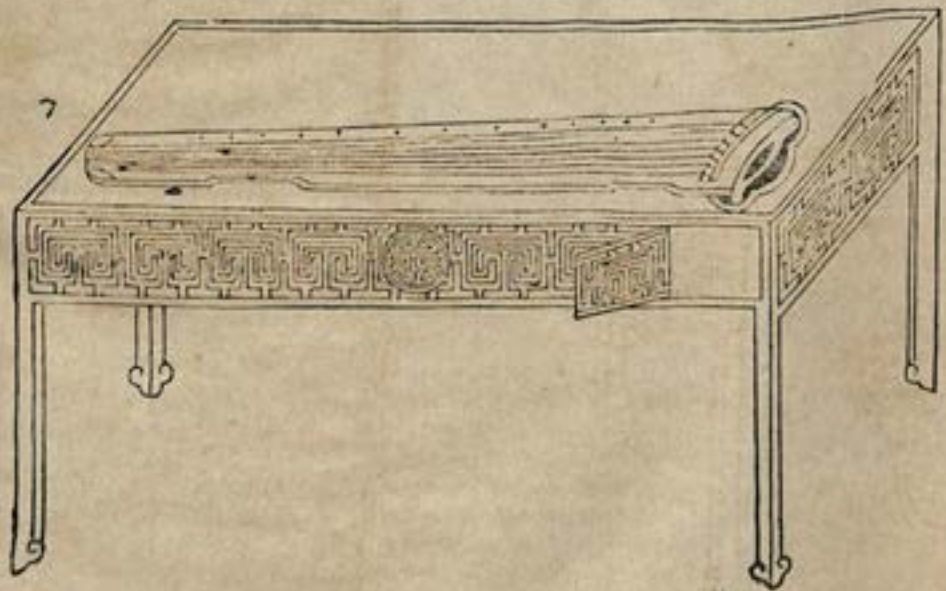
In tuning the kin, the middle string is treated as the *mese*, or like our A in the violin. Each of the outer strings is tuned a fifth to this *mese*, one above and the other a fifth below it, by placing the thumb at one third of the length of the lower string of the twain, so that the resulting sounds are unisons. We have the strings, therefore, divided into two tetrachords, including the interval of a fifth. To adjust the two inner strings, in each of these tetrachords, we must tune them, one a fourth above, and the other a fourth below the outer strings. If we denote the four strings by A, B, C, D, we shall make the rationale of this more obvious. This is done in practice by placing the ring finger upon the 4th division of the lower string of the twain, which when thus stopped, will sound unisons to each other.



By this contrivance the half note is disposed of, so that in the old system there was neither flat nor sharp. But we shall render the difference between our scale and that derived from the kin more appreciable by numbers. In the interval of a fifth they stand thus in the respective systems.

$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{9}{10}$	$\frac{15}{16}$	$\frac{8}{9}$	Diatonic.
$\frac{8}{9}$	$\frac{81}{96}$	$\frac{8}{9}$		Chinese kin.

It will at once appear from a consideration of the respective scales, that the character of the music, or, if you please, its mood, must be



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very different from our own, and that none of our instruments are capable of doing justice to any air that is played upon the kin. In my travels, I have been in the habit of writing down the airs that I heard among the natives, but though I took much pains to learn them accurately, I always found they had lost something of their peculiarity when I tried them upon the violin. The reason of this defect seems to have been this, that the intervals did not coincide with our own. But though the difference between western and Chinese music be as we have represented it, there is an evident connection between the latter and the old Scottish. For when some of the ancient and highly admired airs of Scotland fall within the compass of a ninth, they can be played with great effect upon the kin, as I have learned from experiment.

One of the greatest difficulties, which we encounter in the study of this instrument, is the complex notation of the Chinese written music, and the frequent blunders and omissions which such a complexity is apt to produce. Each note is a cluster of characters; one denotes the string, another the stud, a third informs you in what manner the fingers of the right hand are to be used, a fourth does the same in reference to the left, a fifth tells the performer in what way he must slide the hand before or after the appropriate sound has been given, and a sixth says, perhaps, that two notes are to be struck at the same time. It is truly surprizing, that after they had shown so much ingenuity and taste in the management of the kin, they should not have set themselves to work to learn to simplify their notation. Every tune that a Chinese plays costs him the labor of several months, and so tiresome is the study, that I have heard some extemporize very prettily, without being able to play a single air. The notation in use among the ancient Greeks was taken from their alphabet, by mutilation, inversions, &c., just as the Chinese is taken from their written characters. Both of them were remarkable for nothing so much as for their troublesome and ungainly nature. The performance is, however, very graceful, and though the melody be simple, every scope is given to variety by the mode of touching the strings. Dr. Young, who subjected a vibrating string to a microscope for the purpose of getting some practical hints as to the nature of the harmonic chord, observed that it was a sort of spiral or trochoidal movement; and its form, and of course the quality of its sound, depended upon the manner in which the force was applied to it. The Chinese were in possession of this fact ages ago, inasmuch as they directed the right hand to be thrown into almost as many positions as it is

capable of receiving. The value of these rules may be easily illustrated by an experiment in our own way. If for example, we play Old Lang Syne by deflecting the strings in one particular way, and then vary the mode by using different fingers differently applied, the superiority of the latter method over the former is very striking, and appears highly creditable to the taste of the Chinese, who have cultivated an art, that in the west was rather in the experience of the finished performer, than reduced to any rules for the edification of the student. I am aware that Tartini wrote an excellent tractate on the 'Art of Bowing,' and when I was joint editor of a musical encyclopedia, we took some pains to draw up a few short rules for fingering the piano. But these instructions, however useful, are not in complexity, delicacy, and refinement, at all to be compared to the canons in force among the Chinese.

One of the greatest peculiarities in the performance is the sliding of the left hand fingers, and the trilling and other evolutions it is made to perform. In this consists the main characteristic of what we may call the Chinese style. At first, it is not relished, but habit soon reconciles the effect upon the ear, and the very difficulty in the execution gives it an additional charm. I am the first, I believe, among foreigners to cultivate an acquaintance with this instrument, but I hope I shall not be the last to pay the Chinese such a compliment, or to put one's self in the way of studying a new set of musical phenomena.

Pepa. The balloon shaped guitar. See fig. 1. This is about three feet in length, and made of the *woo tung* wood. The table or upper surface is plane and let into the back, and left without any varnish. The scroll is set off with a little fantastic carving, the neck adorned with ivory scollops. The table is furnished with twelve frets or little slips of bamboo glued upon it. The strings are of silk, as were those of the ancient lute among us and our continental neighbors. They are tuned at the intervals of a fourth, a major tone, and a fourth, so that the outer strings are octaves to each other. If the learned reader turns to the first book of Nicomachus's Manual (p. 9, Meibomin's edition printed at the Elzivir press); he will see that this *pepa* corresponds exactly to the harp of Pythagoras in the outline. For in his arrangements, there were a diatessaron or a fourth, a major tone, and another diatessaron or fourth. In his instrument, two strings were interposed between the compass of each tetrachord or fourth, which is unnecessary in the *pepa*, as the intermediate notes can be produced by means of the frets and fingers. The antiquity of the Chinese

would be made out by this consideration, did we not know from other sources, that they have religiously adhered to everything that was ancient, without having either genius or presumption enough to improve or alter it. Many inventions which have been lost among ourselves, or what is more likely, superseded by better, may be found still existing in China. This view gives a new interest to what we find here, and tells us, that everything that comes under our notice may be studied as teeming with some new lesson of antiquarian lore.

For practice, the *pepa* is tuned in the following manner. Take the second string from the left side, where the silken cords are of larger diameter, and tune it about a third below concert pitch; then placing the finger upon it behind the first frets from the head, tune the largest string an octave below the sound of the stopped string. Place the finger behind the fourth fret from the head upon the third string, and screw till you get another octave or diapason; lastly, place the finger behind the first fret from the head, and seek for another similar consonance between the two neighboring strings.

The *san heën.* Three stringed guitar. See fig. 3. This is made of the *swan che* wood. It consists of a very long neck and head, with a drum-shaped cylindrical body. The body is covered with the skin of the *tan* snake, of which the natural vestment is divided by cloudy lines of brown and yellow into compartments. It is a very handsome snake as well as a very large one. Its jerkin, we see, helps to make melody after its decease, and its liver is much prized by the dealers in medicine; but the flesh is not always eaten, if I may rely upon some of my informants, whose accuracy is, however, not always beyond question.

The strings are tuned as fourths to each other, so that we have another outline of the seven stringed lyre, before Pythagoras made any addition to it. For that embraced only a compass of two conjunct tetrachords or fourths. The *san heën* is played as an accompaniment to the *pepa*, as its sounds are low and dull. It has been said, that the Chinese have no music in parts; we acknowledge very readily, that they have nothing like our score, for their notation is all too unwieldy for any such purpose; but when we see two performers at some of their entertainments sit down with guitars of a different temperament, we are led to suspect at the very first sight, that this must be meant for something like what we in modern times call harmony. And it would require but very little attention to confirm us in this belief, though the result might not please our ears at once, and satisfy our notions of what is excellent, but use would soon

quicken our senses, and we should find beauties where we least expected. I have not had much exercise in this way, but I confess that I relish the singular melodic changes of the Chinese, dipped in pensiveness, more than many labored combinations that I have heard in the west.

Yuĕ kin. The full moon guitar. See fig. 5. This is made of the *swan che* wood, and has a body that is perfectly circular. Its neck is short and the whole contour is neat, and gives one the impression of ease and portability. The table is not coated with varnish, lest it should hurt the sound. Our violins never acquire their purest tones till they have lost the best part of their varnish: would it not be as well to take a leaf out of the Chinaman's book, and bestow all the ornament upon the neck and back, but leave the sounding-board untouched?

It has four strings, but they stand in pairs, which are unisons with each other. The two groups are tuned as fifths to one another. As the strings are short, the sound is smart and keen, and must be drawn out by striking the string forcibly with the nail, or with a plectrum of wood or metal. I have seen a musician on one of the theatrical stages display no mean degree of execution upon the *yuĕ kin*, and with a very pleasing effect too. As the *pepa* and *yuĕ kin* are of easy purchase, and it requires but little pains to learn their touch, I think it would be worth the while of foreigners to study them, which would fill up the intervals of leisure very agreeably, and help to make a good impression upon the Chinese at the same time. I have lately seen the *yuĕ kin* used as an accompaniment to the Chinese rebeck, and as the performers understood their business, the result had something that was peculiarly merry and exhilarating about it.

The *urh heën.* The two stringed fiddle. See fig. 4. The rebeck of the Chinese. This is in outline merely a stick of bamboo passing through a hollow cylinder of the same material. This cylinder is between four and five inches long, and answers the purpose of a sounding-board. One end is open, the other is shut, and covered over with a piece of snake's skin. Upon the surface thus covered by the snake's skin, stands a minute bridge, over which two strings are led, and then are made fast to the end of the projection of the bamboo stick or stem, after it has passed through the cylinder.

The stem, about eighteen inches long, is provided with two pegs at the upper end, which serve to tighten and relax the strings in tuning. The strings are drawn towards the stem by a loop; by shifting this, the pitch is varied, and the purpose of a nut in our violin answered.

The bow is in all its original simplicity, being a staff of bamboo, with its ends drawn towards each other by a small bundle of horse-hair. The strings are usually tuned as fifths to each other, as is practiced in our violin. The hairs of the bow are fastened upon it after passing between the strings, and as they are very close, it requires no little practice to keep them clear of one while drawn over the other.

As it is a very cheap instrument, it is in the hands of a great many learners, who fill up the vacuity of their leisure moments by grating the strings of this scrannel coagmentation of silk and wood. In better hands, however, its notes though shrill and piercing, are by no means contemptible, and I have sometimes seen a musician upon the stage apply the bow with so much address, that I have wished him the use of a better instrument. From this brief account, it will appear, that the *urh heën* embodies the principle of the violin, which is comparatively a modern instrument. Its great powers and capabilities were, I believe, first pointed out by Tartini. The Chinese were in possession of the idea ages ago, but while the Italians labored to give the original draft every perfection it was susceptible of, the eastern Asiatics left their's to enjoy its primitive simplicity, as if the inventive powers of man had at some particular season fallen into so deep a sleep, that all the multifarious hints and stimuli of occasion could not awaken them to any second dawn of discovery.

Since the above was written, I have seen a rebeck of larger size and better workmanship. Its tone was low and plaintive, and therefore served well enough to soften the shrill sounds of the *urh heën* just described, to which it was played as an accompaniment. It seemed to be made of the swan che wood, as it was of a dark color, but as it belonged to some strolling musicians, it was hard to get even a glance at it, for a great press of people thronged to listen, and crowded the door of the house, where the minstrels were laboring to win a few 'cash' by delighting the shopmen with the strangeness of their harmonies.

Instruments of Percussion.

Among these, the great bell claims the first place, both on account of the importance it had in the musical system, and the care which the ancient Chinese took to delineate and preserve its proportions. It was the regulator of the harmonic scale, as it gave the fundamental note, or which is equivalent in modern language to the *concert pitch*. I use the term harmonic in the appropriate sense bestowed upon it by the Greeks, from whose language it was derived, agreeably to what has been laid down at the beginning of this article. As this bell

produced a note, which we may call its generator, we should be easily led to infer, that its dimensions had been carefully defined. In fact, as soon as I had discovered that it gave the fundamental note, I immediately guessed, that this was the case. To establish this, however, to my own satisfaction cost me more pains than I had anticipated, not from a deficiency of information, but from the complex manner in which the several proportions were interwoven with each other. It is intimated that the ancient monarchs were anxious to have this bell nicely adjusted in its weight and size, which was done we may suppose by keeping one in the ancestorial temple, or in a chamber of the royal exchequer to serve as a standard for all the rest. Its use is stated to have been extended beyond the mere regulation of the musical pitch, which, in a nation that makes music a part of religious worship, was not a small one, to the adjustment of weights and measures. Its weight seems not to be given in the statements before us, but it is easy to infer, that a certain aliquot of the weight of this standard, corresponded to some weight that was familiar in the daily transactions of business, which we will for easier conception take the liberty of calling a pound. A measure that would hold just a pound of water taken from a certain spring, or from a well in the regal demesnes, would serve as a standard or *common measure* in multiple and sub-multiple of all the rest. For a standard of length, they must have taken the *ching* or the *koo*, certain divisions of the bell, which, with some allowance for the thermometric changes in the metal of the bell, and the hygrometric effects upon the wood, bone, or ivory, of the measure, was sufficiently exact to settle any dispute between the buyer and seller, and to secure a general honesty and fairness in commercial dealings. Being in this way provided with standards of weight and length, they were enabled to adjust the balance with the like accuracy. As the Chinese beam corresponds to our steelyard, a reference must have been had to the length of the shorter arm, as well as to the weight suspended from it.

These remarks show that the ancient princes felt the importance of having a just weight and a just balance, and embraced the best means then within their reach to secure it. After they had shown so much care and sagacity in the first instance, it is hardly conceivable that they could have remained altogether strangers to some of the fundamental theorems of statics. It must have occurred to them, that if the beam had no weight of its own, the two weights would counterpoise each other, when they were reciprocally as their distances from the fulcrum or point of suspension. If the beam tapered gradually to

a point at one end, so that the centre of gravity coincided with the point of suspension, the truth of this theorem must have struck them, and this is not at all improbable, for the steelyard employed in weighing money tapers, though not enough to give it the effect of which we are speaking. Mŭhkung, an old poet, alluding to the care which the ancient sovereigns took to have this bell in a state of adjustment, says:

In size, it did not travel out of the *keun*, or standard of measure.

In weight, it did not overpass the *shĭh*, or standard of weight.

The concert pitch, the measuring rod, the standard of capacity, and the balance, were all derived from this.

The musical instrument waits for the sound of the bell, and then it is tuned.

The musical scale also waits for the sound of the bell, and then commences.

These investigations are of great importance to us Chinese students, for they not only bring to light very curious facts of an antiquarian sort, but they help us to an exact notion of the sense affixed to certain characters. For example, we find that *leŭh* meant the the *prostambanomenos*, or the lowest note of the scale. And hence by a tropical use, it seems to have been applied to other instances of nice adjustment, which resembled that delicate effect we aim at when we set one instrument to the exact pitch of another. They seem to warn us also against too much haste in our belief touching the non-existence of certain departments of knowledge and science, and tell us to wait till we are competent to judge from an insight into the very subjects whereof they treat. It has been declared that the Chinese have no science, but of a surety, if we advance in the free and scholar-like spirit of antiquarian research, we shall be obliged to set our feet upon the head of this assertion at every step in our progress.

In ancient times, the bell was used for recording the twelve periods into which a lunation or synodical revolution of the moon was divided. In modern times, we see it in all the principal temples, hung in a large wooden stand, when it is struck upon at vespers, and at other times when prayers are offered up, with a maul or wooden hammer. It was invented in the east many centuries before it was known in the west. But among us, this instrument has a clapper, is suspended upon a wheel, and demands a great deal of skill and dexterity to manage it. In the former it requires neither science nor strength to ring it. In Europe, the 'art of ringing' is a most ingenious system of changes, and the evolutions of pleasing variety so numerous, that those who have applied themselves to the study were never able to exhaust

it. In China, it stood as the regulator of the musical system, as the grand referee in statics and all matters of mensuration, as the recorder of the fleeting periods of the month, and still continues to be a sort of precentor in addresses directed to an unknown deity.

The *koo* or drum. The instruments that come under this denomination are of different forms and sizes. In the *ta koo*, or big drum, the body is nearly cylindrical, the skin of the head is stretched over the edges, and is not provided with braces to tighten or relax it at pleasure. Those who have heard the kettle drum used in our orchestras, may form a tolerable idea of that we see resting upon a stand in the temples about Canton. In ours, the performer can tune it or alter the gravity of the sound within a certain interval; the Chinese instrument possesses no such refinement, but has the rim set round with studs both for use and ornament. It is at times suspended under a beautiful canopy, which is supported by a single pillar resting upon a base that expands into four radiating feet. It is then called *king koo* or the pillar drum; for *koo* seems to imply in the first instance a support, basement, or undersetter, and was thence applied to the earth, *quæ omnia sustinet*. A smaller kind was suspended by a chain from a beam that joined two posts, and had a very elegant pediment at the top. This was called *yung*, which was perhaps the appropriate term, that in modern use signifies a response and behoof, or what ought to be. The former might have been suggested by the answering echo of the drum. The latter might have been derived from the steadiness and graceful aspect of its framework. There are a variety of kinds besides, for taste and invention have not been asleep, with a multitude of names and designations, none of them destitute of an instructive interest, but incompatible with the length which I propose to occupy on this occasion.

That which we meet with most frequently in their bands, that plays as an accompaniment to theatrical amusements, or as a part of their religious festivities, is the *pe koo* or the low drum, from the smallness of the size and its resting upon the ground or the base of a pillar when beaten. Its yokefellow in a chorus is a small hemisphere of wood, hollowed and covered with horsehide, and is called the *pang koo*. It is beaten with two small sticks, and gives out a peculiarly clicking sound, by no means agreeable to European ears, till use and association, ingredients in our taste, have made it so. In the Chinese drummer, we miss the roll, the peculiarity of which depends, if I am not mistaken, upon each stick giving its strokes in pairs, though it must be said he plies his hands with great dexterity.

The 磬 *king* consisted of a stand like that on which the *ying* drum was fastened, and a piece of precious stone or porcelain or glass, which being stuck, emitted a pleasant tinkling sound, and was perhaps more ancient than either the drum or the bell, and seems to have been used in festive and religious ceremonies in the same way. The original form of this character was 𣪊 *king*, and was the appropriate connotation of the instrument before us. The addition of 石 *shih*, stone or porcelain, merely points to the material of which it was made. By an easy transition, a sounding instrument was made to stand for musical sound in general. Thence we see it combined with *ear*, and with another character signifying sound for that purpose. The one is the figure called the *heaou*, or the bridge *king*, because it is made after the model of some of the Chinese bridges.

The *lo*, or what the Javanese call in imitation of the sound, a gong. The combination on the right of this character seems to have denoted a platter of some kind, so that with metal on the left it meant nothing more than a metallic pan or flat vessel, for washing and other similar purposes. There are two kinds; one large and flat, used chiefly on board the Chinese junks, where at eventide, at coming home, and going abroad, it is sounded in the room of prayer and praise,—for a Chinese thinks that he shall be heard for a great noise, more than for much speaking. The smaller sort is round also, with a cylindrical edge. The sound emitted by it when struck with a stick is very loud, and far exceeds what the sight of so small an instrumeat would lead us to anticipate. It is used as an accompaniment to the drum, which, by the grave quality of its sounds, helps to relieve the shrillness of its yokefellow. In a sort of lyrical ballet, danced in pantomimic style, with the slow and mincing gait of the minuet or saraband, one of the performers had a small drum slung gracefully by his side, while the other held a little gong, which he struck with a springing stroke at intervals, without any divisions of rhythm or varying proportions in the frequency of the beats. It seems to be a rule in Chinese music, that the *lo* should only vary in the rapidity of the strokes, while the business of marking the percussive sounds into agreeable periods is left entirely to the drum. Noises, and loud ones too, with little or no cadence, were the first elements of music; the Chinese, who strangely blend the rudest attempts of invention with the highest refinements of art, still retain a fondness for what deafens the ear of a stranger. When I say strangely, I mean to convey no censure, for union of old and new is what makes everything we see here so curious and instructive.

Wind instruments.

Hwăng teih. This is made of bamboo, and is nearly twice the length of our fife, and, far more sightly in its appearance, though in the absence of a key it cannot be fairly classed with our German flute. The embouchure is a good distance from the end, which adds not a little to its appearance when played upon. There is a second embouchure about two inches below the other, which is covered with a bit of of transparent web, the epithelium from the inside of a reed. It is intended, I suppose, to vary the pitch, by opening one and covering the other at the pleasure of the performer. It is bound with silk between the holes, which preserves the wood from cracking, and helps doubtless to sweeten the sound. The ventiges are ten in number, but only six as with us are effective. These are at equal distances from each other. And here I would call the reader's attention to a little fact in acoustics, though I do not propose to dwell upon it. We see that in the case of the flute before us, if the column of air vibrating within its bore be shortened by equal decrements, it will, with the fundamental, when the fingers are all down, give the seven notes in the diatonic scale. If we take the flute, therefore, and fill it by breathing softly into it when all the ventiges are shut, and then lift up the fingers one after another, we shall get seven notes in a succession that is agreeable to the ear, and find that the octave follows by putting down the fingers, and blowing with some force. There seems to have been a great variety in the length of the instrument, and the number of holes, but it would in all cases follow almost as a matter of course, that the workman would make the orifices at equal distances from each other. If they were six in number, he would light upon a scale of eight notes, wherein the half tones fall between the third and fourth, seventh and eighth of its notes, which is our diatonic. The system of five sounds was derived by tuning strings reciprocally as fourths and fifths.

The diatonic scale owes its birth we see to a fact in acoustics, and the obvious facility with which the inventor fell upon it. Our fondness for the diatonic scale has been ascribed to something instructive in our ear, or in our perception of sounds. But if it were natural, it ought to be universal, which is by no means the case; for in many of the older melodies of the Scotch it is not found; in the madrigals of Monteverde, it is sometimes disregarded; in the canons of St. Ambrose, which were composed upon the principles of the Grecian modes, its appearance is only partial; in the air I heard in the Society Islands, it was absent; and we have seen that by the more

ancient music of the Chinese it was not recognized. We are, therefore, obliged to look out for another reason for the fact, which will be found, I think, in the explanation just given. The ear was not the tutor having naturally no qualifications for that office; it is, on the contrary, at first a very dull scholar as the teacher of music can testify, who finds it as necessary to tune the ear, as he does his instrument, before it is fit for duty. A reed pierced with six equidistant holes taught the lesson, and imbued the ear with such a fondness for a certain series of intervals, that it grew into a habit, and we imagined it was to instinct, and not to experiment, that we owed the gift.

In the hands of Chinese about us, this instrument sounds often very indifferently, as they blow with too much violence, and without any skill in the pressure and adjustment of the lip, which might lead us to form a poor opinion of its merits. But if we look at the neatness of its make, the low price of fifty cents at which it is sold, and find upon trial that the softest breath with a little management will induce it to discourse most eloquent music, we feel no reason to be dissatisfied with either the inventor or with our bargain. It is with this as well as with the lute and timbrel, that the Chinese dame cheers and beguiles the lonely and unexciting hours of her seclusion. There, with softer usage, it speaks a different language, as it does without doubt among the performers towards the north, for we are not always indulged with the best at Canton, though one may now and then get a glimpse of it.

Heäng teih. This possesses all the essential parts of the clarinet, except the finish and the sweetness of its sound. The stem is pierced with eight holes, so that there is one for the little finger of the right hand, corresponding to the key in the instrument just mentioned, and another for the thumb of the left. This stem is without joint, but for the sake of ornament, it is cut so as to appear as if it had as many joints as it has ventiges.

The bell is of copper like the mouth of the trumpet or horn, and is moveable upon the stem for the convenience of packing the whole into a narrow compass. The mouthpiece is of copper, and is ornamented with two flat circular nuts and two hemispheric beads. The reed is made from the straw or culm of some arundinaceous grass. At one end it is bound round and constricted by wire so as to fit on to the tip of the mouthpiece; at the other it is flattened and compressed to enter the lips with ease and effect. This is a great favorite among the Chinese, who are so charmed with its loud and deafening sounds, that they make it the principal on all occasions, either

of joy or sorrow. It is heard at funeral processions, it takes a part at marriage entertainments, and leads in the musical companies, both at the theatre and in the temple, and in fact corresponds in use, as it does in form, to the clarinet among us. There are two kinds, differing in nothing save in size and in the number of loops upon the bell, to which certain silken ornaments may be attached at the pleasure of the owner.

Haou tung. See fig. 8. This in form resembles the *heäng teĭh*, and is often called by the same name. It is made of thin copper. It consists of two parts, a conical bell surmounted by a shaft with a ball at the top, and a stem made of bronze, which is retractile within the bell. As the sounding tube is capable of being lengthened and shortened at the will of the performer, the musical reader will easily discern the principle of our trombone, which would perhaps be the best name we could give to it. Its sound is grave, and not very agreeable when heard by itself, but there seems to be no reason to infer that it does not in more skillful hands form a very proper relief to the shriller instruments when blown in concert.

The *chă keŏ* or horn. See fig. 6. The Chinese horn consists of a stem and a crook expanding into a bell. The stem is made up of two parts, one of which can be drawn within the other. There are two kinds, a larger and a smaller; they utter very grave sounds, the nature of which the performer can modify by shortening or lengthening the shaft or stem.

Chih teĭh, or in the Canton dialect, *teem tek.* Often erroneously perhaps called *sew*, which is the proper name for the Pandean pipe. This is the flute or vocal reed in its most ancient form, for a reference to our old flute the abec, still in use among the Welsh, and to what we see in the South Seas and elsewhere, would teach us that men in their first attempts blew into the end of the tube. The upper end of the *sew* is stopped by terminating at a joint, save where a small notch at the edge makes way for the entrance of the breath. It is pierced with five holes to correspond perhaps to the five sounds in their ancient gamut, which would seem to indicate its antiquity. The holes are at equal distances from each other, so that it is hard to see how they could have made its notes correspond with five notes of the *kin*, tuned according to the harmonic system still preserved.

The *săng.* See fig. 2. Of this, there are two sorts figured in the Urh Ya; one called the *chaou* or a bird's nest, the other *ho* or sweet concord. It is a collection of tubes varying in length so as to utter sounds at harmonic intervals from each other, and thus to embody

the principle of the organ stops, and to form the embryo of that magnificent instrument. Apart from the tubes, we have to establish another analogy with the organ in the presence of a wind-chest, being a simple bowl, into the top of which the tubes enter and are held in their position. The tubes are of five different lengths and correspond in appearance to the very ancient scale of five sounds.* A certain number of these tubes are pierced a little above their base to prevent their sounding, except at the will of the performer. Some of these holes look inwards, and seem thus to have been placed out of reach on purpose. In the one lying before me, there are eleven of these holes under command, and they stand in distinct groups in the following order:

4, 3, 2, 1, 1.

By covering the first set with the forefinger, and breathing softly into the mouthpiece, a most charming concentus of four sweet sounds is heard, with the harmonic divisions of the octave and twelfth as the impulse is augmented. By stopping the second and third groups respectively, and breathing with a full and steady effort, we get harmonies of three and two sounds, which are loud and effective.

To produce the desired result in the two remaining sets, the breath must be drawn with a smart and clear inspiration. In fact any one single tube may be made to sound by itself by stopping the orifice and drawing in the breath in this way, which cannot be done by blowing without the intermixture of other tones. There must be a principle of acoustics involved in this circumstance, which I have not now mental leisure enough to investigate. The most convenient position for holding and stopping the instrument is the horizontal. Some practice is necessary to manage the breath successfully as to intension and remission, and still more to stop those ventiges that lie behind. But the object when gained is worth a little trouble. By a gentle movement of the instrument a beautiful trill will be produced, which combined with the harmonies of the larger sets gives you the organ shake in miniature. I have not met with a single Chinese who knew anything about the *sŭng*, save that it was sometimes used in the religious rites performed in honor of Confucius. The little information here given is altogether derived from experiment. It is proper to advertise the reader of this, for the inventors of, and the players upon it, may have had some ideas, which I have not yet arrived at. I think there is some evidence that they were once in the

* I say in appearance, for their tone is modified and part of their length rendered ineffective by a slit a good distance below the top.

possession of an instrument of a much larger kind of organ than the one we are able to obtain. The well known zeal of a son of Han for antiquity has not kept some things from dwindling from better to worse, though he may not have lost all traces of any one of them.

ART. V. *Wang Keaoulwan pih neën chang hăn, or, The Lasting Resentment of Miss Wang Keaoulwan. A Chinese tale, founded on fact. Translated from the original by* SLOTH. Canton, 1839. Printed at the Canton Press office, pp. 66.

SLOTH and his talented seënsăng are truly indefatigable scholars, and deserve much praise for their translations, into and out of Chinese. We are glad to know that, notwithstanding all the late interruptions and disturbances, they are again vigorously prosecuting their studies. What *Sloth* has done in the language is a good example for others to follow; and we expect soon to see — indeed we already see — the number of our sinologues much increased. The circumstances of the times demand this. We sincerely hope that every foreigner in China, who has leisure, will improve it in the study of this language. Its acquisition, though difficult, will be a pleasing and a useful achievement. — The story of Miss Wang is a fair specimen of the lighter writings of the Chinese. The translator selected it, he says, "for his *coup d'essai*, partly from being pleased with the manner in which the plot is developed, and partly because, from the quantity of poetry interwoven in the piece, this story may perhaps be looked upon as one of the most difficult of the collection," in twelve vols., styled *Kin Koo ke kwan*, 'Remarkable Observations of ancient and modern times.' The same story may be found also in the *Tsing She*, or History of the Passions. The style of the piece, the translator thinks, may be called *demi-classic*, a compound of the *style antique et style moderne*, as described by Rémusat. We have no fault to find with Sloth's translation and the copious notes with which he has illustrated the text; we think the whole performance good. Erelong we shall expect something more from his pen — something which — if not in style more grave, — will not, even in the original, 'be offensive' to European ears. We close this brief notice with two paragraphs from his preface: page vii.

"That the foreign missionaries who resided at Peking possessed every facility for studying the language and literature of the country, that the most educated natives themselves possessed, I believe to be the case; that we who live in Canton, stand upon a very much more favorable footing for prosecuting our researches, than the forlorn student confined to his own chamber in Paris or Berlin, with no one to whom he can look for assistance, I very readily admit:—still is our situation not quite so favorable as the learned and able sinologue [Stanislaus Julien] seems to think it. We are not surrounded by the gens de lettrés, as were the missionaries at Peking; we have not free access to their stores of knowledge as those able men had; nor are we looked up to with that profound respect, which they, for a season at least, exacted from the throne itself. Oh no! Our Chinese associates are hong merchants, linguists, compradors, and coolies, people who make no pretensions to literary merit, people who cannot if they would, and who dare not if they could, convey to us any literary instructions; and who, while they eat our bread, most commonly hate and despise us! Such is the case less or more of every foreigner who sets his foot in China. The writer, during a residence of nearly five years, has only three times (and that by mere accident) conversed with persons who can properly be called by profession *literary men* (*lettres Chinois*). Two of these occasions being upon business, no familiar conversation was permitted: the third occasion was at a hong merchant's, where a hanlin (académicien) was visiting as a friend. This lettré Chinois condescended to ask a few questions, but smiled with incredulity on being told that the English had their poetry as well as the Chinese had theirs, and appeared actually to sicken with disgust, when assured that it was quite possible in our barbarous tongue to compose a *wan chang!* (thesis or homily.) It is worthy of note, that this gentleman—on meeting the writer—gave himself out as a merchant, most probably from the idea that it was beneath the dignity of a lettré to pollute his lips by conversing familiarly with a despised foreigner! In one word then, (and the truth must be told even though with a blush,) the Chinese men of letters look upon us, upon our pursuits, and upon everything connected with us, with the most utter contempt!

"As for the seensäng or teachers who frequent our hongs to teach us the elements of their language, I am not aware of a single one who is a sewtsae, or who has attained even the lowest step in their literary ladder. Many of them would not be kept in a Chinese gentleman's house, to teach Chinese boys out of leading strings. The writer may boast of possessing one of the most talented of the brotherhood, a man already known to the Canton public as the translator of Æsop's fables into Chinese, and it is only common justice to say of his performance, that it has satisfied every person who has seen the fables, i. e, who has education sufficient to read and understand them. Still is his knowledge limited. Having had occasion to consult him continually while translating these few sheets, I was not a little annoyed and mortified to find him giving me random interpretations of some of the most im-

portant lines; the explanation he would give me to-day, would be entirely altered to-morrow, and when taxed with inconsistency, would merely say, that every man when reading Chinese poetry would read it his own way; that it was, *quot homines, tot sententiæ*, every man had a different interpretation. That this is to a certain degree the case, I believe as firmly as that many Englishmen slur over Milton and Shakespear without being able to parse what they read, far less to understand it; but it cannot for a moment be supposed that the Chinese lettrés are in this predicament, any more than that our professed scholars are blind to the beauties of our own poets. I also took Mr. Davis' plan, viz. that of consulting different seensăng separately; but this was a new annoyance; their opinions being incongruous, it cost me more trouble to weigh, select, and reconcile them, than to write out the passage from my own indistinct notion of its purport. It is therefore but too probable that I have erred more than once."

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences. Disturbances in Szechuen and Fuhkeën; measures for the suppression of the use of opium; departure of the Larne; arrival of the U. S. ships of war, Columbia and John Adams.*

DURING the current month, nearly all the means, for gaining information of what has been passing in the wide empire around us, have been cut off. Neither Peking Gazettes, nor the ordinary reports of occurrences have reached us. We have heard rumors of disturbances in Szechuen and in Fuhkeen. From every quarter, there are rumors of new and severe measures adopted to prevent the sale and the use of opium. A more rigid system of prevention is to be carried into effect, it is said, throughout the empire. In our next number, we shall endeavor to give some particulars respecting these measures.

H. B. M. sloop of war Larne, captain Blake, sailed for the Indian station on the 29th instant; not a sail of the British navy is now to be seen in the Chinese waters.

The U. S. frigate Columbia, and sloop of war John Adams, have recently arrived, and are expected to remain some time on this station. The following lists of officers have been kindly handed to us. The officers in the Columbia are:

Commodore, George C. Read. *Lieutenants*, George A. Magruder, John W. Turk, James S. Palmer, Joseph W Revere, Alexander M. Pennock. *Lieut. of marines*, Daniel D. Baker. *Sailing master*, Edwin T. Jenkins. *Surgeon*, John Haslett. *Assistant surgeons*, W. E. Coale, J. Harrison. *Purser*, Francis G. McCauley. *Chaplain*, Rev. Fitch W. Taylor. *Passed midshipmen*, James McCormick, D. Ross Crawford. *Midshipmen*, Edward Donaldson, Charles Linkler, J. N. Barney, Thomas L. Kinlock, W. A. Henry, J. Dorsey Read, J. L. Toomer, W. M. Green, Charles Fauntleroy, W. B. Fitzgerald, J. J. Guthrie, Charles R. Smith, James M. Duncan, Hezekiah Niles, C. Ap R. Jones. *Prof. of mathematics*, J. Henshaw Belcher. *Captain's clerk*, John Clar. *Boatswain*, John Miles, *Gunner*, John Martin. *Carpenter*, Thomas Johnson. *Sailmaker*, Benjamin Crow.

Officers of the U. S. sloop of war, John Adams. *Commander*, Thomas W. Wyman. *Lieutenants*, Andrew H. Foot, Thomas Turner, Edward R. Thompson, A. H. Kilty, George B. Minor. *Purser*, D. Fauntleroy. *Master*, Robert B. Pegram. *Passed asst. surgeon*, John H. Lockwood. *Assistant surgeon*, Joseph Beale. *Passed midshipman*, Edward C. Ward. *Midshipmen*, John V. Hixon, John Q. Adams, R. B. Reill, J. W. Wainwright, James H. Spott's, Donald M. Fairfax, Charles T. Crocker, Robert S. Morris, W. H. Thompson, Robert H. Wyman. *Prof. of mathematics*, A. G. Pendleton. *Acting boatswain*, George Turney. *Acting gunner*, John H. Ryder. *Acting carpenter*, John Hayden.

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ART. I. *Crisis in the opium traffic; continuation of the narrative, with official papers, &c. (Continued from page* 37.)

MOST untowardly, on the 24th of May, while celebrating the anniversary of queen Victoria's birthday, shot were fired from one of the British ships lying off Macao. The Chinese war-junk, at which they were aimed, immediately moved from her anchorage, without returning the fire. Rumors of the affair produced no small degree of concern and excitement among foreigners. For a while, it was not known whether any life had been lost or not; and as captain Elliot and the party accompanying him from Canton, were still within the Bogue, painful apprehensions were entertained for their safety. Fortunately no life was lost, or serious injury sustained, on board the junk; nor did the party, with the chief superintendent, meet with any interruption on their way down to Macao. We understand that a correspondence on the subject, with the Chinese authorities, ensued; but the particulars of it have not come to our knowledge.

It should be stated here also, that H. B. M. sloop Larne, captain Blake, the only British ship of war in the Chinese waters, went to sea May 29th, and was followed the next day by the clipper Ariel, captain Warden, on her Britannic majesty's service, destined to the Red Sea, bearing dispatches for the home government.

The number of foreigners now in Canton, (June 1st,) does not, we believe exceed thirty, and will probably be reduced to fifteen or twenty in the course of a few days. The pecuniary losses occasioned, first, by the detention of foreigners, and now by their departure from

the provincial city, and the detention of ships outside, are running up to a very large amount. It is difficult for us to say whether they will fall heaviest on the native, or on the foreign, merchants. Some of the members of the cohong must suffer severely, perhaps will fail; nor would it be matter of surprise or regret, should that honorable body be broken up before the present crisis is fairly passed.

The following translation is taken from the Canton Press; and we give it insertion here as a specimen of the passports granted to foreigners on leaving Canton for Macao, in Chinese boats by the inside passage. The list of articles, on which a duty is payable by law, will be seen to comprise only such as are of Chinese manufacture, or origin. But it is well known that, on the present occasion, many illegal duties have been levied and paid. In some instances, boats could not be obtained except on condition that the duties should be paid as levied by the linguist. This, the editor of the Press informs us, was done in his own case. The document consists of several distinct parts, which are numbered by the letters of the alphabet.

No. 45.

Passport to Macao.

(A) Petition from the hong merchants to the hoppo, applying for the pass for Macao. The hong merchants Woo Shaouyung, Loo Kékwang, Pwan Shaoukwang, and Pwan Wantaou, respectfully petition. Whereas it is our duty to petition for the favor of obtaining passes for Macao, as usual in such cases; it now appears that the barbarian merchant A., having clearly set forth that on a former year he came to this port to trade, now wishes to go and reside at Macao, and not daring to resort to illegal or irregular proceedings, has begged us to entreat the favor of an official passport being granted, duly made out, which he can submit for inspection at the various custom-house stations on the route;—such being the barbarian's views, we beg that official permission may be granted him to proceed.

Memorandum. The barbarian merchant A., for the protection of his person carries with him one gun and one sword, together with baggage and cooking utensils. Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 15th day.

L. S. *(Signed)* Howqua, Mowqua, Ponkequa, Mingqua.

(B) The hoppo's reply. It is granted that he go to Macao, and as customary, this must be exhibited at the various custom-houses on the route, and delivered to the custom-house at Macao on arrival.

L. S. [of the hoppo.] To be countersigned on passing the West fort.

L. S. To be countersigned on passing Tszenei.

(c) Pass to be countersigned on the route. Yu, by the imperial pleasure, superintendent of customs for the ports of Kwangtung, &c., &c. Whereas it has been established, that for safety and regularity in granting passes, proof of the business be obtained; it is evidently consistent that barbarians of all nations, in passing to and from the capital and Macao, should be furnished with passports to be shown at the various custom-houses on the route, the time of arriving at which should be noted, and they allowed to proceed; by this no difficulty or delay will occur; neither will foreigners be allowed to loiter or wander about, which doings would give rise to disturbances. When this pass reaches Macao, it must be delivered to the custom-houses there, to be returned to this office to be canceled. It is highly necessary that those through whose hands this passes attend to these injunctions.

Memorandum. One boat, containing one barbarian, A., who in the 4th month, 16th day, leaves the capital.

L. S. On the 16th day at noon, arrived at, and left the head custom-house.

L. S. On the 16th day in the evening, arrived at, and left the West fort.

L. S. On the 17th day at 1 A. M., arrived at, and left Tszenei.

L. S. On the 17th day at daylight, arrived at Heängshan; 18th day at daylight, left Heängshan.

L. S. On the 18th day in the evening, arrived at Macao.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 16th day. (Date of taking out the pass written on it at Canton.)

(D) An official pass, registered number 2. Yu, by imperial appointment, superintendent of customs for the ports of Kwangtung, &c., &c. Whereas, by the pleasure of the emperor, he controls the maritime affairs, now grants the merchant A., by means of the boat belonging to Yin Paouchang, liberty to proceed with fine tea, &c., from this port to Macao for sale, the duties having been paid; besides granting this pass, he herein also registers the articles on which duties have been paid, viz.:

63 catties fine tea in 5 boxes.
612 catties sundry woodware, in 8 boxes.
4 large silver spoons, and 8 small.
30 pairs of shoes in one box.
270 catties ironware in three boxes.
45 catties oil in two jars.
18 catties hams in one package.

10 catties pictures.
1 large wooden table.
27 catties white sugar in one package.
36 catties preserves in one box.
27 catties salt fish in one package.
3 small oil paintings.

On these a duty of 2 taels, 6 mace, 1 candareen.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 14th day.

The barbarian merchant A., going to Macao, takes the following stores, &c., viz.:

524 bottles of foreign wine.
30 foreign glass cups and bottles.
30 foreign knives and forks.
2 boxes shaving implements.
1 trunk woollen clothing.
250 catties foreign clothing.
30 catties candles.
30 bottles fragrant water.
10 cakes foreign fragrant soap.
70 catties eatables.
1 glass mirror.
270 catties foreign white paper.
1 large glass lamp.
200 catties lead.
1 small foreign gun.
1 foreign sword.
1 hat.
1 spy-glass.
5 pictures with glass fronts.
40 catties rolled tobacco leaves (segars).
20 catties foreign crockery.
1 foreign white blanket.
10 catties foreign copper ware.

(E) An extra pass granted by the officers appointed by the imperial commissioner Lin, on account of the opium matter now in hand, and stationed at the jetty in front of the factories, to take cognizance of all foreigners arriving at and leaving Canton.

Le, expectant sub-prefect, delegated especially by the imperial commissioner, and the Kwangchow heĕ. It having become known to us, that the fastboat owned by Chang, having on board the barbarian A., on this 16th day of the 4th month, leaves the capital for

Macáo, and as no delay must take place, and as the boat does not contain either of those 16 proscribed [foreigners] who are detained in Canton, all custom-houses on the route will allow her to pass, by this guaranty.

No. 196. L. S. of the Kwangchow heë.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 16th day. To be returned.

From the following edict it appears that captain Elliot has applied to the commissioner, asking permission for British merchants to conduct their commercial business at Macao.

No. 46.

Injunctions to enter the port.

Yu, hoppo of Canton, &c., &c., proclaims to the hong merchants for their full information. On the 24th day of the 4th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang (June 5th, 1839), I received a joint communication from their excellencies, the high commissioner and the governor, to the following effect: "It appears that the English superintendent, Elliot has petitioned us, saying, 'that the foreign ships fully laden have left Whampoa, and will immediately get under weigh to return to their country,' &c., &c.

"Now this coming before us, the high commissioner and governor, we at that time gave an answer, to say: that as regards the foreign ships laden with full cargoes having left the port of Whampoa to return immediately to their countries, we find this to be perfectly true; and those having requested their port-clearances to leave the one after the other, they may all be urged to get under weigh as speedily as possible. But in reference to those merchant vessels which during this year have arrived at Canton, if they are indeed willing to trade, then they ought immediately to proceed to Whampoa, and wait till they be examined in conformity with the regulations; if they are not willing to trade, then they ought to return home as speedily as possible, there is no use in their remaining loitering about here. As to what he (Elliot) says, that the ships must wait till they can get a reply from the sovereign of their country, this is clearly an evasive excuse. Think for a little: every one of these ships has got a clearance from their respective countries, permitting them to come to the Inner Land to trade, and therefore it is that they come hither with full cargoes: what reason can there be, on their first arrival to wait for edicts in reply [from the sovereign of their country]? The said superintendent thinks, that because his country is distant and difficult of access, that he may borrow these excuses to loiter and

delay. Who does not know that all these foreign merchants bring large capital along with them; and who is there that likes to involve himself in loss, or to ruin his own business? Moreover, the laws which guard our seacoast are exceedingly strict and severe; if these ships be not merchantmen, how can we permit them to roam and loiter about at their ease? In reference to what he begs about being permitted to load cargo at Macao, this is still more at variance with the established regulations, and is still more difficult to be permitted. He ought instantly to urge the empty opium ships to return to their country; let each follow after a lawful trade, for we will not permit the scheming after anything beyond this. The said superintendent ought from first to last to secure the foreign merchants from loss, and think anxiously how they may enjoy their blithesome profits; he should keep the old laws; and discharge his duties with propriety and in unison; let him not set about producing thorns and briars, which will choke up business and prick himself. Besides giving instructions to Lew, the acting tungche of Fŭhshan, and Tseäng, the acting keunmin foo of Macao, that they lay these commands upon the said superintendent Elliot; we hereby see it fit also to advise your excellency, the hoppo, that you duly examine and put it in force, &c., &c."

Now this coming before me, the hoppo, I accordingly issue this edict that the same be duly known; and when my edict reaches the said hong merchants, let them forthwith, in conformity with the spirit of the accompanying communication, lay the commands upon the superintendent Elliot, that he obey accordingly. Besides urging all the vessels proceeding from Whampoa with full cargoes, to return home forthwith, as regards the merchantmen which have arrived this year at Canton with cargoes, if they really wish to trade, let them proceed to Whampoa, and conformably to the regulations; let them wait till they are examined; if they do not trade, then let them not loiter about here; for there are only two ways, either to enter the port, or begone; there is no medium course to be followed. Seeing that he has previously delivered up the opium in the store-ships, this is proof enough that he is respectful and submissive; the said Elliot need not be ashamed to be called a superintendent of trade. But now with these present foreign merchant ships, he has turned to give birth to other kinds of expectation: it is, indeed, as their excellencies, the high commissioner and governor, say in their communication; the said superintendent ought from first to last to secure and protect the foreign merchant; and think how he may enjoy his blithesome profits; to keep the old regulations, and perform his duties in unison

and with propriety: let him not himself give birth to thorns and briars. Tremble at and think of this! A special edict.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 4th month, 28th day. June 9th, 1839.

The present position and prospects of British trade in China are pretty fairly indicated by the following minutes of two meetings of British merchants, which include a communication from captain Elliot.

No. 47.

(A) Minutes of a general meeting of British merchants held at Macao, June 12th, 1839, at the office of Messrs. Dent & Co. On the motion of Mr. A. Jardine, seconded by Mr. W. Dent, Mr. G. T. Braine was called to the chair.

Moved by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. Constable, and

1. *Resolved*, That this meeting sees with regret that there are parties preparing to send British ships and property to Canton, in opposition to the strict injunctions of her majesty's chief superintendent.

That with the view of ascertaining the position of British ships and property, a requisition be made to her majesty's chief superintendent to state: (firstly,) whether the several public notices issued by him are to be considered as placing a positive embargo on British ships, and (secondly,) whether he considers the present tone of his negociations with the Chinese government such as to warrant a belief that, at no very distant date, we may except such an arrangement of existing differences, as to admit of British property being sent within the Bocca Tigris.

Moved by Mr. Leslie, seconded by Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee, and

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be formed, to communicate with captain Elliot; such committee to consist of Messrs. G. T. Braine, chairman, A. Jardine, W. Thompson, W. Dent, W. F. Gray, Dadabhoy Rustomjee, C. B. Adam, and C. Kerr.

Moved by Mr. Fox, seconded by Mr. Maclean, and

3. *Resolved*, That this meeting be adjourned, pending the receipt of captain Elliot's reply.

Thanks were then voted to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

(B) The above resolutions were communicated to capt. Elliot, who returned the following answer.

Macao, 14th June, 1839.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of yesterday's date. The meeting will permit me respectfully to remark, that I

understand an embargo to be an act of the government of a country, prohibiting the departure of the ships and goods of another. Founding my reply, to the first question proposed to me, on that impression, it will be obvious that the several public notices issued by me cannot place an embargo on British ships and goods. Their purpose and effect remain to be noticed. A crisis, of a nature unparalleled in point of importance, has recently supervened, in which I have found it my duty, for the general safety of the public interests under my superintendence, to issue certain prohibitory injunctions to her majesty's subjects, and careful reflection, upon the act of parliament, the orders in council, and all previous analogous practice, pending our intercourse with China, has carried me to the conclusion that I have not transcended my lawful powers by issuing the notices in question. I am of opinion, therefore, that the ordering of British ships or goods within the Bocca Tigris, under present circumstances, may, and most probably will, involve persons, upon whom such a responsibility can be fixed, in consequences of the most serious description. The stringency, however, of these instruments, the construction of their language, and the liabilities of every kind to be incurred by a departure from their terms, must be left to the attentive consideration of parties (if such there be) proposing to postpone public authority and general considerations, to their own views and particular interests. At all events, it is my duty again to warn her majesty's subjects in the most emphatic manner, that the entrance of British ships and goods within the Bocca Tigris, in the present state of affairs, appears to me to be perilous in the highest degree. Beyond this consideration of danger, too, such a measure would be intensely humiliating and mischievous, because it establishes the principle that British subjects entertain a confidence in the justice and moderation of this government, notwithstanding all that has passed, consenting for themselves and their countrymen to trial and condemnation by Chinese officers and forms of Chinese judicature, for capital, and *a fortiori* all lesser, offenses. I trust I shall never be placed in the painful situation of addressing a special injunction to any subjects of her majesty's requiring them to desist from a course so unworthy of their country, and so dangerous to innocent men, whose lives may fall a sacrifice to their reckless cupidity, before the certain and powerful intervention of the queen can reach these shores, and disabuse the Chinese government of the imagination that such will ever be tolerated. I am conveying the plain sense of the instructions under the sign manual, when I declare that it is impossible of admission, at least till our

relations with this empire are more extensively modified. After this exposition, it is to be concluded that we shall hear no more of the entrance of British ships within the Bocca Tigris, under actual circumstances.

In reply to the second question submitted to me, I beg to say that I see no present reason to believe that her majesty's subjects may expect such an arrangement of existing differences as to admit of British ships and goods being sent within the Bocca Tigris, under the sanction of my authority, before the pleasure of her majesty's government be known to me.

I have the honor to remain your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,

G. T. Braine, esq. Chief superintendent, &c.

(c) Minutes of an adjourned general meeting held at Macao, June 17th, 1839, at the office of Messrs. Dent & Co., G. T. Braine, esq., in the chair.

1. Proposed by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. Maclean, and

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the public notices of her majesty's chief superintendent, coupled with the explanations contained in his letter of 14th instant, are to be considered as conveying a positive order from him, as the organ of his government, prohibitory of British ships and property being sent within the Bocca Tigris, in the existing state of our relations with the Chinese government.

2. Proposed by Mr. C. Kerr, seconded by Mr. G. Smith, and

Resolved, That it now becomes necessary for British subjects to make some proper arrangements for the present disposal of ships and property in the outer anchorages; and that the committee be authorized to communicate with the chief superintendent, with the view of determining what course is most proper to be pursued.

3. Proposed by Mr. W. Dent, seconded by Mr. J. Holliday, and

Resolved. That Messrs. A. C. Maclean, T. Fox, and Gilbert Smith be added to the committee.

4. Proposed by Mr. W. Leslie, seconded by Mr. G. Smith, and

Resolved, That with implicit reliance on the chief superintendent, and the most entire dependence on the justice, wisdom, and power of the government of England to redress the wrongs of British merchants, this meeting is of opinion that the interests of all connected with the China trade will be best promoted by a cordial unanimity, and a strict adherence to the orders of the chief superintendent.

5. Proposed by Mr. Maclean, seconded by Mr. Kerr, and

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be submitted to the chief superintendent at an early date; and that they be printed in the Canton newspapers.

Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

(Signed) GEORGE T. BRAINE, Chairman.

In accordance with the preceding resolutions and opinions, expressed by the British merchants and chief superintendent, their regular commercial intercourse will probably remain suspended, until some new measures are taken to place it upon a secure and more honorable basis. Their last ship, the Ann Jane, passed out of the Bogue on the 16th instant.

With a view to hasten the entrance of the ships within the Bogue, and in compliance with orders received from their excellencies, the commissioner and governor, the keunmin foo and his coadjutor published the following edict, and caused it to be translated and distributed among the shipping, as well as to be placarded in the streets of Macao.

No. 48.

Lew, the assistant prefect of Kwangchow, and Tseäng, the sub-prefect of Macao, make this clear proclamation. Whereas the commodity of opium, a deep and flowing poison, has by its extent aroused the great and terrible wrath of the emperor, he has specially commissioned a high officer to come to Canton, in conjunction with the governor, to examine and regulate the affairs of the ports of entry, more especially to extirpate the opium trade root and branch, and drive away all the store-ships to their own country, not permitting the least particle of it to remain to entail untold injury. He has ascertained that the store-ships have for successive years and months remained at anchor in the open sea, accumulating and housing the drug; and that sordid avaricious and scheming foreigners have desired to receive the freight offered to them for so doing. But now the drug has all been surrendered, and your ships are at liberty to return to your own country, or engage in honorable traffic; and why do you still remain anchored in every offing, protracting your stay in order to watch events, and hoping for a favorable change?

More particularly, the 18 sail of merchantmen from various countries, which have all come from their own ports bringing valuable commodities, and sailing myriads of miles over vast oceans to reach this land; there is not one of them which does not wish speedily to dispose of their cargoes. Lately, because the holds were closed while the opium was being delivered up, none of the merchants, although they

wished to enter the port and trade, could do so; but now, the drug having been wholly surrendered, their excellencies have graciously permitted the embargo to be taken off, and we the sub-prefects do transmit these orders to you, that you enter the port and trade. Already here two American ships, the Paris and Nantasket, applied for permission to enter the port and trade as usual: why do you who remain, (16 sail of vessels) still continue at anchor in the broad ocean, without thinking of entering the port? We cannot explain the reason fully, but suppose that both store-ships and merchantmen have all received the superintendent Elliot's commands, by which he tries to delude you with the extravagant notion that you can trade in the offings about Macao. But we have received a reply from their excellencies, reprimanding the said Elliot, and disallowing Macao as a port of entry, and also prohibiting all vessels alike from remaining in these anchorages and trading, which is in accordance with the fixed regulations. We wish to inquire of you both, of the said store-ships and of the merchantmen, what you are still waiting for or expecting? When we think of you foreigners, that you have come hither over such a vast and dangerous abyss, we cannot bear to sit still, and idly look on.

Wherefore we issue this lucid proclamation, which when it reaches each of the said foreign ships let them fully understand it. Let all of you who have surrendered the opium, instantly spread sail and return home; and let those who are fair traders also weigh anchor and enter the port. Let all those who are planning to get profitable trade be persuaded to become good foreigners, not idly listening to vain words, waiting to watch the course of events and hoping for a favorable change, which will only give cause for future repentance. Let every one arouse himself and examine his conduct, offering no opposition. A special edict.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 5th month, 4th day. (June 14th, 1839.)

This called forth a notice in reply from captain Elliot, which we believe reached his excellency the commissioner, though no reply to it has hitherto been published.

No. 49.

Public notice to her majesty's subjects.

The officer deputed by the commissioner, and the keunmin foo, having caused certain notices to be publicly placarded at Macao, inciting British merchants, commanders, and seamen to disregard the lawful injunctions of the undersigned, he has this day transmit-

ted to those authorities the accompanying declaration. A copy of the same will be submitted to the commissioner.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Macao, June 21st, 1839. Chief superintendent, &c.

Elliot, &c., &c., learns that official notices have been publicly placarded, and sent to the ships of his nation, inciting the English merchants, commanders, and seamen to disregard his lawful injunctions, issued in the name of his most gracious sovereign. But wherefore are these notices silent upon the causes which have produced the conclusion of trade and intercourse at Canton? The high commissioner has published his own communications to Elliot. But where are the replies? These proceedings are highly inconsistent with the principles of peace and dignity: and Elliot must now declare the motives which have compelled him to require the merchants of his nation to leave Canton, and the ships no longer to return within the Bocca Tigris.

On the 24th of March last, Elliot repaired to Canton and immediately proposed to put an end to the state of difficulty and anxiety then existent, by the faithful fulfillment of the emperor's will: and he respectfully asked that he and the rest of the foreign community might be set at liberty, in order that he might calmly consider and suggest adequate remedies for the evils so justly denounced by his imperial majesty. He was answered by a close imprisonment of more than seven weeks, with armed men day and night before his gates, under threats of privation of food, water, and life. Was this becoming treatment to the officer of a friendly nation, recognized by the emperor, and who had always performed his duty peacefully and irreproachably, striving in all things to afford satisfaction to the provincial government? When it thus became plain that the commissioner was resolved to cast away all moderation, Elliot knew that it was incumbent upon him to save the imperial dignity, and prevent some shocking catastrophe on the persons of an imprisoned foreign officer, and two hundred defenseless merchants. For these reasons of prevailing force he demanded from the people of his nation all the English opium in their hands, in the name of his sovereign, and delivered it over to the commissioner, amounting to 20,283 chests. That matter remains to be settled between the two courts.

But how will it be possible to answer the emperor for this violation of his gracious will, that these difficult affairs should be managed with thoughtful wisdom, and with tenderness to the men from afar? What will be the feelings of the most just prince of his illustrious dynasty,

when it is made manifest to him by the command of her Britannic majesty, that the traffic in opium has been chiefly encouraged and protected by the highest officers in the empire, and that no portion of the foreign trade to China has paid its fees to the officers with so much regularity as this of opium! Terrible indeed will be his imperial majesty's indignation when he learns that the obligations into which the high commissioner entered, under his seal, to the officers of a foreign nation were all violated! The servants were not faithfully restored when one fourth of the opium was delivered; the boats were not permitted to run when one half was delivered; the trade was not really opened when three fourths were delivered; and the last pledge, that things should go on as usual when the whole was delivered, has been falsified by the reduction of the factories to a prison with one outlet, the expulsion of sixteen persons, some of them who never dealt in opium at all, some clerks, one a lad, and the proposal of novel and intolerable regulations.

Can a great moral and political reformation be effected at the sacrifice of all the principles of truth, moderation, and justice? Or is it believed that these spoliatory proceedings will extinguish the traffic in opium? Such hopes are futile, and the emperor has been deceived. But it is asked, on the other hand, whether the wise and just purposes of the emperor cannot and should not be fulfilled? Most assuredly they can, and they ought. It is certain, however, that the late measures of the commissioner have retarded this accomplishment of the imperial pleasure, given an immense impulse to the traffic in opium, which was stagnant for several months before he arrived, and shaken the prosperity of these flourishing provinces. It is probable that they will disturb the whole coasts of the empire, ruin thousands of families, foreign and native, and interrupt the peace between the celestial court and England, which has endured for nearly two hundred years.

The merchants and ships of the English nation do not proceed to Canton and Whampoa, because the gracious commands of the emperor for their protection are set at nought; because the truth is concealed from his imperial majesty's knowledge: because there is no safety for a handful of defenseless men in the grasp of the government at Canton; because it would be derogatory from the dignity of their sovereign and nation to forget all the insults and wrongs which have been perpetrated, till full justice be done, and till the whole trade and intercourse be placed upon a footing honorable and secure to this empire, and to England. The time is at hand; the gracious sovereign

of the English nation will cause the truth to be made known to the wise and august prince on the throne of this empire, and all things will be adjusted agreeably to the principles of purest reason.

Elliot and the men of his nation in China submit the expressions of their deepest veneration for the great emperor.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent, &c.

The following memoranda, first published in the Canton Register, will afford the reader some idea of the manner in which the high commissioner executed one of the most remarkable parts of the trust confided to him by the emperor. The memoranda, it will be seen, are in the form of a private journal.

No. 50.

Destruction of the opium at Chunhow (Chinkow).

On the afternoon of the 15th instant, at the request of Mr. King, I embarked with him from Macao, in the ship Morrison, captain Benson, and proceeded up the river to Chuenpe. Mr. K.'s object was twofold: first to witness the destruction of the opium, then going on in that neighborhood; and in the second place, to make inquiries respecting the conditions, on which ships may hereafter enter the Bogue. Since many had declared that the Chinese would not destroy one catty of the drug, and many others had expressed their belief that, should the destruction be actually undertaken, great quantities would be purloined; it seemed the more desirable that some foreigners should obtain admittance to the place where the drug was actually being destroyed.

The opportunity, therefore, of being an eye-witness of a scene so novel, was gladly improved, with the determination to make every practicable inquiry and observation, respecting the fidelity of the work as it went on under the immediate inspection of the high commissioner. Contrary to our expectations, no obstacles were opposed to our wishes; and I have only to regret, that others could not have availed themselves of a like opportunity to witness the same scene. That liberty to do this should be given, seems evidently to have been intended by the emperor's own mandate, in which he commands, that the opium should be destroyed in Canton, where natives and foreigners 'both alike might hear of it, and see it.'

About noon, on the 16th, the Morrison anchored at Chuenpe, near the station where the deliveries were made from the receiving ships, perhaps two miles below the fort on Anunghoy, and less than one fourth that distance from the guns on Chuenpe, and those in the war-junks in Anson's bay. In the course of the afternoon, a card

[illegible] re put into the h[illegible] after some demurring, [illegible] ade at Macao, &c., promi[illegible] commissioner, and to return a[illegible] pilot, who came off from the fleet at [illegible] make inquiries about the Morrison, sai[illegible] d be given; and his report seemed to be [illegible] al display of flags on board the junks, and by th[illegible] ral large barges in the fleet.

At half-past nine o'clo[illegible] ne of the large boats came alongside, having on board Loo Taeyuĕ, a naval officer of the rank of captain. He was immediately received on board, and conducted into the cabin. After being seated, and passing compliments, he said he had been directed by the high commissioner, and the admiral his master, to convey in person their pleasure that Mr. K. should proceed to Chunhow. He asked whether the party would prefer to go in his barge, or in the captain's gig; and remarked that it was unnecessary for us to take any arms, as we should be escorted by several boats, and faithfully protected and conducted back by himself. He further very politely — and very gallantly too for a son of Han — inquired if Mrs. King would like to join the party.

While our boat was being made ready, Loo improved the opportunity to give us some account of his valiant self and of the imperial navy, and made sundry inquiries about admiral Maitland, whom he had the pleasure of seeing some months back. He inquired particularly for Mr. Morrison, who acted as interpreter on that occasion; and wished to know if the English superintendents, Elliot and Johnston, were both at Macao. He did his best to make himself agreeable to us, and was throughout the day attentive and lavish of compliments. He admired the ship and crew, and did not fail to mark the contrast between them and his own.

At 10 o'clock, we left the Morrison, our party consisting of Mr. and Mrs. King, captain Benson, myself, and six seamen. Loo, in his own boat, manned with about sixty seamen, with a few attendants, led the way, and our gig followed. As we passed though the fleet, several other boats, with officers on board, joined the party, some under sail, and others with rowers — all in high spirits and full of glee. When east of Anson's bay, having a little islet on our right, and the ruins of an old fort on the left, we passed through Sankow (the *three mouths* of the creek), and over Shakeŏ (sandy point), and with fair wind and tide reached Chunhow, in less than an hour from the time

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miles from the fort o
our course was northe
fields and rivulets, on ea
and there, with two or t
the opposite direction, near
tary station, a mere watch-h
good many boats were passing a
all sides the aspect of quiet and in

Chunhow is a long narrow village, on the east side of the creek, running north and south, perhaps one third of a mile. The site selected for the deposit and destruction of the opium, is on the bank of the creek, at the brow of a hill, a short distance from the north end of the village, including an area about 400 or 500 feet square, strongly empaled with bamboos. Crowds of spectators appeared in the boats, on the houses, and on the sides of the hill, as our party passed by the village. As we approached the landing-place, the war-boats and junks beat a salute; and two divisions of troops, in full uniform, were drawn up under their respective standards, one on the south, the other on the north, of the enclosure. It was a fine morning, and the Chinese seemed delighted with the arrival of our little gig. The scene around us, taking it all in all, was pleasing and somewhat imposing; still there was something in the work itself which made me feel sad and sick at heart.

Just before reaching the landing-place, Loo, our guide, asked whether we would see the commissioner. Being answered in the affirmative, he inquired what ceremonies we would perform, and whether we would make the *kotow* or not. Refusing to perform the latter, and intimating what would be our pleasure, it was agreed at once, that we should conform to the usages of our own country.

Loo, stepping on shore before us, begged us to wait till he could announce our arrival, and make arrangements for reception. After a short absence, he returned attended by a military officer, named Wongchin, deputed by the commissioner to wait on the visitors. He wore a long heavy cutlas, and was booted and belted like a warrior. He was a Mohammedan, a native of one of the northern provinces; rather tall, stout, of a very dark complexion, wearing a thick long black beard. He had evidently been bred in the camp, and inured to a martial life. As he and Loo approached our gig, the latter pointed out each of us, calling us by name; and then requested me

to step on shore. After a formal introduction to his friend Wong-chin, Loo stated the arrangements that had been made for the occasion; we were first to examine the whole works in detail, and afterwards were to have an audience with the commissioner, if we desired it. Also it was intimated, that we should choose our own time, and inspect every part as long and as minutely as we wished.

Our party now stepped from the gig, and passing along a pier, entered the enclosure. This, as described above, was a large area, surrounded by a strong palisade, like a Malayan camp. There were gates on each side, excepting the east; at these, sentinels were stationed, and no person was allowed to enter without a ticket. And on going out of the place, every one was examined. The number of workmen was said to be about five hundred. The number of officers, civil and military, could not have been less than sixty or eighty. A collection of finer looking men I have scarcely ever seen. Many of the clerks and attendants, too, were young and good-looking. All these officers were employed as inspectors and overseers. A part of them were on elevated seats, under mat sheds, to watch all the movements, in every part of the enclosure; and their position was such that nothing could escape their notice. By alternation, some of these were kept always at their posts, day and night. Another part of the officers superintended the delivery of the opium from the chests, which had been stored up in small enclosures within the large one. Special care was taken to see if each chest and parcel now corresponded to what it was marked down, when taken from the store-ships.

On the west side of the enclosure, just within the palisades, were three large vats or trenches, running from east to west, say 150 feet long, 75 feet broad; and 7 deep, flagged with stone, and lined along the sides with heavy timbers. Each of these three had its own fence, with entrances only on one side. When we were there, one had no opium in it; a second was being filled; and another was nearly ready to be emptied.

The process to which the drug was subjected, was briefly this. In the first place, a trench was filled two feet deep, more or less, with fresh water, from the brow of the hill. The first trench was in this state, having just been filled with fresh water. Over the second, in which the people were at work, forms, with planks on them, were arranged a few feet apart. The opium in baskets was delivered into the hands of coolies, who going on the planks carried it to every part of the trench. The balls were then taken out one by one, and

thrown down on the planks, stamped on with the heel till broken in pieces, and then kicked into the water. At the same time, other coolies were employed in the trenches, with hoes and broad spatulas, busily engaged in beating and turning up the opium from the bottom of the vat. Other coolies were employed in bringing salt and lime, and spreading them profusely over the whole surface of the trench. The third was about half-filled, standing like a distiller's vat, not in a state of active fermentation, but of slow decomposition, and was nearly ready to be drawn off. This was to be done through a narrow sluice, opened between the trench and the creek. This sluice was two feet wide, and somewhat deeper than the floor of the trench. It was furnished with a screen, made fine like a sieve, so as to prevent any large masses of the drug from finding their way into the creek. Loo told us that the destruction of the opium, which commenced on the 3d, would be completed by the 23d. At first, he said, less than 1000 chests per day were worked off; but the day we were there he thought the number would be nearly 1300 chests.

By half-past 11 o'clock, we had examined and reëxamined every part of the process of destruction. The degree of care and fidelity, with which the whole work was conducted, far exceeded our expectations; and I cannot conceive how any business could be more faithfully executed. The watch was apparently much stricter, on every side, than it was during the detention of foreigners in Canton. One poor man, at Chunhow, for only attempting to carry off some small pieces of opium about his person, was, on detection, almost instantly visited with the extreme penalty of the law. If any was pilfered, it must have been in very small quantities, and at the most imminent hazard of life; at least, so I am constrained to believe.

Well satisfied with the inspection of the trenches, we were again asked if we were ready to see the commissioner. A seat for Mrs. K. was provided near the boat in one of the watch-houses, where she was furnished with tea and sweetmeats, attended by captain Benson, while Mr. King and myself, conducted by Loo and Wongchin, proceeded to the east side of the enclosure, to the apartments of the commissioner. These were large and commodious, built of bamboos, like the temporary theatres of the Chinese. The hall of audience was about twenty feet square, a little elevated, and open on the west side, so as to command a full view of the trenches and landing-place. The floor was covered with carpets, and the walls decorated with scrolls. When within a few yards of the hall, Loo pointed out to us one by one, the officers we were going to meet. Lin, his majesty's

high commissioner, occupied the east side of the hall alone, seated in a broad chair or sofa, with two tables near him, one on each side. The admiral, or commander-in-chief, of the maritime forces of the province, occupied a seat alone at the commissioner's right, on the north side of the hall; at his left, on the south side of the hall, the hoppo and commissioner of justice, or *nganchăsze*, were seated. All the other officers were standing, some within and others without the hall, habited in their summer dresses, wearing silken boots, and light straw hats or bonnets, crowned with buttons indicative of their respective rank.

When leaving Macao, we had little expectation of being so soon ushered into the presence of such dignitaries as those now before us. However, we determined to take full advantage of Chinese moderation, and to protract our interview so as to see and to learn whatever the occasion would allow. With a suitable air of indifference, and all due gravity, *à la Chinoise*, we advanced to the west side of the hall. Here we took off our hats, and bowed to the commissioner, standing directly before him, surrounded by a dense crowd of officers and attendants. Loo and Wongchin, at the same time, in the middle of the hall, kneeled and prostrated themselves before his excellency, who immediately bade them rise; and the conference commenced, and lasted full two hours. Loo and Wongchin were chief speakers, first addressing the commissioner, and then communicating with us.

The commissioner opened the conversation by inquiring if Mr. K. had received his communication, addressed to him, sometime back, while in Canton. In replying to this, reference was made to the inconveniences and losses sustained by the late proceedings; and it was inquired, whether any security would be given that such should not occur in future. This prepared the way to ask for a specification of the conditions on which ships will henceforth be allowed to enter the port. His excellency said, the evils had grown gradually and secretly, because their authors had been dealt with so leniently; and that now the time had come when forbearance was no longer possible. It was solely for the suppression of the traffic in opium that the late severe measures had been prosecuted. The illicit trade, he said, must now be stopped; the other should be protected. After speaking long and animatedly on this point, the commissioner gave the following in writing.

"Vessels engaging in the regular and honorable trade, and really having no connection with the hurtful practice of introducing opium,

shall assuredly receive additional favor, and shall in no way be involved in difficulties.

"Vessels engaging in the clandestine sale of opium, shall assuredly be examined and treated with great severity, and no degree of favor or leniency shall be shown to them.

"In brief, the good are good for themselves, and the evil are evil for themselves. Let the good, dismissing all anxiety of heart, prosecute their commerce freely, without any apprehensions of difficulty. As for those who are evil, it only remains that they early turn about, change their practices, and abandon their vain expectations."

In the course of the conversation, Mr. K. presented two papers to the commissioner, one referring to his own vessels, asking that they might enter and trade as formerly. This, the commissioner said, should be granted. In the second paper, after alluding to the unhappy and dangerous position in which affairs have been recently placed, it was urged, that speedy reparation ought to be made for all losses that had been unjustly incurred, that ample security should be given that the like interruption of the regular trade should not again occur, and that it should be clearly proclaimed that it was only against the traffic in opium that severity is to be exercised. With a view to remove existing evils, to guard against their recurrence, to preserve peace, and to extend commerce, it was further suggested, that the port-charges should be fixed according to the amount of goods; that three additional ports, northward, should be opened to all foreigners; that merchants should be allowed to have their families reside with them; that in all criminal cases, the offender should be tried by his own consul, acting jointly with the local commissioner of justice; that ministers plenipotentiary should be allowed to reside in the capital, near the emperor, &c.

Very particular inquiries were made respecting the intentions of the English in withdrawing from the port, and also as to the best mode of conveying communications to the queen of England and other European sovereigns, in order to secure their coöperation for the suppression of the traffic in opium. Inquiries were made for maps, geographies, and other foreign books; and particularly for a complete copy of Morrison's Dictionary.

From the whole drift of the conversation and inquiries during the interview, it seemed very evident that the sole object of the commissioner was, and is, to do away the traffic in opium, and to protect and preserve that which is legitimate and honorable. Both in the manner and matter of his conversation, he appeared well; betraying,

indeed, now and then, more or less of that partiality for his own country and sovereign, and that disregard of all others, which are so characteristic of great statesmen. Throughout, he was bland and vivacious, and exhibited nothing that was "barbarous or savage." He appeared to be not more than 45 years of age; is short, rather stout; has a smooth, full round face, a slender black beard, and a keen dark eye. His voice was clear, and his tones distinct. His countenance indicated a mind habituated to care and thoughtfulness. Once only he smiled — almost laughed,— as Mr. K. declined to characterize the members of the cohong. The question was, who of them were good? It was not answered. The accounts given him of British naval power — especially of steam vessels — seemed rather unpalatable, and once or twice raised a frown on his brow.

After taking leave of the commissioner, we were conducted back in the same manner as we came up. A large collection of presents were sent after us. At five P. M., we were on our way to Macao. About nine o'clock in the evening, our old friend Loo came down to us, to return the papers for translation, they having been presented in English, and the commissioner's linguists being unable to understand them. A translation was promised to be soon ready, and he again took leave. The next day at sunset we reached Macao, well pleased with the trip.

P. S. The commissioner has in his service four natives, all of whom have made some progress in the English tongue. The first is a young man, educated at Penang and Malacca, and for several years employed by the Chinese government at Peking. The second is an old man, educated at Serampore. The third is a young man who was once at the school at Cornwall, Conn., U. S. A. The fourth is a young lad, educated in China, who is able to read and translate papers on common subjects, with much ease, correctness, and facility.

The manner, in which the Chinese propose to themselves to carry on the trade with foreigners, will be seen by the following regulations, translated by Mr. Fearon, and copied from the Canton Press.

No. 51.

New port regulations.

Yu, by imperial appointment, superintendent of customs in the province of Kwangtung, &c., &c., to the linguists Tsaemow (Old Tom), and the others, for their full information.

On the 6th day of the 5th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang, I received the following communication from the governor: "On the

2d day of the 5th month (June 12th), the custom-house clerks, Leking reported that the American ships Nantasket and Paris had entered the port: and on the 4th day, the two sze magistrates made their joint report respecting the new regulations they were commanded to frame, for dispatching civil officers to search and examine the foreign ships, with a military and police force. They report the result (of their deliberations) and wait for orders how to act." A draft is copied out and handed up for the consideration of the governor, containing regulations for guarding against the smuggling of opium by the foreign ships lately arrived. On receipt of it, let the several officers respectfully obey it. We, the sze magistrates, in obedience to the regulations proceed to lay them before you.

§ 1. Immediately a foreign vessel anchors in the outer waters, an officer should be delegated to take her measurement and draught of water; this should be clearly written out and notified in a sealed certificate. After her arrival at Whampoa, it would be expedient to send an officer again to measure her, when, should it appear that her depth of water does not agree with that entered in the certificate, the discrepancy should be reported, that orders might be issued to fine her.

Upon examination it appears that the merchant ships of the various foreign nations which bring cargoes to Canton to trade, anchor, for a time, at Lintin and other places in the outer waters: there, in league with traitorous blackguards of the inner land, they smuggle opium, and secretly dispose of other contraband goods. They then enter the river. These evils are without bounds, and are indeed intensely wicked. The opium ships now in the outer waters have delivered up every particle of the smoking filth which they had hoarded up, and which is now all destroyed; they are also sternly prohibited from ever bringing it hereafter. But it is to be feared that at some future day their former wickedness will again bud forth; we must not, therefore, omit to enact laws beforehand to guard against this. Now the collector of customs has determined that, both in the outer waters and in the river, (the foreign ships) shall be subject to the same laws respecting their draught of water as the grain boats. An officer being delegated to measure them and note their depth of water. By this salutary measure, the evil may be completely guarded against.

§ 2. All foreign vessels coming to Canton, in future years, to trade, (the season of their arrival being always the same,) must be correctly measured outside, *ere they* will be permitted to enter the port.

Whampoa being situated so near the capital, no officer of rank has ever been stationed there.

§ 3. As the foreign vessels will have to be measured again when there, it would be expedient to appoint an officer of known ability, to superintend the management of the business.

The plan is expedient, and hereafter as soon as it is reported that a ship wishes to come to Whampoa, the government will delegate from Canton an acting magistrate, of known ability and talents, to proceed thither beforehand, taking with him linguists and people to measure the ship. On her arrival there, she must, according to law, be measured; the officer superintending in person. Should her draught of water not correspond with that mentioned in the sealed certificate, it will be apparent that smuggling has been going on outside during her passage up, and a report of the fact must be forthwith sent to government, that the affair may be investigated and punished. When he has completed the duties of his mission, he will be allowed to return to Canton and report himself.

§ 4. When a foreign ship comes into port, she should, on arrival at Whampoa, be watched, and prevented from smuggling. The officer should be stationed on the left, and the custom-house runners on the right side of her, their boats being anchored on each side of her. Thus for keeping her in awe, there would be the deputed naval officer: for guarding against her, the soldiery belonging to the cruisers on that station: for taking account of the lading and unlading of cargo, the Whampoa clerks: and for accompanying the cargo up to Canton, the river police. This regulation comprehends every emergency, and, if only acted upon faithfully, will completely prevent the least smuggling going on. It may hereafter become expedient to appoint another officer to superintend and inquire into the conduct of the military and police forces employed on the above duty. Should he discover that there has been the least remissness, negligence, smuggling, receiving bribes, carelessness in guarding, or any other such vile practices, he should forthwith report the facts, and the offenders should really be visited with the heaviest penalties.

It appears by this, that for guarding against smuggling on board foreign ships which come up to Whampoa, there are, an officer of ability, custom-house runners, clerks, and soldiery, whose duty individually and collectively is to watch and examine. The above regulation is really excellent and most complete, but it does not provide for a high civil officer being delegated to superintend the whole, and to inquire into the conduct of the police and soldiery; to see that their duties are more than nominal, and that carelessness or inattention does not take the place of watchful energy; it is therefore now determined:

§ 5. That an able officer of rank be delegated to superintend the whole, and to keep a check on the police and soldiery. It is

expedient to select an officer who is well known for his ability, acquaintance with the duty, and trustworthiness, who must remain constantly on guard. This will effectually ensure watchfulness and alertness in guarding, and will prevent [the soldiery, &c.,] from secretly enjoying their pleasures, and conniving at the foreigners smuggling.

Respecting the selection of officers for this duty, it may happen at the time that they have other appointments to attend to, which will make it difficult to send them on this mission. The number of acting officers and those waiting for appointments, now in Canton is not great, neither are they well fitted by experience to undertake the duty, and are liable to be called away on any other duty, and are consequently unable to remain any length of time to watch and guard. Besides this it would be an extremely difficult task to muster these gentlemen to select one of their number.

§ 6. It is therefore permitted that, according to the circumstances of the time being, any one, from among the candidates for office, assistant magistrates, &c., who may not be employed on any other duty, may be selected to superintend and guard.

When the foreign ship has completed her lading, and left the port, (should there be no other vessel at Whampoa,) there will be no further occasion for the police and soldiery to guard against and keep them in awe;

§ 7. Orders may, therefore, then be sent to the chief superintending delegate to return to the capital, and report the completion of his duties. Afterwards, another vessel coming up, the same officer, should he be engaged on no other duty, must be sent to superintend this.

The duty of this officer will be extremely onerous, as immediately a ship arrives, he will be sent down, without a moment's delay, to superintend her second measurement. We, the sze magistrates, have hitherto had no reports sent to our office, of the time of a foreign vessel's arrival at Whampoa: and were the report to be first sent in, orders to be waited for ere the officers could go, and consideration as to the selection to be made, much delay would occur ere the ships could be measured. It is therefore enacted,

§ 8. That hereafter, when the merchant vesssels of the various nations come to Canton to trade, the time of their arrival must be immediately reported to government, who will send either an assistant magistrate, or an officer from the cheheën's office, down to Whampoa beforehand, and give his whole energy, day and night, to the maintenance of a strict guard and surveillance.

Should there be any such blackguards among the police and soldiery, as to keep away from the ship, or neglect their watch, or smuggle, or receive bribes, or show remissness and trifling, or dare to borrow pretenses for ex-

torting money from the common people, then the whole circumstances of their offending must be forthwith secretly reported to government, and the offenders sent up to Canton to meet their punishment. As to all those fish, ferry, comprador boats, &c., which ply about the shipping, orders should be requested for the delegate to search and examine them, that all evils which might arise therefrom may be prevented. Whether the number of ships of all nations, which may in after years, resort to China, will be large or small, there is no means of knowing certainly.

§ 9. Should the number of those which hereafter come up to Whampoa, be very considerable, it will be necessary for one officer to superintend the measuring, and another the guard and surveillance. It is expedient therefore that, in such cases, two officers be appointed, one to superintend each department. Should the number, however, be small, the measuring department will be but trifling, and one officer can superintend both duties. The measuring officer will therefore remain to superintend the preventive guard, and to keep the soldiery to their duty.

Thus the whole duty of measuring and watching will be performed, without it being necessary to send two officers, and with much less trouble and inconvenience.

§ 10. Should the said delegate be remiss in his duty, receive bribes, or allow the clerks and soldiery to connive with the foreigners, he should, immediately the fact is known, be deprived of his rank and dismissed the service.

An official court of inquiry, must in such cases be held, to determine his guilt or innocence, and strict justice done. The whole facts of the case with the verdict, must be reported to government to receive its sanction. At the same time, reports of the case must be sent to the collector of customs, for his information and guidance.

"This coming before me the governor, I do ordain, in reply, that these regulations, setting aside all former ones, be adopted for managing the trade. The hong merchants, Mowqua and Ponkhequa are hereby commanded forthwith to secure the American ships Nantasket and Paris, in accordance with the new and fixed regulations. Let them proceed in person to Whampoa, and there with all sincerity and energy subject [the ships] to the strictest scrutiny and examination. The bond hitherto required must be signed both by the foreigners and hong merchants, by which they solemnly bind themselves cheerfully and willingly to abide by the consequences of their crimes, should they be discovered to have opium, and to deliver it up. His honor the collector of customs will also, on his part,

(should he discover opium) when the holds are opened by his orders, forthwith deliver it up to me the governor, that it may be recorded.

"Business must now be carried on as is above set forth. The hong merchants must accord their most implicit obedience; and in company with the linguists, hasten forward, and in all sincerity give their whole minds to the management of their business. Not a moment's delay will be permitted. If they allow any smuggling, or dare, as formerly, to pass it over as a trifling matter, or do not carefully search and investigate, or if they rashly and hurriedly give the bond, and smuggling of opium or other contraband goods is afterwards detected, then immediately, as discovery of the facts is made, the senior, junior, and security hong merchants, with the linguists, shall all be taken and visited with most extreme punishment. Not a particle of indulgence will be shown them. Let this be circulated among all the officers of the province for their information and guidance."

On receipt of the above I, the collector, in compliance therewith, issue this edict for general information. Immediately the said linguists receive it, let them accord their implicit obedience to the governor's regulations for managing trade. Do not trifle with nor disobey this edict, lest you become involved in guilt. Haste! Haste! A special edict. June 23d, 1839.

After months have been occupied in discussion, the question of the bond has finally been settled, by adopting a somewhat modified form, written both in Chinese and English, of which the following is the English version.

No. 52.

A duly prepared bond.

The foreign captain ———— belonging to the United States of America has now received the commands of the heavenly dynasty rigidly prohibiting opium; and he has had it clearly proclaimed to him that certain new regulations have been established to that effect, and the said foreigner, holding the same in great dread, will not dare to oppose or violate them.

Now the said ship just arrived brings no opium, and I now give this as a true certificate of the same.

Dated Canton, —— ——

At this point of time, we close the series of papers connected with this crisis in the opium trade. The drama seems but just begun. Only the first act is yet finished; and for the second, growing out of it, we must wait until the will of the Indian and the home governments be

made known. We shall endeavor to keep our readers informed of all the principal events which transpire in relation to it. Since the trade was reöpened, none but American ships have entered the port. These, only ten or eleven in number, have found no difficulty in carrying on their trade as formerly. All the captains of these ships have, we believe, signed the bond (No. 52), writing their names between the Chinese and English, so as to sign it in both languages. What consequences will result, should the Chinese attempt to hold the foreigners in Canton responsible for the acts of smuggling on the coasts we cannot tell; none of those who signed the bond, signed it for any others than themselves individually, and there is no valid ground to suppose that the Chinese consider it in a different light from foreigners.

With two or three exceptions, none but Americans now reside in Canton. A small custom-house for the tide-waiters is erected at the landing place near the Company's garden, where proper officers take the name of every foreigner who comes ashore. Two boats, provided by the hong merchants, are anchored at the same place, and boats from the shipping are not permitted to stop at any other landing. The two inclosures, which were so urgently requested by foreigners some years ago, are now completed, and the square is much more agreeable as a promenade than formerly. Many of the sailing and rowing boats which were hauled up on shore by the hong merchants' order at the commencement of the siege, still remain within the inclosure; the houses in which they were kept have all been pulled down; and the little inlet that ran into the square opposite the Swedish hong has been filled. The terraces on the top of the factories have mostly been taken down by the hong merchants; in one instance, the balustrades around a tiled terrace were taken away, leaving it exposed and comparatively dangerous. New China street still remains closed at the southern end; Hoglane has been reopened. Many of the thirteen hongs are left without an inhabitant, and the bustle and business which once characterized them are gone. Access to the suburbs in the rear of the factories is free as formerly, several parties having gone around the city walls, and the conduct of the common people towards foreigners seems not to be changed in the least.

ART. II. *China Opened: or, A Display of the topography, history, customs, manners, arts, manufactures, commerce, literature, religion, jurisprudence, &c., of the Chinese empire.* By the Rev. CHARLES GUTZLAFF. Revised by the Rev. ANDREW REED, D. D. Two vols. pp. 510, 570. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1838.

THESE beautifully printed volumes recommend themselves to our notice from a number of considerations, not one of the least of which is the celebrity of the author. When the work was first announced, we were eager to procure it, in order to satisfy several inquiries which had arisen in the course of our reading, and to enlarge our small stock of authentic facts from the stores of one supposed to be possessed of so much information concerning the Chinese. The title of the book too, is also calculated to attract notice and excite expectation. Mr. Gutzlaff, some time ago published, as a discovery, that China was open; and this he repeated, until many persons in western lands believed it; but China still obstinately remaining shut as close as ever to all permanent general intercourse, he has occupied the leisure from the duties of his office by endeavoring so to describe the country and its inhabitants, that they shall be open to the minds of his readers in all their multiform phases. To describe any country, or even a single town, so as to enable one, ignorant of the language and customs of the inhabitants, to suppose himself in their midst is very difficult: how much is this difficulty enhanced, and the chances for making mistakes increased, when the writer has never himself traveled in the country, and is obliged to trust to other eyes for the accuracy of what he describes? In this instance, the object proposed evidently was, so to delineate all the characteristic traits of the Chinese people, their country, customs, language, and government, that they should be opened to the reader's mind, and pass before him as if he were among them. If this has not been done, the author cannot blame us if we quarrel with the title of his performance, for otherwise it gives an erroneous impression: and one part of speaking the truth consists in delivering that truth so that it will not convey a wrong idea. There were other reasons, besides the two we have mentioned, found in the interesting nature of the subject, the unique language of the people, and the many idiosyncrasies of this nation generally, which combin-

ed to heighten our desire to peruse these volumes. But having procured and commenced reading them, not the fame of the author, the title of the work, the interest at present attaching to the subject, or any other reason, could induce us to finish them as we began; the materials for the dish may have been good enough originally, but they are served up in so unpalatable a manner, as to disgust the taste, and ill repay the trouble of perusal.

A man possessed of the author's fluency in speaking the dialects of this country, which has of itself been the means of enabling him to voyage very extensively where they are spoken, should give us a work commensurable with these advantages. Most other voyagers have had but one opportunity to examine, and cannot satisfy themselves on all points, but Mr. Gutzlaff's numerous voyages have given him better opportunities. The world anticipate, in such a case, and justly too, we think, the results of his own repeated observations, combined with suitable remarks upon the writings of his predecessors; thus enlarging our present, and rectifying our former, ideas, and giving at one view whatever is truly valuable concerning the Chinese. The public have been supplied a long time with books upon China, written for the most part by passing travelers, who, introduced at once into the midst of strange places, and there seeing many strange things, and hearing more still stranger, were immediately seized with the disease peculiar to such circumstances, and in due time produced a bantling, varying in size from a single duodecimo to a post octavo of three volumes. The mere mention of such authors as Wood, Holman, Meyen, Dobell, Roberts, Downing, Ruschenberger, and others, sufficiently describes the class of books to which we refer. But when, to a respectable knowledge of the manners and customs of the Chinese, and a pretty general acquaintance with their literature, is superadded a long residence in the country, with leisure to investigate new topics, and opportunity to verify such as are doubtful, we expect more than the superficies of society, we demand from such authors the reasons for what we see about us, a development of the secret springs which move, and the influences which regulate, this immense empire. In all these particulars, our reasonable expectations have been sadly disappointed, and the author must not to be displeased if we deal with him in proportion to our dissatisfaction. The volumes before us are hastily written and carelessly revised; for what is asserted on one page is sometimes greatly modified, if not contradicted, on another; the materials are thrown together without much regard to their order, and the whole performance evinces a great lack of

research and judgment. For variety of subjects treated upon, they somewhat resemble a dictionary, but the absence of the useful alphabetical arrangement prevents the completion of the comparison.

Without spending more time in general remark, let us take up a chapter, and examine its contents seriatim, which will prove whether or not the observations already made are just. The fourth chapter of the first volume contains a summary of the natural productions of the Chinese empire, nearly all of which, judging from internal evidence, was derived from the author's own observations. On this point, however, we are not quite sure; for not only in this chapter, but in various other parts of the book, paragraphs occur as original which are surprisingly like some we have seen in other works, both in sense and sound. But more on this anon. This chapter is oddly placed between the one giving a general view of China, and that describing the provinces composing it, subjects which ought not to have been thus separated; the last paragraph of the third chapter giving a short notice of the climate, appears to have suggested the one we propose to examine. After telling the reader that he intends to describe the productions of the whole empire, the author says:

"In China Proper, the domestic animals are in smaller quantities than we find them in Europe. The Chinese prefer a vegetable to an animal diet; and were it otherwise, the greater part of the population are too poor to procure animal food. They have besides a strange aversion to milk and butter, and have therefore no inducement to feed cattle in order to obtain these articles. Beef, of all animal food, is the least in use among them; many Chinese abstain from it entirely from religious motives. Though if they even wished to induge in this luxury, there are no meadows in which to graze the cattle, nor would an overflowing population admit of great herds of brute consumers."

In the first place, we are here told that 'domestic animals are in smaller quantities in China than in Europe,' an assertion that may or may not be true; for neither the author nor any of his readers can satisfactorily prove or disprove it. The reason given for this "smaller *quantity*," is that the Chinese prefer a vegetable to an animal diet; but if their preference was the other way, the greater part of the population could not gratify it on account of their poverty. But this is not all the reason; "they have a strange aversion to milk and butter," articles which most of them never saw, because, as follows just below, "an overflowing population would not admit of great herds of brute consumers." The sum of all this is, that the Chinese, being poor, cannot procure animal food; but there are no meadows to graze cattle, and for the products of the dairy they have a great

aversion; and therefore the Chinese do not eat beef, because they do not want it, and cannot get it. A few sentences ahead, we are told, however, "that a diminutive species of oxen is very common, which is used exclusively before the plough;" and that, "in the southern provinces, the buffalo is everywhere to be met with." It would have been proper to have told us where these cows and buffaloes get their living, since a few lines above they were deprived of grazing ground. The fact is, however, that the Chinese do consume large quantities of flesh, chiefly pork and poultry, but they do not eat much beef or mutton, at least in the eastern parts of the empire.

In a short paragraph upon the horse, we are told that "the Chinese horse is *very* small," but then that "the Mantchou horse is not much larger, and *very* hardy;" an exception, however, occurs in the "horses of Shantung and Szechuen, which are *very* celebrated," though by whom, or for what excellencies, they have become famous, does not appear. "In the north, the animal is far more frequent than in the south, ... but the use of it is *very* limited, and the Chinese are *very* awkward riders," all of which is doubtless *very* instructive to those who have never seen a Chinese horse. If the author had extended his researches in Chinese literature, he would have found the *Ma King*, a work upon the veterinary art in four volumes, from which he could certainly have extracted something more novel to his readers than the see-saw paragraph just quoted. He also ought to have been more explicit in describing the difference between European and Chinese pigs, which he says, is in "the formation of the head and neck;" we always thought, from the specimens in the streets, their peculiarities consisted in their short legs and bent backs. Speaking of the dog, he observes; "throughout the *whole empire*, there seems to exist only one species of dog, which nearly resembles the shepherd's dog in Europe. In *Tibet*, the dogs belonging to the mastiff species, are very ferocious, whilst the China breed is very tame and seldom bites." Strictly speaking, there is only one species of dog known in the world, the varieties having all been induced by domestication, but if "there *seems* to exist only one species in the *whole empire*," is it not singular that the author should forget this, and in the next sentence, speak of the Tibetan mastiffs: is not Tibet a part of the empire?

Again; "the tiger *seems to be* the most frequent of all the wild beasts, though it is *never* found in the well-inhabited districts. It *is said* even to live in the high latitudes of Tartary. The freckled skin is much esteemed by military officers; its gall, as well as bones, is

mixed with their food, in order to inspire their souls with tiger-courage. Panthers and bears are occasionally found; the paws of the latter are considered the greatest delicacy one can eat."

This extract contains one of the faults most common in the book; it also occurs in the last quotation, and in both places we have marked it by italics. If as readers, we are expected to put the least faith in the assertions contained in these pages, there should be more stable grounds for credence, than a "seems to be." Take these two instances:—how does the writer know that there is only one variety of dog in the whole empire, or that the tiger is the most frequent of all wild beasts? He has never traveled the length and breadth of the country to verify the former, nor made many investigations to prove the latter; and although both of the assertions may be true, it is more than probable that they are not. It might also be added, by way of emendation, to the assertions in this paragraph, that the Tartarian tiger is a different species from the Bengal animal, with which he evidently confounds it; that the true panther has seldom if ever been found out of Africa; that the "freckled" skin of the tiger is also worn by other classes than military officers; that its gall and bones do not form so frequent an ingredient of their food as his general assertion intimates; and lastly, that a bear's paw is not, even to a Chinese palate, considered the greatest delicacy that can be eaten.

Speaking of monkeys, he says, that the monkeys found in the southern parts of China do not differ from those in the Indian Archipelago, which is a mistake; for the singular proboscis monkey (*Cercopithecus nasicus*) is peculiar to the southwestern parts of China and to Cochinchina. Following this single sentence, which finishes the account of monkeys, occurs a singularly expeditious mode of reasoning, and one too by which the author arrives at a great many of his conclusions. "As the plains of Tartary are very extensive and little inhabited, venison and fur-bearing animals of every description abound." To our fancy, a truer mode of expressing this syllogism would be as follows, and we venture to fill up the outline:

As the plains of Tartary are very extensive and little inhabited,

[Therefore nobody knows what is to be found there;

But as something is probably found there, and wild animals as likely as anything else,

Therefore] venison and fur-bearing animals of every description abound.

By the way, "*venison animals* abounding" (a term we always understood was applied to the flesh of deer only after death,) reminds one

of the markets of Archangel in winter, where the frozen carcases of cattle, deer, and other animals, are said to be exposed for sale in such positions that the beholder imagines them to be alive. Perhaps the same custom obtains in Tartary.

Passing over the paragraphs on ornithology — which contain but little worthy of the labor of criticising, and wind up with a syllogism precisely similar to the one just quoted, proving that sylvan songsters are scarce in China, because there are "only a small number of trees in the best inhabited districts,"— we proceed to those on fish. Imprimis, we are here told, "that the male of the gold fish is of a beautiful red from the head half down the back, whilst the remaining part is of a golden hue: a silver color is the tint which adorns the females." If the author had inquired of competent persons among the natives, or if he had gone a few rods to Mr. Beale's garden in Macao, from either source he might have learned, that the sexes of the gold fish are of the same color, and that the same fish at different periods of its existence is of a beautiful red, a golden hue, and a silver tint, and that varieties of it are found of a dark brown verging to a black.

"The Shantung sea eel is considered a very great dainty, and much sought after. Here also we meet with the mullet, which abounds likewise on the coast of the Yangtsze keäng. Carp, perch, the sea bream, and a species of cod, are indigenous in the Chinese waters. The Chinese do not engage in the whale fishery, nor do whales often visit their coast; herrings are almost unknown."

This extract wears the appearance of knowledge, and deserves a little examination. The author first carries his reader off to Shantung to speak of its eel, which, for aught we know, may be the dainty he describes; he then comes a little farther south, and mentions the mullet; while both of these fish are common in the markets of Canton and Macao. There are four species of mullet, two of surmullet, and five or six kinds of eels known here; why does not Mr. Gutzlaff speak of the near as well as of the remote? Of that which he could have seen in the streets of Macao almost every day, while the productions of Shantung, and the *coast* of the Yangtsze keäng, may not have been seen more than once or twice? We are told, moreover, "that carp, perch, the sea bream, and a species of cod are indigenous, but herrings are almost unknown, in the Chinese waters." While he was writing this book, Mr. G. resided in Macao; and if he had taken the trouble to go into the fish market, he would have seen two or three species of herring, and by continuing his researches a few days, found half a dozen more. We know

that about fourteen well-determined species of *Clupea* occur in the waters about Macao, and that more than as many more species of the same great family are found in this part of China; while we have never seen a cod from Chinese waters, nor a drawing which resembled a cod in Chinese authors. If, by "a species of cod," the garoupa is intended, he should have mentioned it as the rock cod, by which name it is sometimes called by foreigners; but this latter fish is as diverse from the true *Gadus* or cod, as it is from a sole or ray.

After this, the reader is taken down to the shoals of Borneo, and the coasts of Cochinchina, to follow the fishermen from Hainan; and anon he must fly off to Mantchouria to see the pearl oyster. Why does not the author tell us something of the fish under his nose, and describe at least one of the 250 species found in the markets of Canton and Macao? Why does he not speak of the delicate garoupa and pomfret; the Polynemus (or salmon as it is here called); the singular white porpoises found in Lintin bay; the curious, semi-transparent, white rice fish; the sole; the 30 sorts of mackerel; the remarkable Ophiocephalus or "living fish" of the Chinese; the sharks; and the rays? Why does he not? Plainly because he knows nothing about them, and never took the trouble to examine them, but gathers a few random remarks from different sources, most of which, we are certain, it would be nearly impossible for him either to verify or disprove, and thus fills up his book with the semblance of research. It is the same with what follows. "It is very remarkable that there are few species of venomous serpents, scorpions, and centipedes." But, in our humble opinion, it would be still more remarkable to know how the author arrived at this conclusion; for if this part of the country can be taken as an index of the rest, venomous serpents are not at all uncommon in China; centipedes frequently occur, but scorpions rarely.

We will now leave the zoology, and proceed on to the botany. "We cannot," says the writer, and the remark is quite indisputable, "give a botanical description of all the plants which are found in this empire. Very many are still entirely unknown to the European botanist; others are scarcely worth notice in a general description of the country." And a little way on: "In the deserts of the dependencies, we must not expect many botanical specimens; but the mountains of Tibet, and the plains of Mantchouria furnish varieties with which the European botanist is entirely unacquainted." And so, we doubt not, would also the centre of New Holland, the gardens of Timbuctoo, and the marshes of Patagonia, furnish many unknown

plants. He is certainly one of the most erratic writers we ever read, and what is odd, he expatiates so frequently upon the productions of countries and places he has never visited. The mountains of Tibet, the remote dependencies, plains of Mantchouria, high latitudes of Tartary, transgangetic regions, well cultivated districts, and a hundred other like places, (which for all authentic information are really nowhere,) are to Mr. Gutzlaff what the island of Serendib was to Sinbad the sailor, a place where was found whatever was curious and rare.

But we pass on. Speaking of the tallow tree, he says,

"The fruit grows in bunches; in form it resembles the berries called priest-cap (?); it is enclosed in a brown capsula, which encloses three kernels, every one of which is coated with tallow, and the kernel contains a great quantity of oil, which is pressed out and used for the lamp. It grows in Keängse, Keängnan, and Chĕkeäng, and is one of the most useful trees which the country produces; but the tallow it yields melts very easily, and does not burn so clear as our own. The candles made of it are generally dyed red, or gilded and painted with flowers, so as to serve the double purpose of ornament and usefulness." page 43.

The tallow tree also grows in Macao, and that within a short mile of Mr. G.'s house. If he will, some leisure day, turn to page 439 of vol. V. of the Repository, he will find a fuller description of the tallow tree than we have space here to give. But we suspect that the candles made from it are not *dyed* red, as he asserts: if so, he ought to have mentioned this new dye, and detailed the manipulations of so curious a process as *dyeing a tallow candle.* That the camphor tree of Borneo is a different tree from that which produces the camphor of China, is well known to others, if not to the author; and Chinese paper is mostly made of full grown bamboo stalks and not of the young stunts, nor of the *koo shoo* or paper tree, as he would lead us to suppose. On the 148th page of volume II., he gives a more accurate account of this manufacture, but by the time he had proceeded thus far, he partly forgot what he before said in this place, and the two accounts do not tally in all particulars. The tea plant justly engages a large share of his attention; twenty pages in both volumes are filled with an account of it, in which he has probably given us all the knowledge he possesses upon the subject. He, however begins the description with a singular mistake; "Our botanists seem hitherto only to have discovered two species, and class the shrub amongst the dicotyledons; but the plant has *never* been thoroughly examined"—(we will add,)—by the writer; for from this use of the

word dicotyledons, we might infer that as he is no botanist, (and he says he is not,) he used the word without knowing what it meant. Some parts of the information contained in the twenty pages will be new to most of his readers, although it is mixed with the usual proportion of error, but we think he ought to have confined himself more closely to describing the plant as it exists in China, and not occupied so many paragraphs with the statistics of its consumption in other countries.

"The cassia tree," *(lignea cassia)* he tells us, "grows in Yunnan; ..... the cassia pods are said to be produced by the *cassia fistula;* but it is pretty certain that the *lignea cassia* also bears this fruit." This extract very appropriately succeeds the sentence just preceding it on the 47th page, where the author tells his readers that he is no botanist; for he supposes the words *lignea cassia* (which he perhaps met with in some book he extracted from,) to be the scientific name of the cassia tree, and is desirous to reconcile the confusion he is in with the extracts, by guessing that the *lignea cassia* bears the same fruit as the *Cassia fistula.* We did not know that any one, be he a botanist or not, ever called the pod of a tree its fruit; a little more research would have disclosed the fact, that both these wise-looking words are pharmaceutical names for cassia bark and cassia pods; and that the former is the product of the *Laurus cassia,* and as appears from late investigations, is produced from several other species of Laurus also; while the latter only is the pulpy pod of the *Cathartocarpus fistula* or the *Cassia fistula* of Linnæus. Speaking of Chinese fruits, he says, "they have received undue praise;" and then adds, "in some districts one can walk for miles without seeing a single fruit tree, and an orchard is quite out of the question," though just before, he admitted there were a few orchards. These "some districts" are probably in the "deserts of the dependencies," where some other curious things occur; for, from the piles of oranges, plantains, plums, pears, loquats, leches, and other fruits, which one sees at every corner of the streets in this city, we should infer that fruit trees were no rarities in China, though we cannot certainly say how many trees constitute an orchard, and therefore it may be true that none are found.

Sentence succeeds sentence, and one paragraph follows another, for the most part written in this same vague, rambling, helter-skelter style, amusing the reader with the appearance of knowledge, but leaving him dissatisfied with the book, and weary of the subject. What might be true if a little differently expressed, is thrown into

such a shape as to convey a wrong impression, and sometimes a positive untruth. "The paper tree . . . . . of which *the* Chinese paper is made," is an instance at hand. If it had read, "the paper tree, from which paper is made in China" in small quantities, the reader would not have been misled. "The Chinese are really ingenious in the cultivation of *all* sorts of grain; in *no* branch of industry do they excel so much, nor is *any* occupation so honorable." The ingenuity of a Chinese husbandman is chiefly seen in the various modes he adopts for irrigating his lands, but an observer does not see much ingenuity exhibited in the general routine of agriculture in China; ancient and well understood rules are implicitly observed, the consequences of some of which are good, of others bad; but compared with an English farmer, the Chinese cultivator of "*all* sorts of grain" is slovenly, unscientific, and not at all ingenious. Besides, how can a husbandman be said to excel a weaver, a carpenter, or a workman in any other branch of industry? Or what is it that makes the cultivation of *grain* particularly so much more honorable than of pulse or mulberry, or other branches of agriculture? We are half disposed too to find fault with the array of untranslated Chinese terms, which to an English reader convey not the slightest information; such as le-te-kwan, koo-ko, nan-muh, le-tun-yew, le-tun-shoo, lan-hwa, mow-le-hwa, kwei-hwa, kwan-lan, le-cha-yew, le-pih-lă-shoo, &c., for if the author knew the plants intended, he could surely, have given some account of their affinities, and not left his poor reader, ignorant as he is of the Chinese language, in a still deeper maze of doubt and ignorance.

A few miscellaneous extracts will conclude the remarks on the vegetable kingdom. "The *leen hwa* or water lily is not only esteemed as a flower, but the fruit furnishes an excellent meal, similar to our gruel, which is in great request." This excellent meal is a coarse kind of arrowroot made from the dried root, but wherein consists the similarity to "our gruel," we are ignorant. "Among the medical roots peculiar to China, the ginseng deserves, in the estimation of natives, the first rank, whilst among us it has not even obtained a place in the pharmacopœia;" which is an error of our author's, as ginseng is a common tonic in American practice. "It is rather extraordinary that most of the trees [in China] are of a diminutive size, and generally devoid of that rich foliage, which gives to the islands of the Indian archipelago so attractive an appearance." "*Every* ridge of mountains, which can possibly produce the fir, is planted with it; but with the exception of the mountainous districts,

there are few forests in the country; for *every* inch of ground is arable soil." "The simples the Chinese use in medicine are perhaps fifty times the number that have been admitted into our European pharmacopœia; they extend their researches only to useful plants, and seldom condescend to examine *weeds*." How Mr. Gutzlaff attained to such an intimate knowledge of the height of the trees, the productions of *every* ridge of mountains, the extent of arable land,—to say nothing of the extensive swamps in Keängsoo,—and the number of simples used by Chinese doctors, is far more extraordinary than all the other wonderful things he describes.

The section on the mineral kingdom is rather the best of the three, because it is the shortest; and we shall soon be done with it. The author first transports his reader to "the mountainous districts of Kweichow and Yunnan," which he tells us are very rich in mineral treasures; and immediately adds, that as "mining is not encouraged, the greatest treasures are still hidden in the bowels of the earth." "There are gold mines, but no European can point out the place where they are to be found." Truly, our author is endowed with as much knowledge as the ring of King Solomon, which according to Arabian story could disclose mines of rubies and diamonds, for he not only knows what is in the mountainous districts of Yunnan and Kweichow, places he has never visited, but he is also aware of what is there hid beneath the surface. He then carries us all over the empire with the rapidity and superficialness of a will-o'-the-wisp, but is careful *not to tell* of the mineral productions found in the vicinity or in the shops of Canton, where one could examine his wonders. He winds up this section, and closes the chapter on natural productions, in his own genuine style, thus: "various other stones, which it is difficult to classify, with excellent granite and quartz, make up the list of the mineral productions."!!

Perhaps some of our readers, who have perused China Opened, will say that we have not taken the best chapter in it for examination; and do not give it a fair chance. It may be so, but no other could be so easily verified; and if we see marks of haste and inaccuracy in those parts we are able to test, the result will serve as an index of the credibility of other parts. It is not necessary to drink a whole cask of wine to know its flavor. A synopsis of the remaining chapters is, however, all we can spend time for at present; but if any one of our readers is disposed critically to examine them, we think he will find that all parts of the book bear indubitable marks of the same carelessness and ignorance. Volume first, from page 55 to 280 is

occupied with the topography of China and its dependencies; for which, (except perhaps some of the maritime parts,) in the present situation of foreigners, he must depend entirely upon authorities, and these often present many discrepancies, to reconcile which and give a well digested account of so large an empire, requires more acumen and knowledge than has fallen to the lot of the compiler of these volumes. His lists of authorities on this subject are placed in the last paragraph of the chapters, and among them "Morrison's Possessions of the Reigning Dynasty" is quoted three times; we were wondering for some time what book this could be, when it occurred that he referred to two articles, by that name, in the first vol of the Repository, and this on comparison proved to be the case: it is however, a somewhat singular mode of quotation, especially when the author's name is not attached to the articles in question.

Eighty-three pages are occupied with a sketch of Chinese history, chiefly an abridgment from his former work, succeeded by one hundred upon the language and literature, neither of which require any particular remark; some parts are not so bad as others, some are good, and others are hardly worth printing with such fine materials. Many of the statements, regarding the language, must be received with caution, and all of the surmises, with doubt. To say (page 383 vol. I.), "that one might write a perfectly intelligible treatise in which only the sound E was employed," is affirming more than there are sufficient grounds for believing: as are also the assertions, that "it would be next to impossible to preach sermons [in Chinese] of any length;" or, "that orators in a Chinese parliament would be obliged to print their speeches before delivering them;" or, "that it would be almost impracticable to carry on *intellectual* discourse to any length." Notwithstanding Mr. Gutzlaff's assurance concerning the prevalence of infanticide, and the countenance his authority gives to the common ideas among foreigners of its extent among the Chinese, we doubt very much whether he does not belie the character of the people, and make them to be worse than they are: we have no space here to give the grounds of our belief, nor does the subject admit of statistical demonstration. Infanticide no doubt exists to an extent that must shock every feeling mind, but from the loose way in which authors have stated their observations and opinions, leaving much room for the reader's imagination to fill up the picture, ideas have become current which place Chinese parents in a light, much worse we think than sober investigation would warrant. On this subject, which it is well known has been misrepresented and without much doubt exag-

gerated, Mr. Gutzlaff should have given facts, and the unequivocal testimony of an eye-witness.

Two fifths of the second volume are occupied with the arts and the religions of the Chinese; and as a whole, with all their imperfections, these two chapters are not destitute of information; a little wheat among some chaff, which as elsewhere are with difficulty separated. The remainder of the volume is filled with an account of the government, and is perhaps much the best part of the whole work; the list of provinces and their subdivisions, the table of latitudes and longitudes, and the account of the six tribunals, are valuable for reference. But as two or three articles upon these subjects are already in our fourth volume, from whence we think Mr. Gutzlaff derived much that makes his compilation valuable, we need not stop to examine them.

Before dismissing these volumes, we wish to make a few remarks upon them as a whole. Among that class of persons who have had their attention attracted towards China a good deal, by the eclat attending the author, they will probably get many readers, and many of the assertions in them will go far to influence the minds of such persons. Those who possess but few facilities for extending their knowledge of China from other sources, but are desirous to learn a little of what is everywhere talked about, are here presented with a cheap compendium of all that is known, and they too will regard the work as oracular. It comes, moreover, recommended by Dr. Reed, a man not unknown to the English public, and his recommendatory advertisement will no doubt procure it many purchasers. But we have half a mind to file a bill against this preface. If Dr. Reed is merely a wellwisher of the author, he should content himself with saying how he came by the manuscript, and why it was put into his hands, and there stop. If he wished to recommend it to the British public, as a valuable addition to our previous knowledge of the Chinese empire, he ought to be very well acquainted with the subject in hand, able to form an unbiased, intelligent, opinion of the performance, or else he may commit himself by crying up spurious wares, and thus jeopard his own reputation. In our humble opinion, it does little credit to his taste or knowledge to compare the *sálmagundi* before us with the careful and systematic work of Davis. Dr. Reed appears to think that the omissions he was advised to make in the copy have improved the book, and from what is left, we are inclined to coincide in his opinion; we think, however, that his revisions were strictly speaking mere reductions, since he must have

confined himself to leaving out portions, without correcting what was wrong in the remainder. In either view, we think he has done amiss. If he knows nothing about China personally, he ought not to have undertaken the revision of a work of this nature; if he does, he ought to have been more thorough in his pruning, and made it a perspicuous, correct, and methodical treatise.

We are disposed too to find fault with the unblushing plagiarisms in many parts of the book, and to cavil at the manner of quoting authorities, when it is done. On the 159th page of the second volume, are some remarks upon education, which we have no doubt were drawn from the May number of our fourth volume; on the 161st page of the same volume is another instance; and we have marked several other paragraphs that appear to be taken from the same work. We do not object to an author's using all the helps he can procure in making his book, for it is generally expected; but for the free use here made of the series of papers in the fourth volume of the Repository, by R. I., entitled, "Notices of Modern China," common politeness requires a more explicit acknowledgment than that on the 335th page. Even when Mr. Gutzlaff does acknowledge the sources from whence his paragraphs are drawn, it is done in some instances in such a way as leads his readers to suppose the books named are rather collateral works upon the same subjects, than, as is the case, the sources from whence he obtained much of his *materiel*. For instance; "See Du Halde, 11 vols.; Morrison's Possessions of the Reigning Dynasty; Timkowski's Travels of the Russian Mission. The latter researches of the members of this mission will doubtless have greatly added to our information about these countries." Indeed, from what Dr. Reed says in his advertisement, he plainly appeared to think that the materials for the work committed to his care were mostly drawn from Chinese sources, and the author's own private notes. Much, if not all, of the forefront of this charge against him, of appropriating the labors of his predecessors, would have been avoided by a short preface from his own pen, stating such of the circumstances attending the compilation of his work, as his readers would naturally wish to know, and which they usually expect. That such a preface was not written, is, we suppose, atrributable wholly to the same haste that is so evident in every other part of the work.

The vagueness which marks so many of the sentences as to form a distinctive feature of the work, the confusion of arrangement which characterises their collocation, setting at defiance all rules of perspicuity, and the abundant use of expletives, superlatives, and unmean-

ing epithets, all combine to confuse the sense, and hinder the reader from obtaining a definite apprehension of the subject. General expressions, very frequently occur, which in their present form are not quite true, but would have been so by a slight modification; and that these slight changes were not made before the manuscript was sent off, we also attribute to the author's haste. We have already noticed one or two instances. On page 399, vol. I., he says, "The Chinese are proud of being in possession of a language which speaks far more distinctly to the eye than to the ear." Did any one ever hear or conceive of a *written* language that could speak to the ear? Is such a thing possible as to put sound on paper? Certainly not; and no man would ever think of saying so in plain terms. But by such expressions as the one here quoted, persons unacquainted with the Chinese language, suppose there is some inherent difference between it and other languages, by which, when written, it conveys its meaning directly to the mind of the reader by the form of the characters.

The complete exhibition of the fallacy contained in this and a few other sentences upon the language would require much more time and space than we can at present afford, but we much doubt if Mr. Gutzlaff's remarks will set the subject in a true light, or help to unravel the "puzzle" (as Mr. Du Ponceau calls it,) of its construction. The Chinese must be great simpletons if this sentence is true: "*everything* beyond the range of sight is difficult to be described by them, and even when represented, it can be scarcely understood." Such sweeping assertions as this in one author, must necessarily be partially or wholly contradicted in another, who views the matter differently; and between the two, it is impossible for uninformed persons to discriminate, and gradually erroneous notions come to be held almost as accepted truths.

With this brief notice we dismiss China Opened. We have tried to find portions of it worthy of commendation, but can only say that some darts are not so bad as others. There is a good deal of authentic information between the lids of the volumes, but it is so mixed up with crude theories, careless expressions, and partial mis-statements, that it requires more than all the knowledge of the learned author himself "to separate the gems from the stones." It is not such a book as Mr. Gutzlaff ought to make, or such an one as the public had reason to expect from a person possessing his advantages.

W.

ART. III. *Notices of the geological formation of the western part of Java.* Extract translated from M. Horner's Report.

"The hills appear partly of volcanic, and partly of sedimentary formation. Naturalists, who have previously made inquiries, state the greatest part of the hills of Java to be of volcanic formation, and that the working of the subterranean power is yet observable. In the western portion of the island visited by me, the mountain masses do not appear to be the formation of any working volcanic power of extinct volcanoes, if the Karang and Pula sari are taken as separate groups of hills.

The volcanic rocks form here the nucleus of the hills. They are what geologists call trachyte, dolerite, and basalt, but the composition varies extremely, so as to puzzle even a practiced geologist. These rocks belong to a relatively newer period, and have been melted and thrown up by subterranean heat. The trachyte is of a more or less fine granular mixture of different substances of a dark gray, dark green, and even dark blue, color, in which glassy felspar abounds in crystals, sometimes 4 or 5 lines in length. This last mineral is a distinguishing mark of trachyte. The masses, with augite or hornblend, also quartz in small crystals, have the appearance of European dolerite. On the gunong Angsana, north of Jasinga, I found olivine, a distinguishing mineral of bas The glassy felspar, which is never found in European basalt, is abundant.

In the beds of most of the rivers, I found rolled of chalcedony, white amethyst, jasper, and agate, also the ap ance of amygdaloidal structure near these places. In the gunong Munara, near Rumping, I found a gray trachyte, with many small crystals of glassy felspar, and dark hornblend. To my surprise, I found about a mile north from the foot of gunong Kendang, near the small rivers Kopit and Liman, hornstone and red porphyry, much older than dolerite, trachyte, or basalt.

I also unexpectedly found, in the rivers on the southwest, the Tji Madhur and Tji Ara, boulders of genuine granite of different varieties: the greatest part a fine grained, with new white felspar (qu. albite?), abundance of white quartz, and a small quantity of mica; also much rose-colored felspar, with quartz, and dark green hornblend, with portions of the same having iron pyrites. These boulders are too large and abundant, to admit of the idea that they

were brought thither by the sea; I should rather suppose that they were washed down from adjoining vallies of granite. This granite much resembles the granite of Banca. (Qu. does it also contain tin ore?) The volcanic rocks are covered by a very thick formation of sedimentary rocks.

Throughout my tour, I found generally a formation which owes its origin to a fine, light volcanic ash; also of volcanic conglomerates, and vulcanic tufa. To the west of Jasinga, I found this formation, and followed it up to Ceram and Tangerang, near Batavia.

When at Pandoglan, masses of lava were visible, which in old times came down in streams from the Karang: the tufa then disappears, until you approach Baros. The lava from the Karang is all porous; a sign of its having flowed in open air. The tufa is found under water, a sign that these great volcanic eruptions took place at a period, when this part of the island had assumed its present form and shape. The depth of this formation is sometimes 500 feet, and it generally consists of fine or coarse conglomerate, of white colored, yellow, or gray earthy stuff, mingled with small grains of quartz, and magnetic iron ore: which latter is observable on the highways, glittering in the shape of black iron sand, washed out by the rains. In this formation, I found coal at Bodjo Manic, five miles southeast of Sebak.

From the stratification and composition of the rocks, it seems to me, that this portion of volcanic ash and pumice was formed under water. The thick structure of the volcanic rocks already mentioned, indicates their having cooled under great pressure. For submarine volcanoes throw up quantities of ashes, which spread over a vast extent of country, and form in time mountains of volcanic tufa. That the sea once covered this part of the island, appears from the fossil remains of shells. I found, half a mile south of Jasinga, specimens of the genera Cyprea, Venus, and Donax.

Let us now speak of the lime hills, which are found in different parts of the island. They are of irregular heights, full of clefts, in which the swallows build their famous edible nests. Their color is white or yellow, and sometimes rose color. They are all over covered with traces of marine remains and zoöphytes, to which coral insects they probably owe their origin.

I found a range of sandstone rocks, on the southwest, in the volcanic tufa formation, and on the same coast, there are evident traces of the elevation of hills, not being of old date, proved by the fresh rocks found upon them

ART. IV. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial History in Eastern Asia; government of Vargas, Cruzalaegui, Cruzat, Zabalburù, Bustamente, marquis of Torre-Campo, &c. (Continued from Vol. VII., page 541.)*

THE year after De Leon's death (1678), the very illustrious don Juan de Vargas Hurtado arrived, and assumed the reins of the colonial government. Like many of his predecessors, his first public acts were well-directed and popular. The restoration of ruined edifices, the protection and extension of commerce, &c., afforded him ample and useful occupation. But erelong, the gains of this commerce began to work on the public spirit of the governor, and as this was the very point whereon the citizens were most sensitive, they soon came to ill terms with each other.

We turn aside from the detail of these growing disaffections, to notice a fact or a statement, connected with the conquest of Mindoro. This populous island had been represented to the 'council of the Indies,' as capable of being made a valuable appendage to the colony. By their order, a new effort was now made, and with considerable success, to reduce and civilize it. Its interior was represented by the invading party, as still retaining the aboriginal, negro-population; while on the coasts, men were found of complexions so light, as to induce the supposition, that they were of Chinese or Japanese descent. The statement, we wished to notice is, that one of the Mindoro tribes actually had tails. 'This fact,' says our Augustine authority, 'is so well attested, that I cannot doubt it; though I suppose it to have been an individual singularity, propagated through a race.' This 'singularity,' valuable as it might have been to lord Monboddo, seems to have been a very uncomfortable thing to the parties chiefly concerned. It interfered sadly with their dignity and comfort, when sitting down. Under the care of the Recollect fathers, who were transferred hither by a Dominican intrigue from the province of Zambales, these poor natives were gradually led to put off the works of darkness, and hence, perhaps, it is, that no more is said in the sequel of their tails.

We are again upon a period, when the colonial annals present an unrelieved mass of dissentions; the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, conflicting with each other, and their subalterns contending among themselves. The bold reforms of the archbishop Pardo were

the beginning of these troubles, which seem (at least to the reader of the original record,) never to have an end. Information had been laid before him, that the Jesuit order in the colony, were engaged in commerce, contrary to papal decree. One hundred and fifty bales of goods, on board the Santa Rosa, were pointed out to him as the property of the fathers of the Company, and sequestrated by command of the archbishop. The Jesuits, supported by the Audiencia, resisted the ecclesiastical sentence, and for once, the archiepiscopal innovator was obliged to yield. Other occasions of strife did not fail to follow, and at length the prelate's bearing became so irritating to the civil functionaries, that they unanimously agreed to send him into exile. In pursuance of this resolution, the archbishop was arrested in his palace, in March, 1683, and transported to Lingayen. This deportation of the head of the church seeming, to certain of the Dominican clergy, unjust, and they abstaining from any intercourse with its authors, the dominant party turned its resentment upon them also, and sent them after the archbishop. These rash proceedings of Vargas and his associates, were cut short in April, 1684, by the arrival of a new governor, the admiral don Gabriel de Cruzalaegui y Arriola. The archbishop was forthwith recalled, and reëntered his cathedral triumphant. Unhappily, he did not get the victory over his own vindictive feelings, but proceeded without delay to bring his late persecutors to public confession and penance. Most of them submitted, but Vargas found such a load of humiliation laid upon him, that he rebelled, and claimed exemption, under the immunities of his military order. A legal process of extraordinary obstinacy ensued, running through four whole years, and filling twenty large volumes. This period of incessant litigation was further marked by a succession of public disasters. The vessels put back in distress; the harvests failed; and epidemic diseases prevailed extensively.

At length in 1687, a judge arrived from Mexico, commissioned to decide on the matter of Vargas and his associates. These last, however, had already disappeared from the scene, and Vargas went alone into exile. The clerical opponents of the archbishop now felt his severity, and then, the venerable prelate, having tasted the sweets of revenge to the full, departed this life aged 78, in December, 1689.

His superior in the civil administration, the timid and feud-disliking admiral, had deceased some months before; and in the following year, Vargas died also. From the courts, where they had appeared a little while before, as accusers and judges of each other, they were thus transferred in quick succession to the tribunal of infinite justice.

The colonial administration had hardly been a year in the hands of Don Alonso de Avila-fuertes, when he was superseded (1690), by don Fausto Cruzat y Gongora. This new governor was a zealous economist, and proceeded, soon after his arrival, to the recovery of large sums due the colonial chest, by various residents. In carrying out his plans of retrenchment, he fell somewhat into the extremes of more modern economists. The pay of the military, for instance, was reduced so low, that at a later day, when one of his successors examined into these matters, it was found that the soldiers often stood sentry — shirtless and barefoot,— a sort of uniform, for his Catholic majesty's service, which was considered rather too much *à la Gongora*.

It was, however, a time when retrenchment became the colony. The last galleon owned in the islands, had just been lost on one of the Marianas. Great exertions were made to build one of extraordinary size, and in nine months she was ready for the voyage to Mexico. A cargo of immense value was laden on the ill-fated vessel, but she had scarcely left the port, when a furious gale drove her on the island of Luban, where she was totally lost, and 400 of the crew perished. A third galleon followed (in 1693), and was never after heard of.

We must here turn back a few years, to notice for a moment the progress of depopulation in the Marianas. As early as 1684, those islands had again become the scene of new excesses. The Spanish force at Guam, was at that time weakened by the absence of a detachment on a campaign of civil and spiritual reduction, among the northern islands. The natives of Guam seized the occasion to revolt, and a large number of the Spanish residents fell under the rude arms of the insurgents, before their comrades returned, to save them from total annihilation. Quiet was again restored, but the colony came very near being the victim of a plot formed by a crew of runaway convicts from Mexico, in 1690. This danger escaped, new troubles arose with the aborigines; for the remedy of which, it was determined to concentrate the native population on the chief island. This policy was henceforth pursued, and the result was, as has been already remarked, that island after island was dispeopled, and the Mariana tribe was reduced to about 4000, collected on Guam and Rota.

The Philippine missions had received a strong reinforcement, of sixty Augustine and thirty-eight Dominican friars, in 1690, but the archiepiscopal chair remained vacant seven years longer. In September, 1697, don Diego Camacho arrived, and assumed the mitre —

a man of kindred spirit with his predecessor Pardo. He early involved himself in difficulties with his clergy, by requiring them to submit to visitations, reëxaminations, &c. The united opposition of the regular clergy rendered his efforts, for the time, ineffectual: So decided were they on this point, that when they had occasion, soon after, to resort to the ecclesiastical tribunals, for protection against a governmental inquiry into the titles by which they held their lands, and the archbishop pledged his aid on condition of their submission to visit; they one and all rejected his assistance. It is not our province to decide on the point at issue between them. It is worth noticing, however, as a matter of fact, that the Catholic missions in China, had been already disturbed again and again by like difficulties. In 1684, and 1688, for instance, almost all the missions there had been thrown into confusion, by decrees requiring the regular clergy to take oaths of subjection to the papal vicars. And now, in the Philippines, when Camacho pressed his demands to extremities, declaring the churches of the recusant clergy vacant, the immediate result was, that the suburban parishes, and a hundred other *pueblos*, were deprived of their parochial teachers. These consequences compelled the archbishop to pause, and after a time, to suffer the deprived clergy to return to their altars. The contest was not, however, ended, though we spare the reader the long details, which fill almost the whole of the 8th volume of our authority. At length, when these dissentions had gone on even to public encounters in the streets, the interference of the governor became more decided, and the whole subject was referred to the decision of his most Catholic majesty. The royal reply of May, 1700, was an unqualified approval of the course of the archbishop, and the audiencia was required to aid him, in enforcing the submission of the regular clergy.

The difficult post of mediator between these contending parties, continued to be held by governor Cruzat, until September, 1700. Don Domingo Zabalburù y Echeverri, who had been named governor six years before, then arrived; and the worthy economist and peacemaker had the double pleasure of resigning his mediatorship, and of handing over a well-filled treasury.

Several years of quiet now intervened, and from such scanty notices as our authority bestows, it may be inferred, that the Philippine commerce was again flourishing. The war between Spain and England does not appear to have affected it much, the only notice taken of it, being the escape of the galleon of 1704, after a sharp contest with an English frigate.

The administration of Zabalburù was now drawing to a natural and quiet close, when unhappily, the celebrated father De Tournon, on his way to China as visitor-general of the papal missions, touched at Manila. He immediately showed his extreme punctiliousness, and the governor, aware probably of the danger of quarreling with churchmen, yielded to his pretensions, although he showed no authority or *exequatur* from the council of the Indies. Not content with this minor triumph, De Tournon proceeded to assume ecclesiastical authority in the Philippines, and even made some alteration in the terms of one of the royal charities.

When the account of these submissions, reluctant as they were, went home to Spain, it drew out a severe censure on the governor and his *oidors*. Zabalburù was deprived of his office, and ordered back to Mexico. The members of the Audiencia were fined and otherwise punished. The archbishop too was made to suffer by a removal to the see of Guadalaxara, and prohibited further correspondence with Manila. It was ordered anew, that no person assuming ecclesiastical authority, be received as such in the colonies, unless he exhibited the royal rescript, and this being refused, his reception was to be confined to a mere discharge of the claims of humanity.

These severe visitations seem to have been provoked by the fact, that De Tournon was a meddling foreigner, and the Spanish court had no mind to brook interference from such a quarter. This jealousy of foreign intervention was clearly shown, in the restoration of the college, with whose rules De Tournon had meddled, to its old foundation, and the strict limitation of its privileges in future to Spanish students.*.

After the departure of De Tournon, we are told, "that the commonwealth, afflicted by many and long-continued trials, betook itself to prayer and penitence. After many and general confessions, a real reformation of manners was evident. Under these pious dispositions, Divine Providence consoled the republic with the safe arrival of the galleon, with a great quantity of silver; and further in 1707, with the appearance of a new archbishop, Fr. F. de la Cuesta.†"

* The course of De Tournon, after leaving Manila, belongs to another history. It is sufficient to add, that he carried over to China the same lofty demands, and that the regular clergy there soon became united in opposing him. He next ran foul of the Board of Rites and the emperor Kanghe, by whose decree, he was compelled to retire to Macao, an exile. Roughly treated even by the Portuguese government, he lived on in his place of banishment under many humiliations, and, at length died; an example of the truth, that whosoever exalteth himself, shall be abased.

† Under date of 1706, our authority mentions, in noticing the death of the Jesuit father P. I. Davila, that he was the introducer of the cocoa plant into the

It became the duty of this prelate to put in force the right of visitation, so fully sanctioned by the late appeal to Madrid, but which still lay unexecuted. But De la Cuesta, finding that the opposition of the regular clergy continued unabated, consented to a second reference of the question to court, where, on further deliberation, the archiepiscopal powers received considerable limitations.

The waters of the Pacific Ocean had not yet been sufficiently examined, except in the direct track of the annual galleons, to make it evident, that other valuable islands were not still in reservation. Magellan had seen land south of the Marianas; other later navigators had done the same; and in 1696, two boats with 29 natives on board had been driven on the coast of Samar. The report of these discoveries in reserve reached Europe, and pope Clement XI. was earnest in his recommendations of farther exploring voyages. Philip Vth yielded to these instances, and enjoined the governors of Mexico and the Philippines to proceed in the matter, in connexion with the fathers of the Company. These orders reached Manila just before Zabalburù's recall, and a vessel was immediately dispatched to do the work, but returned unsuccessful. A second arrival of shipwrecked Carolinians now took place, and a second ship was sent out to find the group from which they came, but with no better sucesss than the first expedition.

In the course of the same year (1709), don Martin de Orsua y Arismendi, conde de Lizarrága arrived, with the appointment of governor, and by his order, a third vessel was dispatched in the following September. This ship made the Palaos group in 5 to 7 degrees of south latitude, and held some friendly communications with the natives; but being afterward driven from her position by gales, returned to Manila, leaving two padres on the islands. The report of an actual discovery of a new group led to the preparation of a stronger expedition, but the unfortunate party perished, almost to a man, by shipwreck, in the straits of St. Bernardino. Again, the annual ship to the Marianas was directed to revisit the Palaos, and did actually touch at them in 1712, but the 18 islands sighted on this voyage were of inconsiderable importance. The existence of any extensive land in that quarter was now discredited, since so many costly expeditions had failed to find it. The search was given over, and the only intelligence ever had of the lost padres, was a vague report of their falling victims to the ferocity of the Palaons.

Philippines. It still flourishes in the colony, yielding a berry inferior only to that of Soconuzco.

The conde de Lizarrága was a man of most amiable character, and his administration was throughout, unusually popular. A condescending deportment gained him the affections of his countrymen, while his patronage of native industry, especially in checking an excessive immigration from China, endeared him to the people. He died, deeply regretted, in 1715, leaving the administration in the hands of the Audiencia, headed at that time by don Joseph Torralba. This very unfortunate, or very mischievous, person soon contrived to embroil himself in several suits with strong antagonists. An order came, to reinstate one of the displaced *oidors* of Zabalburù's time, but Torralba refused to fulfill it, and thus exposed himself to an appeal to the council of the Indies. A feud arose between the clergy of Arragonese, and those of Castilian, extraction, and Torralba succeeded in drawing on himself the animosity of the latter party. He had also become deeply implicated in fiscal malpractices, when the arrival of don F. M. de Bustamente y Rueda, in August, 1717, again reduced him to a subordinate position.

This energetic, but ill-fated governor began his course with fiscal reforms, which were equally efficacious in replenishing the public chest, and in making him unpopular.

His attention was early drawn to the value of the island of Paragua (Palawan), as an outwork of the colony. For the protection of the mission already exsting there, and for the complete reduction of the island, he built a fort at Labo near its southern extremity. This post was continued for a few years, and then abandoned by his successor. The old fortress of Zamboangan, too, was rebuilt by Bustamente's order, after 57 years of neglect, and in opposition to the wishes of his advisers. Desirous to mark his administration by further enterprises, Bustamente dispatched an envoy to Siam, in 1718, whose reception is detailed at great length by our Augustine chronicler. From this account, we may extract, for amusement's sake the question, so often asked by eastern princes, in later times, "whether the letters of the envoy were from the king of Spain, or from the governor of the colony." If we record, furthermore, that on the presentation of these letters, the Jesuit college struck its bells, and the Dutch factory saluted and showed its colors, it is not for the sake of the ceremony, but to notice the fact, that there was then such a factory and college at the Siamese capital. The fruits of this mission were, a commercial treaty, a plat of ground for a factory, the privilege of building ships in the Meinam, mutual exemption from port-charges, &c. The advantages thus gained appear to have been

ill kept, for we are told, that a Siamese junk, visiting Manila the following year, was so ill received, as to destroy the confidence reposed on their part, in the whole treaty.

Orders now came from Madrid for the apprehension and trial of Torralba. He was accordingly committed on charges of mal-administration, amounting to $600,000 or $700,000. His acts as governor, *ad interim*, were annulled; his goods sequestrated; and he himself confined at Cavité.

A singular train of circumstances was now operating to undermine the authority, and shorten the life of Bustamente. The annual galleon (of 1716), was just being dispatched for Mexico, and along with a valuable cargo, she bore a laudatory memorial of their governor's acts, from the city and citizens of Manila. As she slowly left the bay, a suspicion crossed Bustamente's mind, that she was lingering for dispatches of an opposite tenor. He hastily ordered the captain on shore, and the angry crew threw the unwelcome messenger overboard. Suspicion now became proof; the vessel was pursued and brought back; her captain displaced; and the command given to another.

It so happened, that, at this time, the imprisonment of Torralba, and other circumstances had almost annihilated the Audiencia, thus placing the sole authority in the hands of the governor. At this moment, a conspiracy, (involving the friends of the displaced captain and other chief citizens,) was reported to be in existence, and Bustamente, in an evil hour, taking counsel from Torralba, resolved on crushing the supposed conspirators. The accused individuals fled for refuge to the churches and convents, and from these asyla, the archbishop was called upon to dislodge them. The prelate questioned the validity of orders, emanating from the governor, unsupported by the Audiencia. His scruples on this head having been referred to the universities, and sustained by them, were submitted to the governor. The reference only added to Bustamente's exasperation; he demanded a full retractation; and charged the consequences of the alledged conspiracy on the prelate and his advisers. Following up his harsh resolves, the governor called the citizens to arms, pointed the guns on the walls of the city, and gave the signal for firing on the people.

The archbishop, on his side, buckling on his spiritual weapons, excommunicated Torralba, as the secret foe of the clergy; whereupon he was arrested, and confined, with several of his party. Bustamente had now united both clergy and people against him, and

when his call to arms came, they assembled, but not to support him. Alarmed by the defection, the governor ordered the artillery to be fired on the gathering masses, and it was only because the aim was bad, that they escaped with slight injury. The crowds pressed on to the palace; the guards fled; and the governor was left to a single-handed encounter. Disdaining accommodation, he threw himself upon his assailants, wounding the nearest with his sabre; but the contest was short; he was cut down, and his son, a gallant young officer, rushing to his father's rescue, fell beside him. The exasperated mob wreaked their vengeance on the dying men, dragging them through the streets, and covering them with filth and ignominy. Torralba, and the other advisers of the governor were now in turn thrown into prison, and the archbishop and his fellow-sufferers set at liberty. The prelate was further hailed as the chief of the popular party, conducted to the now vacant palace, and entreated to take the administration of the government. His clerical friends, to whom he referred the question, united in pressing his acceptance. Yielding to their arguments—the danger of the colony, the broken condition of the Audiencia, his power to restore order, &c.,—he besought their prayers, and support, and assumed the office. An Audiencia *ad interim* was reconstructed; quiet restored; and the prelate, turning from these civil cares, ordained a solemn funeral for the dead—the victims of popular fury. In illustration of the "lucid pomp" of these ceremonials, our author adds, that 7½ quintals of wax were consumed in candles. Provision was also made for sending to Mexico, the family of the deceased, consisting of six orphan children.

It now appeared that unfavorable representations of Bustamente's acts, had long before gone to Madrid, for royal orders now came, directing, that the old Audiencia be restored, and in case of the governor's evasion of these commands, requiring the archbishop to supersede him. This almost prophetic provision arrived after its own fulfillment, so far as concerned the suspended officers; but it had all its intended weight, in quieting men's minds, and confirming the archbishop's authority. Thus supported, the prelate, by a decree of October 19th, (1719), eight days after Bustamente's death, instituted a solemn inquiry into the causes and manner of that tragedy. In the course of the trial, it was deposed by seventeen witnesses, that the vexatious proceedings of the deceased; his imprisonment of various citizens, lay and clerical; his declared designs, driving many others to the asyla of the altars; his call to arms; and, lastly, his attack on the foremost of the crowd; were the causes of the fatal casualty,

One or two went farther, and justified the act, as necessary to the general safety. Torralba outwent them all, charging his murdered friend with avarice, oppression, and inhumanity; and finding a divine intervention in his sudden removal. These depositions were full as to the circumstances of the day, but when the inquiry came to turn upon the leaders of the insurrectionary movement, and the authors of the bloody acts, not a single witness could testify to their identity. The investigation closed; the evidences were transmitted to the council of the Indies; and the people of Manila consoled themselves, while waiting for the consequences, with the persuasion, that they had been "the executors of divine and human justice."

When the news of this event reached Mexico, the representative of Bustamente in that country presented himself before the viceroy, and demanded the arrest of several persons, lately arrived in the galleon, as participators in the death of his kinsman. They were accordingly arrested, but it being decided, that the Mexican courts had no jurisdiction in the case, the accuser and the accused were remanded to Manila together, there to take their place in the trial before the marques de Torre-Campo, the new governor.

This nobleman had been called to the office on the receipt of the news of Bustamente's death at Madrid, in 1720. He reached his post, the following August. The archbishop gave way to the new officer, and submitted also to the royal comment on his own share in the late proceedings, conveyed in orders to exchange his chair for a see in Mexico. He survived the voyage, but expired in a little more than a month after entering his new cathedral.

Several matters of pressing importance engaged Torre-Campo's attention on his arrival, and for a time, diverted him from the discharge of his special commission, to inquire into the death of his predecessor. The piratical states on the south were extending their depredations, and the marques was not at first very successful in his efforts to check their atrocious visitations. A mass of legal processes, and other unfinished business was also on the hands of the law-officers, and before this was disposed of, a further difficulty was started. The royal order of inquiry had been based on unofficial information, and it was held, that no steps should be taken, till the receipt of further instructions. The marques entertained the doubt, and submitted the knotty point to his confessor. The Franciscan father (he should have been a Jesuit) argued it with admirable ingenuity, and finally decided, that the inquiry ought not to be pressed, until new reference was made to his majesty.

In 1724, further orders came, requiring the investigation, and again the marques repaired to his ingenious confessor. The padre found in this second rescript, "a most elegant proof," that he was quite right in his previous argument. If the first order *had* been sufficient, why this second. But this second rescript was dated *previously* to the receipt of the representation made by the marques, and hence it is evident that a *third* must be coming, and should be expected. A multitude of reasons concurred to demand delay, and the matter being submitted to two Jesuit fathers also, they on other grounds, decided against immediate investigation. The marques yielded to these able casuists, and the inquiry was suspended. It does not appear, that the question of guilt or innocence was ever decided. Years passed by; the actors in the tragic scene disappeared from the stage; and the whole transaction was suffered to sink into oblivion. Among the latest survivors, was the much-to-be-blamed, or much-to-be-pitied, Torralba. Heavily fined by the court for his doings as acting governor; transferred and re-transferred from prisons at Cavité to prisons at Manila, he lived on in wretchedness till 1736; owing his subsistence in his last years, and his burial after death, to the hand of charity.

We here arrive at the close of the second century of Spanish intercourse with Eastern Asia. The notices we have extracted are far from conveying what we most desired to exhibit, the steps by which the Spanish power was extended over the islands from the Basbees to Basilan; and still more the process, by which 3,500,000 men of Malayan origin and habits were brought to a comparatively high point of civilization, and to a zealous attachment to the church of Rome. These successive steps, our authorities do not supply, and we cannot go beyond them. The reader must therefore imagine, that, while we have been detailing the succession of colonial rulers, the fate of expeditions, the bitter results of controversy, or the ravages of the mob or the earthquake; the work of conquest and civilization had been going on slowly but surely. The Spanish soldier and the Catholic father have been co-workers together. The latter especially, with all his imperfections as a moral and religious guide, has been rearing, the while, in his remote parish, the church and the altar; spanning the neighboring rivulet with its arch of stone; introducing articles of comfort and sale; superseding the native character by the Roman letter; training the voices of Bisayan or Tagalo children to the music of Spain and Italy: standing, as does all this, between the restive subject and his subduer, a constant mediator and pro-

tector. Making his home in remote hamlets, unknown to us even by name, he has toiled on in the cause of civilization, forgotten and alone. The detail of his labors is already lost, but the results remain. They are honorable to their author; and as we contemplate them, our only grief is, that a vicious influence went with him to deprive him of the best instrument ever wielded by human hands, for the uses of philanthropy. Had the Catholic missionary been permitted and required to carry with him the HOLY SCRIPTURES, his track would not have been marked merely by the bestowal of present and temporal benefits. His civilization would not have stopped at the mean point, at which it is now nearly stationary in the Philippines. His influence would have gathered new strength with every exercise; the impulse given to the native mind would have become a permanent, self-sustaining power; and they who imparted it would have been permitted, ere this, to rejoice over a whole people, raised from idolatrous barbarism to high refinement, and pure piety.

ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences. Seizure of opium; indemnity for that surrendered; renewed operations in the traffic; detention of Chinese officers on board a foreign ship at Hongkong.*

THE reports of seizures of opium in the provinces continue still numerous. An officer at court has brought it to the notice of the emperor, that while all classes, from princes and high officers down to the lowest of the people, afford parties guilty of smoking or of dealing in opium, not a single individual of the police has ever been found guilty; and asks the pertinent question, whether the police are a better class of men than all others, or if the cause be the negligence of the officers who keep the police in exercise, but never trouble themselves to look after their conduct.

The claim of indemnity for the opium recently surrendered to the chief superintendent of British trade is denied by many in the Straits, and in India. A writer, under the signature of Nomen, in the Hurkaru, ably, and we think justly, maintains the *claim on the British government.*

There are rumors—no doubt true—of renewed operations in the drug, by vessels on the coast and elsewhere. "We trust the controlers of these will not hoist any flag belonging to civilized nations." *(Canton Register.)* And, "we hope the visits of opium-clippers to the coast will soon cease altogether." *(Canton Press.)* It is melancholy to think that men will persist in such a traffic. They may evade human laws, and escape "condign punishment;" but there is a *conscience* in man, and a *just God* in heaven.

Recently a comprador, belonging to one of the ships at Hongkong, was seized by the authorities there; in consequence of which some Chinese officers were taken by the commander of the vessel and detained. The arrival of capt. Elliot, secured their immediate liberation. Further particulars we know not.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—JULY, 1839.—No. 3.

ART. I. *Remarks on the question of indemnity for the opium surrendered to the chief superintendent of British trade for the service of her majesty's government.* By Nomen. In a letter to the editor of the Bengal Hurkaru.

SIR,—I have read with some surprise the arguments which have been advanced by you and your cotemporary of the Englishman, regarding the asserted right of the British government, to repudiate the pledge given to the opium holders by her majesty's representative at Canton. The question is important on both public and private grounds, and I propose to discuss it, as one involving the relative duties of the sovereign and the subject, so far as the government and the opium dealers are concerned, and as one of national right, as relates to the question of indemnity between the countries.

I shall commence by endeavoring to meet a difficulty, to which you have alluded, though you state that you are not prepared to go the whole length of the party by whom the objection will be urged; that objection is to the opium trade itself, "from its deteriorating effect on the moral character of the consumers," and a consequent want of sympathy for the losses of those by whom it was conducted. The poets feigned a golden and silver age, but there is no fiction in describing this as the age of cant and humbug, as an age in which many thrive "who make piety a profit, and godliness a great gain;" whose cry is loud, if clamor avail their interest; but who blench from all attempts by which rank or riches are likely to have their pleasure or profits impaired. Numbers will be found to anathema-

tize our Calcutta merchants for the crime of purchasing opium, manufactured by their own government, and selling it to the Chinese, with the notorious connivance of the provincial authorities at Canton. The walls of St. Stephen shall ring with the epithets, smuggler and poisoner, applied to men who have assisted the government in reaping an enormous revenue. The legislature shall be called on to place these men out of the pale of protection, for trading in an article supplied to them by this government for the very purpose of that trade; yet what shall rouse that sanctified legislature into ire against the hells called clubs, the gin-shops called palaces, the brothels called saloons, all of which exist in our moral evangelical England? Legislative enactment touches them not, for they administer to the pleasures, or enhance the profits of those classes, to whom rank gives influence, or who by wealth have acquired power.

I feel assured that it is from this species of cant, the claims of the opium dealers are most likely to suffer, while it must be difficult to stem it, fostered and augmented as it will be by the British and Indian governments, who will allege the unworthiness of the objects, as the excuse for withholding the compensation. If this manœuvre be resorted to, it should be met by a firm and clear exposition of the merits of the case, and the relative position of the parties.

It can be shown from the 30th, 31st, and 32d sections of the late Indian act, 3d and 4th, Will. IVth, c. 85, that the Board of Control have the fullest knowledge of and power over all the acts and regulations of the Court of Directors and Indian government, and, therefore, the Board is fixed with having sanctioned whatever it permits to remain unrepealed. This responsibility also extends to the queen's government, for a cabinet minister presides at the head of the Board. The parliament have likewise similar controling powers and means of knowledge, for by the 51st section, their right is preserved to legislate for India, and all the laws and regulations which may be enacted in this country are directed to be laid on their table.

This, sir, establishes sufficiently for my argument, that species of direct privity, subsisting between the British parliament, the English cabinet, and the Indian governments, that if the latter could not reject a claim by an opium trader, the two former would be equally precluded from putting forward a similar objection. The position of the parties is this, the Indian government have created, and supplied the trade and profited by it, the parliament and cabinet have given it their sanction, the trader has been merely the person employed, and through whose exertions the immense revenue has been obtained.

Under this state of facts, looking at the question in a moral and legal point of view, I broadly lay down, that the parliament, the cabinet, and the Indian government are, by every principle of justice, stopped from objecting to the claims of the opium merchant, on the ground of the illegality of the trade. Viewing it as a moral question, I ask, would it excite anything but laughter, should we hear a man, who had supplied a highwayman with weapons, charging him 400 per cent. above their value, proceed to edify the thief with a lecture on the crime of robbery, which he was enabling him to commit; but as a legal question, what is in the traffic, contrary to English law which could prevent the Company from suing or from being sued for transactions, which might arise out of the trade.

If this clears away the objection which I have classed under the head of cant and humbug, I come next to the question of the relative duties of the sovereign and the subject, as applicable to this case.

The whole point turns on the proclamation of Mr. Elliot, his right to make it, and the necessity of obeying it. The 3d and 4th, Will. IVth, c. 93, sec. 5 enact, "that it is expedient for the objects of trade and amicable intercourse with the dominions of the emperor of China, that provision be made for the establishment of British authority in the said dominions;" and it procceds to authorize the appointment of superintendents of the trade of his majesty's subjects. The 6th section enables the king "to give to the superintendent powers, and authorities, over, and in respect of, the trade and commerce of his majesty's subjects, within any part of the said dominions, and to make and issue regulations, touching the said trade and commerce, and for the government of his majesty's subjects within the said dominions, and to impose penalties, forfeitures, and imprisonments for the breach of any such directions or regulations." Here by the statute, captain Elliot had full power to issue the order which he did, and to enforce obedience to it. But the common law will carry the matter much further. The act confers on the superintendents a power of issuing proclamations in particular cases, and therefore the whole law as to proclamations in England will be applicable to British subjects in China. The statute 1st Edward VIth, c. 12, repealed the infamous act of 31st, Henry VIIIth, c. 8, declaring that the king's proclamations shall have the force of acts of parliament, and therefore the motion stands, that the king cannot create an offense which was not an offense before; *ibi non est lex, ibi non est transgressio.* (12 Coke 75.) But, says Mr. Justice Blackstone, "though the making of laws is entirely the work of a distinct part of the legislative branch

of the sovereign power, yet the manner, time, and circumstances of putting those laws in execution, must frequently be left to the discretion of the executive magistrate. And therefore his constitutions and edicts concerning these points, which we call proclamations, are binding upon the subject, where they do not either contradict the old laws, or tend to establish new ones, but only enforce the execution of such laws as are already in being, in such manner as the king shall judge necessary." (1 Com. 270.) This is precisely the present case. The law in being was, that the superintendent might issue directions and regulations touching the trade, and for the government of her majesty's subjects. This is what he has done; to obey was the duty of the subject; to have disobeyed, would have been to incur a penalty. The right to order, the injunction to obey, are distinctly defined; if there be error of judgment (no matter how gross) in the order given, the consequences must fall on those who conferred upon an incompetent person, the power to make orders, but not upon those who under penalties were enjoined to obey. There can be no doubt that, under the authority of this act, and his commission, Mr. Elliot might have forbid the opium trade altogether and imposed penalties upon and imprisoned those who disobeyed his order, but as he could only act according to English law, he could not confiscate the opium, which had been previously brought to China, without any breach of English law. He considered it necessary for public purposes, that it should be given up to him. As the queen's representative, and under the authority with which he was vested, he made his requisition, the holders of the opium acknowledged his authority, and surrendered their property on the terms proposed by himself; how can it then be said that the government are not bound by his acts? If he possessed the power, which I contend he did, under the words of the statute, the only possible objection which could be raised is to the improvidence of the act, but no such doctrine has ever been broached either in politics or law, that a principal can annul the engagements made for him by a fully authorized agent, under the pretext that his interests have been injured. I am not attempting to argue either for or against the expediency, of the superintendent's measures. I deny that their folly or wisdom have anything to do with this question; it is not a question between the envoy and the sovereign, it is a question between the sovereign and the subject: she has enjoined obedience to her envoy's orders, that obedience has been shown, and her order that he should be obeyed will be just as binding on her to complete the terms of his agreement, as a man would be bound to pay

his tradesman for goods, which he had directed him to supply according to his steward's order.

It has, however, been urged that, supposing all this to be true, the command to deliver the opium is invalid, because it was given under duress. The constraint to which this term is applied, is of two kinds; the duress *per minas* or fear of loss of life or limb, or the illegal restraint of liberty. But in both cases, there must be a reasonable ground of fear, *non suspicio cujus libet rari et meticulosi, sed talis qui possit cadere in virum constantem; talis enim depotesse metus qui in se contineat vitæ periculum, aut corporis cruciatum.* Before, therefore, the queen's government can avail themselves of this excuse, it must be clearly proved, that Mr. Elliot was in that situation, which would have induced any firm man to believe, that he could only preserve his life, limbs, or liberty, by consenting to the delivery of the opium. It must also be remembered, that the duress of third parties, unless they be husband, wife, parent, or child, forms no excuse, and this was determined in the case of Hanscombe and Standing in the reign of James the Ist. But all the cases, in which duress has been held to put an end to an engagement, have arisen between the part guilty of the act of violence, and the party on whom it was committed, and depending, therefore, on the acknowledged principle, that no man shall profit by his own wrong. The present, however, is a case of third parties, and if there was duress, these third parties have sacrificed their property for the preservation of another. The more imminent the danger, the greater was the service, and the more meritorious the act, the less is the excuse for setting up such a defense. But if there was no danger, then was there no duress, and this species of defense altogether fails. Let us suppose a man seized by an Italian bandit, and carried into the mountains, from whence he writes to a banker in the next city, stating, that if he would give ten thousand scudi to the bearer, it would save the writer's throat from being cut, and that as soon as he had regained has liberty the money should be repaid; let us suppose the banker admitting to the messenger, that he was well aware of the captive's ability to repay him, but that he would not send the money to relieve the captive from his danger, merely because he was in danger, and therefore in duress — let us suppose the throat of the captive cut, and the most eminent counsel being of opinion, that the banker's law was right, what, I ask, would be the opinion of the world of that banker's conduct, and where is the man who will name the prize, for which he would endure the banker's feelings. I ask you, Mr. Editor, what your own

feelings would have been, if you had received that requisition and solemn pledge from Mr. Elliot, if you had sent him for answer: Sir, you are in duress, and I cannot therefore legally part with a ball of opium to relieve you — and the next morning you had heard that he and a hundred Europeans had been strangled at the stake? I believe that you would have thought your property well lost had it been given to save their lives. But I have as yet only stated one side, and that not the strong side of the question. I have only put the case of the banker or the opium dealer, withholding their property to save life; let me now put the real case; let us suppose the banker pays the ten thousand scudi, the captive's life is saved, his liberty is restored to him, and when asked to repay the money by which his existence has been redeemed, he replies by stating, duress I was under, and will not pay. I know not the country in which the law prevails by which such a plea would be supported, and I trust I may never know the man who would not pronounce such a defense a piece of measureless villainy. I admit, Sir, that in the present instance, it is not captain Elliot who will refuse to pay, but only the state who employs him; but the morality is the same — if there was duress, if there was danger, then have individuals depending on the pledge of a British official, sacrificed their property to save the life of that official, and the lives of a number of British citizens, and the country should redeem the pledge on which that sacrifice of property was made. But if there was no duress, the question returns to the simple point, that the authorized agent of the country has issued an order, which he was competent to issue, and which order every British subject was bound to obey.

The last point, which is the right of England to demand reparation from China, hardly requires an observation. But the demand must not be limited to mere apology for the insult offered to our representative. The mordacious mandarins may be easily frightened into such a concession, and will as easily keep the emperor and the people in utter ignorance of their submission. The only effectual and notorious reparation will be to exact from them the full value of the property of which they possessed themselves by a breach of all national law, and by committing a national insult: as long as they can keep that, they will never believe that they have made any reparation for their conduct, or that they ought to have the least respect for your power; nay, so far from it, they will heartily despise the folly which may induce you to put up with the loss of your money, and accept in its stead the untruths which the mandarins may coin.

I admit that the Chinese were fully entitled to seize any smuggled goods wherever they could find them, and, if the laws of their country authorized it, to inflict even the punishment of death on the detected smuggler. But this is distinct from the question of imprisoning the official representative of the British empire, and threatening his life when he had been guilty of no offense; and if some letters are correct, even this is nothing to the outrages perpetrated on the person of the second superintendent, Mr. Johnston. The barbarian poltroons had not the courage to attack the vessels at Lintin, and, therefore, they seized helpless individuals, and are guilty of a personal outrage and national insult to achieve an act, which they had a right to perform, but which they had not courage to attempt. I feel convinced that the whole of this violence has been occasioned by the commendable policy of Mr. Elliot in disclaiming the opium trade, and endeavoring to suppress it. The moment they saw it abandoned by the ruling authority, they feared that authority no longer, and they attributed his measures to pusillanimity. Impressed with the notion that he was afraid of them, and knowing he was the first man there, it became a matter of policy to seize his person and threaten his life.

It is puerile in the extreme not to accommodate yourself to the people with whom you have to deal. Who would give a lecture to a mechanic's institution in the language in which he would write a paper for a royal or antiquarian society, or address to a country vestry the arguments he would employ in a congress? How vain would it be to point out to the Chinese, that they had sinned against Vattel, Bynkershock, and Wicquefort; that even the admirable works of Story and Wheaton, though both American republicans, would unqualifiedly condemn them; it would be absurd to reason with men who are not sufficiently advanced in civilization to reason with you; you must meet them on their own ground. They understand no national rights, to them it is a science unknown; but they do understand how to bully, and therefore, when they seize your national representative and a hundred of your citizens, and threaten to strangle them, unless they compel others, to give up two millions of property, you should canopy Canton with your congreves and shrapnells, until the last pice of the plunder is disgorged. If this be not done, look well to your Indian possessions, those which are separated from them by Burmah and Nípál, will be the first to feel the effects of your policy. These states have been long disposed for resistance, and if Canton does not turn or pay tribute, the impunity which it

enjoys may encourage the Nípálese from the north, and the Burmese, from the south, to impose that fate on the metropolis of British India. *From the Canton Register.*

Such are the views of the able correspondent of the Hurkaru. His remarks on cant and humbug may be passed by in silence. In the main position, advocated in his letter, we readily concur. To us the traffic has ever seemed full of the worst of evils; and it has been with wonder and sorrow that we have seen honorable men embarked in it. Yet these persons are merely junior partners in the great undertaking; for, as Nomen declares, "the Indian government have created, and supplied the trade, and profited by it; the parliament and cabinet have given it their sanction; the traders have been merely the persons employed, and through whose exertions the immense revenue has been obtained." Accordingly it seems unfair that the latter should alone sustain the loss. If their claim be paid—to the full cost of the drug as it lay on their hands when they made the surrender,—their loss will still be great; if it be not paid, many, we fear, must be ruined. Why not then divide the loss, and let a generous government act as it did on the great question of the West Indian slavery?

In the course of his letter, Nomen touches some points, which deserve the most careful consideration; but in the present state of strongly excited feeling, pervading the foreign community, we hesitate to enter on a discussion of them, lest we should be found to deviate from a course of strict impartiality, which as faithful chroniclers we wish to maintain. We leave them therefore, not without the hope they may be taken up by other and abler pens.

ART. II. *Seamen's Friend Association in China. Quarterly report, &c. Communicated by the secretary of the Association.*

THE late day in January, at which the Association was organized, and its circulars prepared and issued, confine the present report to the short period, intervening between the Chinese new year, February 12th, and the suspension of communication with the fleet on the 22d of March. Within this period, returns were received from sixteen ships, nine of which were American and seven English, the results of which we lay before the public.

There were on board 7 English ships, (including 1 country ship)	252	sailors.
On board 7 American vessels	168	
Total	420	

Of this number, 262 were Europeans, 95 were Americans, 58 were Asiatics, and 5 Africans. Of the whole, 96 persons were under twenty years old, 226 were between the ages of twenty and thirty, 78 were between thirty and forty, and 20 were over forty years. The years of sea-service are not always given. The extremes in ten ships are six and fifteen years, and the average about ten years.

In giving the number of readers, the returns show that the same individuals are in some cases twice counted, as reading two or more languages. The information is, however, still valuable. The numbers are as follows: There were readers of the English language 329, French 18, Dutch 15, Spanish 4, Portuguese 7, Italian 4, Danish 9, Swedish 17, and in Asiatic languages 47. The number of persons who can write is 302. The number who have a Bible is 170, and those in possession of only a Testament amount to 48 persons.

None of the crews are entirely without other books, but the number of owners seems small. Not one of the American ships, and but three of the British ships, carry a surgeon. Spirits are given on board the British ships, with one exception; but all the American ships are navigated without them. In these vessels, tea and coffee are supplied to the crews, but no commutation in money is paid to the seamen.

Divine service is performed on board of five ships only. The crews of all these are reported as generally attending. To the inquiries of the committee, if the services of a chaplain in port would be agreeable, the replies of thirteen masters are a cheerful affirmative. One regards it as incumbent on the commander, one declines, and one is silent. Four ships only have libraries for the express use of the seamen. There are in special cases, small collections of select books put on board by Seamen's Friend societies.

Several ships, however, have "many books" at the service of the seamen. Five only of these seamen are known by their commanders to have deposits in saving's banks, though "several" are connected with Seamen's Friend societies.

These are the general results of the earliest inquiries made under the auspices of the Association. It would be premature to press them to conclusions. The committee hope that the circulars will be more and more generally responded to by commanders, and that the statistics thus collected will soon be complete enough to admit of their being submitted to the societies established elsewhere in behalf of seamen, as a sufficient title to a share in their sympathies, and in their benevolent appropriations.

ART. III. *Correspondence between the British merchants and captain Elliot, concerning a scale of demurrage.*

THE following correspondence between the committee appointed at the general meeting of British merchants, June 17th, 1839, and capt. Elliot, was in pursuance of the second resolution passed at that meeting, as reported on page 65. Its insertion is necessary in order to complete our account of the arrangements respecting the British ships while detained at the outer anchorages.

Captain Charles Elliot,

Chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China.

Sir,—With reference to the interview of the committee, appointed at the public meeting held at Messrs. Den t& Co.'s office on 12th and 17th of June, with you, on the 8th instant, I am now directed to hand you the inclosed copy of the notes of a meeting of that committee, with a proposed scale of demurrage for ships now lying in the outer anchorages. I am particularly to call to your attention that the committee do not profess, in the absence of legal decisions on strictly analogous cases, to determine on what parties any claim for demurrage may eventually fall, the point being one which it may be necessary to determine in the English courts of law, unless the British government should, by admitting in the first instance, the validity of the claim on them, render any such reference unnecessary. In regard to such ships as may be partially loaded, and be desirous of transhipping their goods to other vessels, it appears to the committee that such transhipment could only be made, on the government, or you as their representative, taking the responsibility of insurance, inasmuch as the owners and consignees of goods at present hold the underwriters liable under the original policies of insurance, and cannot be expected to perform any act, which would release them from that liability, without some other equally effectual security. The committee are clearly of opinion that as the ultimate incidence of the payment for demurrage must be left for adjustment by the British government, or courts of law, the consignees of goods here cannot be expected to make any payment on that account, and as goods cannot be detained except for freight, the captain and consignees of vessels should sue for their demurrage in England, under protests to be made and recorded here. In cases of transhipment, the consignees of

goods, the committee apprehend, will hold the ships liable for eventual due delivery of the cargo under the original bills of lading; and transhipment would therefore be most properly made the subject of arrangement between the captain and consignees of the ships bringing the goods, and those of the vessels to which they may be transferred. And with this view, the committee consider that, should, under special circumstances, such transhipment become necessary, the hiring of the requisite store-ships would rest with her majesty's superintendent; who could best decide on the necessity of that measure, with reference to the particular merits of each individual case. Should you have any suggestions or observations to make with reference to the enclosed paper, or the remarks connected with it, I shall be happy to receive and communicate them to the committee.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed). GEORGE T. BRAINE,

Macao, 10th July, 1829. Chairman.

Notes of an adjourned meeting of the committee appointed at the public meeting held at Messrs. Dent and Co.'s office on the 17th June. Present:—W. Dent, A. C. Maclean, D. Rustomjee, C. Kerr, A. Jardine, G. Smith, and G. T. Braine—Chairman.

1. In accordance with a suggestion made by captain Elliot in a personal interview, the committee consider it desirable to frame a scale of demurrage for goods on board ships now lying at the outer anchorages.

2. At the same time the committee deem it proper to record their opinion that in the absence of any decided cases of strictly analogous character to the present position of matters in China, they are not competent to form any conclusion as to whether the ships have a valid claim for demurrage, and if demurrage be actually due, on whom such claim may equitably fall; the object of forming the proposed scale being merely to establish uniformity of practice in respect to the rate of charge. The committee consider it desirable to divide the vessels for Whampoa into three classes.

1st class, above 600 tons register;
2d class, from 350 to 600 tons register;
3d class, under 350 „ „

3. The committee are of opinion that demurrage, if due, might, fairly, under the circumstances, commence one month after arrival in Macao roads, or Hongkong; but in no case to begin until one month after the date of captain Elliot's public notice of March 23d, 1839.

4. The committee have thought it desirable to propose the fol-

lowing scale as a reasonable claim for demurrage *on the part of the owners of the ships.*

1. *Ships from India.* Rate of charge per month on cotton.

1st class ships, 50 cents per bale of 300 lbs.

2d do. 60

3d do. 75

Sandal wood and fishmaws, 20 cents per pecul in all ships.

Saltpetre, betel nut, pepper, tin, and any other Indian produce, not enumerated, 10 cents per pecul in all ships.

2. *Ships from England.*

Measurement goods, $2½ per ton of 50 cubic feet. Metals and other dead weight, $1 per ton of 20 cwt.

(Signed) GEORGE T. BRAINE, Chairman.

To G. T. Braine, Esq.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your letter of the 10th instant, and I beg you to convey to the committee my thanks for the assistance they have afforded me on this occasion.

My own opinion is concurrent with theirs, that the determination of the parties, upon whom any charge for demurrage should eventually fall, must be left to the decision of the courts in England.

Respecting ships partially unloaded, and which it may be desired to discharge, I am ready, for convenience sake, to undertake the public responsibility of insurance of any goods or produce (not contraband in the country) transhipped for safe deposit into British bottoms: upon an understanding, however, that the charge should devolve upon the shippers, if it should hereafter be legally determined that the master, under all the circumstances of the case, would have been justified in making such deposit, at the risk of the merchant.

I agree with the committee that as the ultimate incidence of the payment for demurrage must be determined in England, it is not reasonable that any payment should be made here on that account. It is likewise my impression that the terms of transhipment should most properly be left for arrangement between the masters and consignees of the carrying ships, and those of the vessels to which they may be transferred.

The opinion of the committee, concerning transhipment at all, expressed in the last paragraph of your letter, is coincident with my own.

I have the honor to remain, Sir, &c.

Macao, July 15th, 1839. CHARLES ELLIOT,

Chief superintendent of British trade, &c.

ART. IV. *Edict of the king of Siam against the introduction and sale of opium within his dominions.*

[We republish the following Siamese state paper from the Singapore Free Press of the 13th of June. The correspondent of the Press states that, severe measures had been instituted against the dealers in the drug, many natives and Chinese seized and confession extorted from them, and their opium taken away. By these procedures, the king obtained about 500 chests, and became acquainted with the traffic in the article. It is also said, that the government had been stimulated in their endeavors to suppress the traffic by a rebuke from the Chinese government to the Siamese embassador last year, on its being ascertained that his retinue had been engaged in dealing in it. The edict has been widely distributed among the people, ten thousand copies having been printed at the American mission press in Bangkok. We wish that more care had been taken to make the translation smoother, as the document appears to have been well drawn up in the original.]

WHEREAS the governor of the sacred treasury, and director in the place of Samuha, phra Kalahom, did receive the sacred royal words, placing them on the tuft of the hair of his head; his majesty did exercise divine compassion, condescending graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, and commanded saying:—

From the time he ascended peacefully to eat the kingdom, he established his divine mind to protect the divine and holy religion of Búdha, and protect the land, overruling the sacred and kingly race both great and small, and all the officers who speak at the dust of the soles of the feet, and the plebeians and merchants. His majesty will have all seek their living without crime, and will have them universally obtain emolument of property, and live coolly, being happy henceforward agreeably with his divine mind, being determined to extend onward in his own person the race of the gods, he being endowed with very much divine exalted mercy and compassion towards mankind universally, giving himself to exercise the sacred and royal thoughts, perceived, that people smoke and eat opium, which is a thorn in the bosom of the divine religion of Búdha, giving the lands to bring forth confusion and distress of various kinds; his majesty perceived that opium is an evil thing and contraband in every reign (land), from time immemorial till now. He therefore formerly condescended graciously to the tuft of hair of the head, with grace to the head, and pronounced a divine word — a commandment giving it to be distributed and published abroad, not allowing any person whatever to buy and sell opium, prepared or raw, be the same

whose it might. It required every item of opium to be brought and delivered over into the sacred treasury, on the left hand of the throne, until it might be conveyed away from time to time, and sold in foreign places. It forbade that opium should be kept in villages, houses, sheds, stalls, boats, or floats, and clandestinely sold among the people. In case of disobedience, it required, that if the transgressor was taken, his opium should be brought and judgment instituted, fining the owner ten times the value of the opium. The opium thus taken, his majesty graciously granted to have taken away and sold in some foreign place. The price obtained for it, whatever it might be, he granted to be deducted, from the amount of the fine inflicted upon the owner of the opium. He gave the royal servants to form themselves into companies for the clearing away of the opium concerns, and inflict punishment by the fines agreeably with his divine mind; to punish covetous persons who secrete opium, buying and selling it. He would have them to sacrifice their property by the amount of the fines inflicted upon the owner of the opium, that it might operate as a restraint. Accordingly, men who regarded the welfare of the land, who were grateful for the divine favors of the king, the god Búdha who dwells at the head, brought opium and delivered it over following the law, the divine royal commandment. There were those who were wicked, reprobate, covetous, greedy, in the business of buying and selling opium. These continued clandestinely to buy and sell opium until certain persons caught them, and inflicted fines upon them; of such there were very many in many places. Thus his majesty has given to establish companies for catching and inflicting fines very many, for a period of ten years or more, but still smuggling, receiving opium, and bringing it in and selling it, has increased greatly beyond what it was formerly. Persons who smoke and eat opium have become very abundant and increasing. There is no restraint to it—no forsaking it. Therefore the king, the god Búdha, living at the head, does with solicitude exercise his divine mind to silence, and cut off opium, that it shall not be allowed to exist in the land. Again; this opium has no seed, no fruit, no stalk, or root, within the bounds of the kingdom. This opium all comes from foreign countries. If there were no persons to receive and buy it, and seek to have it come hither, opium would cease to exist here, and those who have become accustomed to smoke and eat it, would have none to purchase, and then they would of necessity diminish the quantity they consume, smoking less and less, until some could abstain entirely, and those who are not accustomed to smoke opium,

would not henceforward become intimate with, and be led together by opium smoking and eating.

Again; now at this present time, there are traders and merchants in the angelic city of the exalted country, owners of junks and smaller craft that go to trade in foreign countries, and still purchase opium, and come and smuggle it in, buying and selling one with another. Again to instance; traders in foreign places, understanding that merchants in the angelic city of the great exalted country, do clandestinely purchase and sell opium, will consequently freight with opium, come and secretly trade in it at the extremities of the kingdom. There are others who receive it, and bear it from one to another coming into the country; consequently opium remains in the land as much as before without any cessation. This business of smuggling and clandestinely buying and selling opium is for money altogether. The silver and gold of the land consequently goes out to foreign countries in great quantities. It is therefore indispensable to prohibit this and cause it to cease, by taking as prisoners those concerned, causing it to operate as a restraint without fail. For these reasons there is issued a divine royal decree, speaking and commanding the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the phra Kalahom, giving him to investigate, search out, meet and catch the traders and owners of opium, and those also who receive it, buying and selling on commission, making sure their persons.

When in the fourth month of the year of the dog, the last year of the cycle of ten, his honor the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the Samuha, Kalahom, went out to conduct the fleet to sea, he was made acquainted with a matter saying, that certain Chinese fellows with two oared boats had entered and made fast their boats; and were selling opium at the place Sam-muk. He carried the matter up, prostrating himself, and addressed the divine royal compassion, informing him at the dust of the soles of the divine feet.

His majesty graciously condescended to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, granting the governor of the martial power Kose, the governor-commissary Sak-da, to muster soldiers armed with guns in the province of Somut Parakan, gave them to go down in war-boats, and go forth following up, until they captured a Chinese oar-boat, and obtained twenty-three chests of opium.

The Chinese fellow of the boats testified saying, that he put into Ban-lem, and sold 8 chests of opium to a certain person of that village. His majesty therefore graciously gave the sacred and exalted angelic

phra Maha Thep, to go out and clear away the concern; they took the Chinese fellows who received the opium purchasing it. By investigation, they were found to be stationed in many places, all joined together. His majesty therefore gave the royal officers to divide themselves asunder, and go to clear away the companies of opium traders in the order of all the head countries, on the sea-coast, and in the angelic city of the sacred exalted country, and all the head countries at the south and north. Both Siamese and Chinese merchants, and dealers very many, do still bring opium and smuggle it in, lay it up, and clandestinely buy and sell it together. Formerly his majesty graciously gave the royal servants to establish companies for the clearing away of the matter, to search out and capture the transgressors, with the opium, and bring them to determine and inflict fines upon them. But these officers were only of the lower orders of the royal servants. They did not make a finish of the work of cleansing away, searching out, and taking the opium. But now the king, the divine Búdha, dwelling at the head, will exercise himself to cleanse away the opium. He therefore condescending graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, speaks commanding saying; that he now appoints only the sacred most excellent princes, and the less noble ministers of state, among whom is that royal beloved Ronnaret, which honor is a free gift, and the governor Bedin Decha, who bears also the office of Samuha Nayok. The governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of the Samuha, phra Kalahom, and the supreme judges; and all the officers who speak at the dust of the soles of the divine feet, these all being duly sensible of the divine power and divine favor, are united harmoniously to aid in protecting the land.

They will aid each other in protecting the land. They will aid each other in searching out and cleansing away the opium business, and taking the owners of the opium, and the opium, making a complete finish of it without fail. If in clearing away the concern, they take the persons of those who keep opium, those persons shall be accounted capital criminals, and shall be fined and severely punished, giving it to operate as an effectual restraint upon them, and that all other persons may fear and revere the divine royal absolute power and authority, that henceforward they may not presume to buy and sell opium any more. Opium being all gone, the thorn in the bosom of the land will have been removed entirely, at least in one particular. Nevertheless, his majesty does exercise a tender affectionate regard toward the farmers of the revenue —

the masters of the royal business, merchants and traders generally, who have taken shelter in the divine beneficence, and have found protection in the land, trading for a livelihood, and have obtained happiness coming to this time. Perhaps if they have already got opium in their possession, they will fear to bring it and confess, and from fear of being found guilty, and from fear of suffering shame and disgrace, will resolve to conceal it, storing it away, with a heart to contemn the law. Such persons cannot escape justice, they must and shall be scoured out and brought to justice, to suffer the divine royal absolute power, and be rewarded with the wasting of their property, the ruin of their persons, and the extinction of their name, without any equivalent.

His majesty, the king, the divine Búdha dwelling at the head, exercising sacred exalted mercy and compassion very much towards the plebeians and all the officers of the land, condescends graciously to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, he desires to give an opportunity of escape to those who have opium in their possession. Get them to bring their opium and confess their sins. Their sin shall then be removed away, together with the fine which the law inflicts. It is a royal free gift, the same as in the year of the fowl, the ninth year of the cycle of ten (three years ago), when robbers, waxing bold, stole elephants, horses, cattle, and buffaloes, plundering, poisoning, and breaking into houses, and taking away goods and chattels; such things were very prevalent. Had a company been set apart to take these robbers, they would certainly have been taken, and they would have been obliged to suffer, some the loss of life, some whipping and imprisonment, according to the law. His majesty exercised himself and considered that all these robbers, who were indeed worthy to suffer punishment in this generation, and the generation to come, were the people and the officers of the land; his majesty did therefore graciously condescend to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, giving a decree to write and publish and sound it abroad to the people, saying: whosoever has acted the robber, has been wicked and vile in time past, let him come and confess his sin, revealing the truth to the chief of the company of judges. The companies of robbers, all that knew themselves, feared the divine royal absolute power, and came in great numbers, confessing their sins. His majesty graciously gave to set the punishment aside as a free gift, and vouchsafed that all the justices and judges should forgive such, and forbade that they should call them to account. Afterwards, his majesty granted a divine and royal gift, a

divine and royal commandment and instructions, giving all to know themselves, that they might forsake the wicked works, which they formerly committed, saying: if any one shall turn himself about, and following the ancient proverb saying, 'the beginning was crooked, the end shall be straight,' that man shall certainly obtain happiness in this generation, and the one to come, agreeably with the divine mind endowed with sacred exalted mercy and compassion, which will assist the people, giving them to obtain peace and happiness henceforward.

Now the same shall be fulfilled in case of those who have opium, because formerly they practiced perversely and madly transgressed. If they shall know themselves to be sinners and fear transgression, then let them bring their opium, however much or little, let them bring it and confess their sin before the faces of the governor of curses, the supreme judge, whom his majesty has graciously given to be the chief of the company set apart to receive the confessions of the guilty. Whosoever shall bring all his opium, and confess all his sins, in sincerity and truth, no matter if he shall have bought much or little, his majesty will graciously condescend to the tuft of the hair of the head, with grace to the head, granting a divine pardon, a divine free gift touching his capital sins, and the fine consequent thereupon. These shall not exist in the case of the person who shall confess his sin.

The king, the divine Búdha, who dwells at the head, begs to prohibit only one thing, viz. the buying and selling of opium. Let no one henceforward trade in it. As to sapan-wood, pepper, rhinoceros' and elephants' teeth, and cardamums, which things were formerly contraband articles of trade, his majesty now graciously grants that they be made articles of trade in the land, giving to buy and sell of the same as may be desired. They are not at all prohibited. Even rice and salt, which are articles for the sustenance of the divine country, these also his majesty grants to be diminished for the purposes of trade; agreeably with the divine mind and will, he will have the farmers of the revenue, the masters of the public business, and the merchants and traders, find protection in the sacred most excellent beneficence, and acquire property in great abundance, and become famous, noble, rising, and will have them obtain beautiful countries in the future. As to opium it is not an article of trade. That it should be made such, buying and selling it one with another, is by no means good. His majesty therefore exercises himself to prohibit it altogether. He therefore graciously condescending to the tuft of the

hair of the head, with grace to the head, gives the good, the royal, beloved Ronnaret, and the governor Bodin Decha filling the station of Samuha Nayok, and the governor of the sacred treasury, dictator in the place of Samuha, Phra Kalahom, and the supreme judge, to be the generals of the band, supported by all the royal officers both great and small, constituting a company to cleanse away the opium in the angelic city of the great exalted country. His majesty graciously grants the governor Phon Gatep ('ruler of angelic forces'), with the governor Phra Maha Thep ('the divine exalted angel'), to go out and establish companies to investigate and clear away the opium concern in the countries of Pet Cha Baree, Samut The Song Kram, Sakhon Baree, and Nakoncha-see. He gives the exalted governor Amati-yah, governor Wisut Kosa, Cha Mun Chaiya-phon and Cha Mun Inlhamat to go forth and constitute a company for clearing away the opium in Bamplasoi, Chaseungson prachin, and Na khon Nayok. His majesty graciously grants a seal (a sealed communication) to go forth to governor Yommarat (lord of hell), and governor See Pepat, giving them to clear away the opium in the provinces of Song kla, Thelang Phung Thah, Takúa thùng and Takúa pa. His majesty has already graciously given the governor of Chai ya to go forth and purify the opium there. If the companies of opium purifiers in the angelic city of the exalted country, shall, in their inquisitions among the Siamese and Chinese, find owners of opium who are leagued with other proprietors in the provinces, then a sealed letter shall go forth, authorizing the royal officers to take such persons, and bring them in to try and purify them in the angelic city of the great exalted country. If the companies of opium purifiers in the head provinces shall, while making inquiries, find owners of opium, who are in league with others, Siamese or Chinese, in the angelic city of the exalted country, then let the officers give information by letter coming in, and those who are thus in league shall be conveyed, not to be purified in those head provinces. His majesty will have the royal servants of the companies of purifiers, purify and search out the matter, until they shall meet, reaching to the companies of purifiers in the angelic city of the exalted country, making a finish of purifying, only with the taking of all the opium in the country. If there be any persons residing within the suburbs of the angelic city of the exalted country owning opium, however much or little, let them bring all their opium and confess their sins. Whatever owner of opium will not bring his opium and confess his sin, but secretes the opium desiring to trade with it, seeking his living in the

business of buying and selling opium, not fearing nor dreading the divine royal absolute power, he shall be without favor, and shall have the fruits of wickedness. Let him beget destruction and annihilation. His majesty exercises the divine royal thought, giving to search out and cleanse away, and take the persons of these who have opium and try them in righteousness strictly, he will then give to punish, bringing down upon them the divine royal power and authority with tremendous weight. If he be found guilty of death let his life be taken. Let no persons henceforward take his example to buy and sell opium in the land. His majesty appoints Phya Chaduck the royal wealthy governor of the port, and Phya Rong Muong (governor assistant sustainer of the country), and Khrome Ma phra Na khon Ban (god protector of the divine country), to receive this proclamation, write, apply the seal, and distribute to every magistrate of the Siamese and Chinese, giving them to publish, blowing the voice to the people of all classes and merchants and traders, who are established in villages, wooden houses, brick houses, sheds, stalls, boats, and floats, giving all to understand without fail. Let the Maha Thai (name of public servants), the Kalahom (another great and good), Phra Sata Sa dee, write informing the royal servants, both great and little persons, on the side of the soldiers, on the side of occupants of houses, within the divine Royal palace of his majesty the king, within the sacred royal palace of the late most excellent second king, the servants of the lords and of those that are not lords, the lords without and the lords within, every class and every lord; masters shall charge and inform their servants, and people in succession, giving them all to understand together; let there be no exception. In obedience to the commandment of his majesty the king. Written from Thursday the sixth month, coming to the 6th evening, Chun-la-sa-ka-rat 1,201, (the year of the Mog), the first of the cycle of ten years. *Singapore Free Press, 13th June.*

ART. V. *Description of the tea plant; its name; cultivation; mode of curing the leaves; transportation to Canton; sale and foreign consumption; endeavors to raise the shrub in other countries.*

THE tea shrub, indigenous in China and Japan, remained concealed from the rest of mankind for centuries after its virtues were known

to the natives of these countries, and the infusion of its leaves used as a common beverage. While the silk from the same regions early found its way by gradual advances to the capitals and courts of western kingdoms, this luxury was untasted in those countries until about 175 years ago. Since its introduction, however, its consumption has increased with unexampled rapidity, and it now ranks after cotton and sugar, one of the great staples of international commerce; and has passed from being called a luxury, to be held as a necessary of life. "The progress of this famous plant," says an eminent writer, "has been something like the progress of truth; suspected at first, though very palatable to those who had courage to taste it; resisted as it encroached; abused as its popularity seemed to spread; and establishing its triumph at last, in cheering the whole land from the palace to the cottage, only by the slow and resistless effects of time and its own virtues." *Edin. Rev.*

The native name of tea in both China and Japan is *cha*, changed into *tay* in the principal dialects of Fuhkeën, from one or the other of which sources the term has found its way, with little or no alteration, into all the leading languages of the world. It has been called by two or three names among the Chinese themselves, and it was not until about the eighth century that it received its present appellation. Chinese scholars have supposed that the *keä* 檟 mentioned in ancient books was the tea plant, as its infusion is said to have been drank. Notices of its use, however, which are entitled to credit, occur as early as A. D. 350, about the time of the Eastern Tsin dynasty, when the plant was called 茗 *ming*. During the Tang dynasty, A. D. 800, the use of tea as a beverage became common among all classes; the name was then written 荼 *too;* but the upper stroke of the lower half of the character was soon after dropped, and it received its present form and name of 茶 *cha*. Writers endeavor to account for some of these synonyms, by saying, that the first picking was called 荼 *cha*, the second 茗 *ming*, and the third 舛 *chuen*, which last is still another term of it. The Pun Tsaou calls the plant 茗 *ming*. Like many other things, which have afterwards become of great importance, the virtues of the tea plant were gradually ascertained and acknowledged, while no one took the trouble to note the earliest stages of its adoption.

Its botanical name is *Thea*, but its affinities with the *Camellia* are so numerous, that some eminent botanists unite it with that genus, and sink the name of *Thea;* whether there are two species is still a

doubtful point, some inclining to suppose the green and black tea distinct, while other observers, judging from the many varieties induced by cultivation in the *Camellia Japonica*, also regard the different kinds of tea as all produced from one species. From all that we can learn, it is more than probable that the two were at first identical, but long cultivation in different climates and soils has wrought changes upon the plant similar to those upon the apple or cherry. Loureiro, in his Flora Cochinchinensis, observes that he had examined the tea which grows in the vicinity of Canton, and the dried flowers of the plant which produced souchong, and compared them both with the *Thea bohea* and *Thea viridis*, and that the same sort from different localities was unlike, and all differed from one another in such a manner, as led him to suppose all of them to have been produced from one and the same species.

The shrub is usually from three to five and six feet high, with numerous branches bearing a very dense foliage, and in its general aspect is not unlike a myrtle, though not so symmetrical as that plant. The wood is hard and tough, and when freshly cut or peeled gives off an unpleasant smell. The leaves are coriaceous or leathery, but smooth and shining, of a dark green color; the edges are notched or serrated, and the leaf itself stands on a short petiole. Those of *T. viridis*, or green tea, are broader than the black in proportion to their length, but not so thick, and are somewhat acuminate or curled at the apex; those of *Thea bohea* are elliptical-oblong and flat. Some authors of note say that the leaves of green tea are three times as broad as long, and those of black tea twice as broad as long, but this is evidently a mistake. Chinese traders in tea say, "that the shrubs cannot be distinguished, they are nearly alike. The leaf of black tea is long and pointed, that of green tea is shorter and somewhat roundish, which is caused by the different soils." The flowers open early in the spring, and appear upon the plant about a month; they are smaller in size, and much less elegant in appearance, than those that render the Camellia so attractive. They are about an inch in diameter, perfectly inodorous, and of a pure white color; they proceed from the axils of the branches, and stand on short foot-stalks, at the most two or three together, but usually solitary. There are five or six imbricate sepals, or leaves supporting the blossom, which fall off after the flower has expanded, and leave from six to nine petals surrounding a great number of stamens, that are joined together in such a manner at their bases as to form a sort of floral coronal. The seeds are inclosed in a smooth hard capsule of a flattish triangular shape,

which is interiorly divided into two, three and even five cells, each containing a firm, white, and somewhat oily nut, about the size of a hazel-nut, of a bitterish and nauseous taste. They ripen in December and January.

The tea plant is said by good Chinese authority to be cultivated in every province of the empire to a greater or less extent, but it flourishes in some of them in higher perfection than in others. The four provinces of Fuhkeën, Nganhwuy, Keängsoo, and Kwangtung produce the largest part of the tea which is exported from Canton. Large quantities are also consumed by the countries adjacent to the western frontier; and Russia also carries on an important trade in it, both of which markets are supplied from the western provinces. The northern parts of Fuhkeën afford the finest kinds of black tea. They are produced in the vallies and on the acclivities of the Bohea hills, and lie in lat. 27° 47′ north, and long. 119° east, in the districts of Keënngan and Tsungngan, a part of the department of Keënning. The name is pronounced Wooe in the court dialect, Moe in the Canton dialect, while in Fuhkeën itself, the hills are known as the Booe hills. The green teas are cultivated in the province of Nganhwuy, in a tract of country lying in lat. 35° north, and long. 116° to 118° east, at the base of a ridge of mountains or hills, called the Sunglo hills, which divides the province from those of Chĕkeäng and Keängsoo. With the increase of trade the cultivation has extended. The district of Tsinke in Kwangse produces a small amount. Those kinds of tea, called *Ankoy teas,* come from the two districts of Nangan and Anke in the southwestern part of Fuhkeën in the department of Tseuenchow. Two or three districts in the province of Kwangtung, bordering on Keängse, furnish both green and black tea in considerable quantities; among which Hoping and Tsingyuen furnish the most black, and Heŏshan, the most green tea. The two middle provinces, Hoonan and Hoopih, as well as Houan and Szechuen, also raise a surplus for exportation. In the reign of Hungwoo of the Ming dynasty, it was ascertained by the Board of Revenue, that 447 localities in the province of Szechuen alone produced tea, and probably the number at present is greater. The extreme northern provinces are not very productive; and from what we can learn, the principal supplies for the capital are brought from the other provinces, a large proportion of it as a tax levied in kind.

The soil of those plantations which have been examined by foreigners is very thin, in some places but little more than mere sand; a soil very similar to that which produces pines and scrub oaks. The

shrubs are usually planted on the declivities of hills, where there can be but little accumulation of vegetable mold; not so low as where water springs out, or so high up as to be exposed to the violence of storms. That which is somewhat loamy and dampish is esteemed to be good soil by the cultivators. Dr. Abel remarks that the soil in which he saw the best specimens was composed of disintegrated sandstone or granite. The soil in the Anke hills visited by Mr. Gordon was of a similar nature, and colored by an oxyd of iron; and this also is the character of the plantations near Canton. In the Anke hills, the cultivation of the shrub does not interfere at all with the raising of wheat or other grain, the trees being scattered about on the hill-sides in situations where few other plants would grow.

The tea is always raised from seed, which is first sown very thickly in nursery beds, as the greater part proves abortive; and then, when the nurslings have attained a proper size, they are transplanted to beds prepared for them. The holes into which the seeds are thrown are three or four inches deep, and about three months elapse before the shoots are ready to be transplanted; but the common practice in many places appears to be to sow the seeds in the beds prepared for them, and never after to remove them. The plants are not manured or irrigated by art, nor does it appear to be usual to prepare the ground for their reception; a spot with a southerly exposure is preferred, where they are placed in beds in a regular manner at intervals of from four to five feet. Care is taken that the plants are not overshadowed by large trees, and certain superstitious notions prevail concerning the noxious influence of vegetables and certain trees when growing too near the tea. An easterly exposure is avoided where that would bring a wind from the sea, but cold, hoar-frost, or even snow does not injure the plant. It is sometimes destroyed by a worm that eats up the pith, and converts the stem into tubes, and by lichens which attack and cover old shrubs. Leaves are taken from the plant when three years old, but it does not attain its greatest size under six or seven, and thrives according to circumstances, care, and position, from ten to twenty years. In some instances, the branches are pruned, which, together with the constant abstraction of the foliage, has a tendency to reduce the height; it, however, expands laterally, and after a time spreads so as rather to resemble a collection of plants than a single shrub. In these specimens, the size of the leaves is rather less than when the plant is suffered to grow higher, but they cover the branches so thickly as hardly to permit the hand to be thrust in among them.

From a manuscript written by an intelligent native, whom we infer from its contents to be either one of the traveling traders to the Bohea hills, (a class of persons between the hong merchants at Canton and the cultivators in Fuhkeën,) or else one of the landlords resident in that province, we extract some particulars concerning the hills. There are two ranges, both of which form part of the same great chain, and lie between the provinces of Fuhkeën and Keängse. They derive the name of Woo-e from two brothers, Woo and E, the sons of a prince in ancient times, who, on his decease, refusing to succeed him, left their patrimony, and took up their residence on these picturesque hills; their mansion was after their death called the palace of Woo-e, and now the inhabitants constantly burn incense to their memory. The hills were, however, famous for their tea as early as A.D. 960, in the Sung dynasty, before they were known as the Bohea hills. A legend states, that, on a time there appeared to the peasantry a venerable old man, who held a sprig of the tea plant in his hand, and proposed to them to make a decoction of it, and drink it. They tried his proposal, and approved the plan, when he immediately disappeared. The circuit of these hills is about 120 *le*, in all parts of which tea is raised; a stream divides them, on the northern side of which the best tea grows, probably, because it has a southern exposure. As these two ranges produce the best tea, their names are most widely extended, but there are between 20 and 25 localities in their vicinity, all of which produce excellent tea. There are several villages among the hills, where the landlords and cultivators reside; and one of them, Singtsun, is a sort of mart to which all those persons resort who deal in the leaf.

According to this manuscript, the seeds are carefully mixed up with wet sand in the spring of the year, and the next year the seedlings are transplanted into beds, where they remain without any further care until the leaves are ready to be picked. Some localities produce tea of a better flavor than others; and care is taken to examine the soil of the beds. Purchasers inquire the position of the gardens from which the samples before them were taken; and tea from near the summit of a hill, from its middle, and base, bear prices corresponding to its relative height. If the soil is good, the leaves can be picked when the plant is of two years growth, but if it is poor and dry, three years are required. There are individual shrubs which are celebrated, either from some accidental associations, or from the goodness of their tea. One, called the egg-plant tree, grows in a deep gully between two hills, and is nourished by the water which trick-

les from the precipice. The produce of another is appropriated to imperial use, and an officer is deputed every year to superintend the gathering and curing. A third is said to have borne leaves since the time of the Sung dynasty; and there are many others, some of which have singular descriptive names, that are held as remarkable. The produce of these trees is never brought to Canton as an article of sale; it is reserved for imperial use and for grandees. It is said, the tea from the most celebrated trees is valued at 120 dollars per catty, and the cheapest is not under 20 dollars.

The picking of the leaf is sometimes performed by a different class of laborers from those who cure it; but in this, as in other parts of the manufacture, the practice is not uniform in all places. There are four pickings in the course of the year, but the last is considered as rather a gleaning than a regular gathering. The first is made as soon as the fifteenth of April, and in favorable seasons even earlier, when the delicate leaf buds appear, and the foliage is just opening, being covered with a whitish down. The quantity obtained is small, but the quality is superior, and the finest sorts of tea are made from it. The next picking is technically called *urh chun*, or 'second spring,' as the first is *show chun*, or 'first spring,' and takes place at the end of the fourth month and beginning of the fifth, answering to the first part of June, when the branches are covered with leaves, and produce the greatest quantity. The third, called *san chun*, or 'third spring,' is about a month after the last, when the shrubs are again searched, and the produce made into the most common sorts of tea. A fourth gleaning, called *tsew loo*, or 'autumn dew,' from the name of a term, is made by some at the commencement of autumn; but this is not a universal practice, for the leaves are old, fit only for the coarsest kinds. Inferior tea is sometimes gathered by clipping the small twigs with shears, a practice that fills it with bad leaves and small sticks; but the usual mode is to cull the leaves by hand, and lay them loosely on bamboo trays or baskets. The produce of single plants varies so much that it is difficult to estimate the average. Our Chinese author says, two catties in weight of green leaves are obtained from some of the celebrated trees, but the usual quantity is between ten taels and a catty of green leaves, or from one pound to 22 oz. av. Mr. Gordon was told that each plant yielded a tael of dry tea annually, which would be nearly five taels of green leaves. He says, that a mow (1000 sq. yds.) of land contains between 300 to 400 plants; and in his visit to the Anke hills, he remarked that the distance from centre to centre of the plants was about 4½ feet, and

they were about two feet in diameter. It is evident, from the nature of the case, that no amount can be fixed upon as the average produce.

The weather has great influence upon the quality of the leaves. If there is too much rain, then they will become mildewed and broken, of a yellow color, and not at all flourishing; if too little, they will be small in size, and the foliage not at all abundant. But if the rains fall equably, and after the showers a bright sun appears, then they will be thick and flourishing, of a bright green color and thick texture, and the flavor superior. "In picking the leaves," says the manuscript, "it is important to regard the state of the weather. When they are fit, and the right day has come, it must be immediately improved; for if one day too late, the leaves will be old and hard, cannot be rolled up compactly, and the flavor will be inferior; so if one day too early, they will not be so good: the proper period is known by testing the leaf. When the time has come, and the weather is fair, then engage a large number of hands,—men, women, and children,—and gather them as fast as possible, for that is especially important. Each person, can on an average, pick ten catties in a day, and for each catty he is paid five or six cash; he should also carry some dry provision in his pocket, that no time be lost in going to and returning from his meals. He must be told not to pick the old and yellow leaves, nor those that are too young, or broken; and after the trays are brought home, such must be sorted out." This account applies more strictly to large plantations, where the landlord directs the workmen, but in smaller establishments and single families, the cultivation and picking are done by the household, and the leaves, after assorting them, are carried to the curing-houses for sale. It is said by the same authority that this mode is practiced in the province of Nganhwuy and the green tea districts generally; and it appeared to Mr. Gordon be the usual mode on the Anke hills. In the vicinity of Canton it is the customary practice; and from the nature of the case, in most instances, no other mode can well be adopted.

The curing of the leaf is performed by persons skilled in the business, and some of the descriptions of tea known in the market depend in a good degree upon the particular mode in which they are prepared. This part of the manufacture has nearly as much to do with the quality of the tea, as the age of the leaf, and much more than either the soil or cultivation. The manuscript just quoted, says, "that on the Bohea hills, when the leaves are brought to the curing-

house, they are thinly spread upon bamboo trays, and placed on frames in the wind to dry until they become somewhat soft; then, while lying on the tray, they are gently rubbed and rolled, until red spots begin to appear, when they are tested by pouring hot water upon them to see if the edge of the leaf becomes yellowish. They must be rubbed many times and equably, and from the labor attending this process, the tea is called *kungfoo cha,* or 'worked tea' [from whence the English term *congo* is derived]. When the leaves have been rubbed sufficiently, they are ready for firing, in which operation several rules must be attentively observed. The iron pan being made red-hot, the workman sprinkles a handful of leaves upon it, and waits until each leaf pops with a slight noise, when he instantly sweeps them all out; he must remove them quickly, lest they be reduced to a cinder. They are now put into drying baskets, and placed over a fire of coals. This fire should be made of compact charcoal, and when thoroughly ignited, a layer of ashes spread upon it, that no smoke ascend into the baskets. About ten catties are put into each basket, and the workman, while it is over the fire, stirs the leaves around with his hand until they are perfectly dry. After this, the tea is poured into chests, and set away in a dry place, where it is presently packed in chests lined with lead, and papered to prevent injury from dampness. In curing the finest kinds of tea, as powchong, pekoe, &c., not more than ten or twenty leaves are thrown into the hot pan at once, nor more than ten taels laid upon a single tray to be rolled, or put into a single basket to be dried. As soon as the curing is finished, these sorts are rolled up in small papers, two or three taels in each package, and stamped with the name of the plantation, and the day of curing, and then put into leaden canisters. A large proportion of this sort of tea is bought up by merchants from Heämun (Amoy) in Fuhkeën, who make advances to the cultivators."

"Whoever wishes to engage in the green tea business," continues the manuscript, "first buys the green leaves, and then hires men to sift and cure them. They are first sifted, and then winnowed in fanning-mills in order to separate the sticks and bad leaves, after which they are fired, four or five catties at a time. Young leaves are fired over a gentle, and old ones over a hot, fire, for about half an hour, or while two incense-sticks can burn out. For firing one pan-full, the workman is paid eight cash." This account agrees in the main with statements from other sources, and the difference in the two modes pursued in curing black and green teas sufficiently accounts for the dissimilarity between the appearance and color

of the dried leaf, even if they had been originally picked from the same plant. This same author says, "that the difference in the color of black and green tea arises wholly from the mode of curing; green tea is cured over a slow fire, and not dried in baskets afterwards; but putting the leaf into red-hot pans, and subsequently drying it over a covered fire, makes it black. Green tea can be changed into black, but the contrary cannot be done, because the leaf is already black, and does not admit a further change of color." The Chinese seldom drink green tea, and yet black tea is made in Keängsoo, where nearly all the green tea is grown. Although it may be ultimately ascertained that there are two distinct species of plants, cultivated for their leaves, still all the different sorts known in market, (except those made by mixing two kinds together,) may be satisfactorily accounted for by a reference to the age of the leaf, locality of the plant, and mode of curing it. This statement also very plausibly accounts for the comparative rapidity with which green teas spoil on becoming damp, for humidity and heat combined would more quickly spoil a leaf that was simply dried, than one that was reduced almost to a crisp.

The houses in Canton, where tea is cured, are large buildings, known to foreigners under the name of *pack-houses*, and contain all the implements for curing. Two or three rows of furnaces are built of brick and mortar in a large airy room, having a line of hemispherical iron pans inserted into the brick work on each side of the row, in an inclined position; two pans are placed in such a manner opposite to each other, that they are heated by the same fire. Into these pans, the rolled leaves are poured, two or three catties at once, and the workman with his bare arm stirs them around until they are too hot to be easily borne. He then dexterously sweeps them out, and lays them on a table covered with matting, where they are again rolled; after this second rolling, they are again fired in the pan, and in some instances undergo even a third and fourth application of fire. Two firings are, however, deemed sufficient in most cases. These various manipulations are modified according to circumstances. Tea, which has become damaged during the passage to Canton, is merely subjected to a second drying, to fit it for the voyage to Europe; while in many cases, an extraordinary demand for a particular sort induces the Chinese to endeavor to meet it by taking other, and usually inferior, qualities, and imitating the kind wanted. Fresh leaves which are brought from the neighboring villages, undergo all the usual processes. The rolling of

the leaves after firing is attended with some pain, arising from their heat, and an unpleasant, acrid juice which exudes from them when pressed. In truth, it may be said that all the operations in curing tea, between picking the leaf and nailing up the boxes, are rendered unpleasant, by the irritating dust which fills the atmosphere of the room, and the combined heat of the furnaces and roasting pans. In the Anke hills, Mr. Gordon was informed that it was customary for the curer to furnish the fireplace — a mere temporary concern — and other utensils, and the fuel used in curing the leaves; and that he was paid at the rate of one dollar per pecul of fresh leaves, equal to five dollars per pecul of dry.

At various stages in curing, the leaves are tested by pouring boiling water upon them. When first dried in the wind, some are put into water to see if a yellow edge appears; and after firing, their quality is again tested. "To ascertain the quality of tea," says the manuscript, "take some boiling spring water, and pour it upon the leaves in an empty cup, and then place a cover upon the cup, when the color and flavor will both appear. If the water is not boiling hot, the leaves will float. In the best qualities, the taste is aromatous and oily, and a clear yet strong fluid is in the cup. The inferior sorts are known by an unpleasant smell, and a turbid, weak decoction. Those leaves, which, when in the water unroll without tearing, are the best." Chinese connoisseurs mark the manner in which the leaf unrolls when hot water is poured upon it, from which they infer the degree of care observed in curing it. They also try what number of infusions can be successively made from the same leaves, before the water runs off limpid, and thus judge of the strength and quality. As many as fifteen "drawings" are obtained from the richest flavored teas. It is well known to all in the least acquainted with the business, that the infusion is the most certain mode of testing the quality of tea, and that a sample is always examined in this way before deciding upon its goodness and value.

In choosing green tea, according to the manuscript just quoted, ten things should be regarded, and ten avoided. "The leaf must be green and glabrous; it must be rolled firmly; all the leaf-stalks must be clean picked out; the leaf must be fleshy and well rolled; all the dirt and broken leaves must be separated; the taste of the infusion clear and fragrant; it must be equally fired; the infusion must be of a clear, greenish color, which is the most important point; and lastly, the decoction must be aromatous and oily." The ten things to be avoided are mostly the opposites of the above. "The leaves must

not be yellow; nor should they be smoky, or badly cured; avoid that tea which has a musty smell, or that with a pellicle floating on the surface of the infusion, it is an evidence of the use of gypsum or Prussian blue in its manufacture; the infusion if reddish indicates old tea; and it should not give off a bad odor, nor have iron sand in it." These and many other tests are all known to those skilled in deciding upon teas: some of the marks, from which the "tea-taster" determines the quality, depend on the weight, some on the taste of the dry leaf, or its smell when strongly breathed upon and instantly put to the nose; sometimes the color and general aspect of the lot is observed; a loadstone is used to detect the presence of minute particles of iron in some kinds; but the color, clearness, taste, and strength of the simple infusion are regarded as the most important criteria.

Some have imagined that the effects, experienced upon the nerves from drinking a strong infusion of green tea, were owing to its having been roasted in copper pans; but no copper utensils are used in the manufacture; and, moreover, chemical tests of the greatest delicacy prove that no deleterious salt of this metal is contained in green tea; the effect is rather to be ascribed to the partial curing which retains more of the peculiar properties of the plant in the leaf. Our native authority, as we have just seen, cautions the purchaser against taking tea which has a pellicle floating on the surface of the infusion, lest gypsum or Prussian blue should have been used in the manufacture. It is known that these two substances are employed in the pack-houses at Canton, when firing the cheapest sorts of green tea, in order to give them a *bloom*, but we think that their application is not extended to all the green tea brought from the northern provinces. The chemist Brande detected the presence of a coloring substance in the samples which he analyzed; and it is well known that the Chinese themselves never consume those kinds of green tea which are prepared for exportation. The finest kinds of young hyson and hyson-pekoe have, however, a yellower, and more "natural hue," as Davis calls it, than the bluish-green that distinguishes the cheapest sorts; but, as the same author, remarks, "if deleterious substances are really used, our safeguard consists in the *minute* proportion in which they must be combined with the leaves." Whatever proportions of them are used, especially of Prussian blue, must be injurious; still we think that the effect which a strong infusion of green tea has upon the nerves, must be ascribed rather to the partial curing than to the presence of these chemical salts.

The tea which grows in Fuhkeen and Keängse is brought to Canton entirely by a water transportation, except that part of the route crossing the Mei ling in the north of this province, and in some cases, a short land carriage from the hills to the boats. The distance from Canton to the Bohea hills is estimated by the author of the manuscript to be 2885 *le*, or about 930 English miles; to the department of Soochow in Keängsoo, he reckons the distance to be 3581 *le*, or upwards of 1190 miles. He has given minute directions on various points, as the forms to be observed at the excise-offices on the road, the prices usually paid for boats, coolies, and transportation, and an itinerary of the distance between the places on the route, affording us an insight into the details of inland navigation in China. He says, "whoever engages a boat, must examine the strength of the wood, the dryness of the hold, and the goodness of the sails, oars, anchor, and sculls. It is necessary to guard against loading the boats too deeply, lest they strike upon the sands and rocks in shallow places, and the tea get wet."

The tea, securely packed in chests, which are also wrapped in matting, and then marked, is first collected at the village of Singtsun, from whence it is carried to the mouth of the Kewkeuh, a stream that takes its rise among the Bohea hills, and empties into the Poyang lake. For a portion of the tea at least, the route to *Hokow*, the principal depôt on the southeastern border of the lake, is by land; but it is probable that the tea is brought from all parts of the hills by the most direct road; not only down the Kewkeuh, but by several minor streams, all of which flow into the lake. From the village of Singtsun to Hokow is 210 *le*, and around the lake to Nanchang foo, the capital of Keängse, is 495 *le*. At these three places are excise-offices to levy a duty on the passing goods; for it is the policy of the Chinese government to collect their internal imposts on manufactures at certain favorable spots on the great thoroughfares, near which not only tea, but all other products and goods, are compelled to pass. Whether this arrangement is made in order more accurately to ascertain the amounts consumed; or for the convenience of the governmental collectors; or whether it arises from a lack of confidence in the honesty of the manufacturer, who would not wish to pay more excise than he was compelled to, may be difficult to decide: probably from all these reasons combined. At any rate, the government have very adroitly taken advantage of the physical peculiarities of the country to place their tax-gatherers at such points as will incommode the people the least, while also they

suffer but little to escape them. It is a part of the same policy to prohibit all native vessels from bringing tea and silk to Canton coastwise.

At Nanchang foo, the boats are fairly afloat in the river Kan, and have only to ascend it as far as the water will permit. From this place to Kanchow foo, in the southern part of Keängse, the distance is 780 *le* by the river. Between the two places, the itinerary has noted upwards of one hundred localities, and added occasional remarks concerning the most remarkable temples, pagodas, &c., passed on the route, as well as the distances between the most considerable towns. There are many rapids in the river Kan, one of which, the *Shihpă tan*, or Eighteen rapids, just below Kanchow foo, is somewhat celebrated as a place of danger; it is in passing this and other rapids, that the tea sometimes gets damaged. From this city to Tayu heën in Nangan foo, where the tea is landed, is 360 *le*. In some parts of this route, the boats are dragged over shallows; in others, the cargo is divided into boats carrying not more than sixty chests each; and sometimes, the men are obliged to wait until the river rises before they can proceed. The foreign embassies to the court of Peking have always ascended this river on their return to Canton, and their accounts state that the boats were dragged for miles in half the necessary depth of water. From the city last mentioned, every chest of tea is carried by porters over the mountains, to Chehing heën in Nanhëung chow in this province, a distance of 120 *le*. On both sides of the mountains, there are certain establishments, like post-houses, where porters are obtained; and it would appear that this part of the road is considered so dangerous, that additional coolies are supplied by them to accompany and guard the tea to prevent attacks from robbers. Large numbers of these porters are constantly employed in transporting not only tea, but goods, grain, and other commodities, as well as travelers, from one side of the mountains to the other. At Chehing heën, the tea is again put into boats and carried to Keuhkeäng heën in Shaouchow foo, where it is examined a second time by the excisemen,* and then reshipped into large boats, in which, by the Pĭh keäng or North river, it reaches Canton, a distance of 920 *le* from the base of the Mei ling. The boats in which the tea is brought to Canton, carry from 500 to 800 chests, and are usually called *tea boats* by foreigners, though they are not exclusively engaged in this business. They are

* Although not exactly appertaining to the subject in hand, we cannot avoid copying a brief tariff, inserted in the itinerary, of the duties levied at

fine specimens of the vessels used for inland navigation. Their shape is like an ellipsoid; the ledge on the side, where the trackers work, is placed not far above the middle of the hull: and when laden, there is about as much above as beneath the water. Whole families live in them, making them their constant and agreeable residence. They are built of hard wood, are fitted either for sailing or tracking, and we have heard it estimated by naval men, that the largest are capable of carrying a hundred tons of measurement goods. At each of the excise-houses on the road, the supercargo of the tea presents a manifest of the cargo, and the number of persons and baggage in the boats. There are seven of them between the village of Singtsun and Canton; the excise levied at one of them is one candareen and four cash per pecul.

The green tea is cultivated in a large section of country lying partly in Nganhwuy, Keängsoo, and Chěkeäng, but the principal district is that of Wooyüen in Hwuychow foo, in Nganhwuy, at the northwest extremity of a range of hills, called Sunglo, which divide that province from Chěkeäng, between the thirtieth and thirty-first parallels of north latitude. They are cultivated near a branch of the Yangtsze keäng, on every part of this range of hills, in a micaceous sandy soil, resulting from the disintegration of the rocks. The contiguity of this region to the large rivers enables the proprietor of green tea to carry his cargo either to Hokow or Kanchow foo on the Poyang lake in Keängse, with only once unlading his boats. This must be done to cross the hills between Changshan heën and Yuhshan heën, which divide the two provinces. This route is taken,

Shaouchow foo, as the gabel of the empire is a subject but partially known to foreigners.

	T. m. c. c.	Dolls. cts.
Lead, per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Tin, per pecul	0. 1. 5. 0	0. 208
Raw silk, per pecul	3. 0. 0. 0	4. 166
Pongee, per pecul	0. 7. 0. 0	0. 972
Woolens, per pecul	3. 6. 3. 0	5. 042
Shoes, per pair	0. 0. 0. 4	0. 005½
Dried rolled fish, per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Coarse cotton, per piece	0. 0. 0. 3	0. 004½
Leaf fans, per hundred	0. 0. 1. 4	0. 200
Birdsnests, per pecul	1. 8. 6. 0	2. 583
Black tea, per pecul	0. 0. 7. 6	0. 106
Bicho-de-mar per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Raw cotton, per pecul	0. 0. 3. 8	0. 051
Cotton goods, per pecul	0. 0. 0. 7½	0. 010
Red thread, per pecul	0. 1. 8. 4	0. 255
Sago, per pecul	0. 1. 1. 7	0. 162
Sandalwood, per pecul	0. 3. 6. 0	0. 500
Coarse grasscloth, per piece	0. 0. 1. 1	0. 015
Cotton, per pecul	0. 0. 3. 8	0. 051

we suppose, in preference to the nearer one by the Yangtsze keäng, on account of the labor of stemming the powerful current of that river, and also to avail of the descending current of the stream from Yuhshan to the Poyang lake. After the tea arrives at this lake, its course is the same as that which comes from Singtsun.

The principal depôt of the tea is at a mart called Shingtang in the district of Wookeäng in Soochow foo in Keängsoo; the village of Nanhaou near the city of Soochow is a place at which large quantities of it are cured. After it is shipped at Shingtang or Soochow, it goes first to the city of Hangchow foo in Chĕkeäng, 66 *le* distance, near which is an important excise-post, and a custom-house. This large city is situated at the mouth of the river Tseëntang in the district of Tseëntang, and the tea ascends the river 720 *le* to Changshan heën, on the borders of Keängse, passing through the districts of Yangfoo and Sinching in Hangchow foo, Keëntih in Yenchow foo, and Sengan in Keuchow foo. At Changshan heën, there is a post for levying excise, for here the tea is unladen to be carried across the mountains to Yuhshan heën in Keängse, a distance of 120 *le*. The sum paid for carrying the tea across is 225 cash per pecul; 335 cash are paid for the load of two men; chair-bearers are paid 400 cash, and 43 additional for the ascent. A sum of 6 to 10 cash is paid to all for spirits, and the employer is expected to add a douceur for wine to cheer the hearts of those he engages. On the arrival of the tea at Yuhshan heën in Kwangsin foo, boats are chartered to take it either to Hokow or Kanchow foo, as the case may be. The distance to the former is 120 *le;* the charge for boats to the latter place is 30 taels, being a journey of more than 600 *le*.

By this long and expensive transportation, the price of the tea to the foreign consumer is greatly enhanced; some have estimated the additional charge for freight on the poorest at one-third of the whole cost, but this cannot be accurately determined. If foreigners were permitted to procure their tea at Hangchow foo or Ningpo in Chĕkeäng, the distance for transportation would be reduced to 65 miles for green, and 375 miles, for black, teas; and the whole distance could be performed by water, because, in this route from the Bohea hills, advantage could be taken of the current down the Yangtsze keäng. But on the other hand, its transportation over such an extent of country gives employment to many thousands of boatmen and porters, and enables the government to levy an internal revenue; while the additional expense to the foreign consumer (estimated at £150,000 annually on black teas alone), would never be considered

by a Chinese statesman, as an argument why he should endeavor to increase the consumption abroad by shortening the route, and lessening the charges of its internal transportation. The single fact that so many mouths *are* fed by this branch of commerce, would weigh more with him (and we think justly), than the prospect that by and by many more *might* be.

After the tea has reached Canton, which usually happens about the middle of October, such of it as has been damaged on the route is unpacked and carefully dried. The trade in tea being monopolized by the hong merchants, the cargoes are usually carried to their hongs. But at times the traders from the hills are not disposed to sell immediately at the prices offered by the hong merchants, but hold out for higher terms; at others, the lot was bargained for the preceding year, and advance money paid to assist the cultivator. The E. I. Company frequently made advances, through the hong merchants, to the cultivator in order to assist him, and also to secure a good quality of tea; and the same is frequently done now by private merchants; but, either through the mismanagement of the cultivator, or more probably, the erroneous calculations of the hong merchants, risk and loss has, in some instances, attended the transaction.

The preparation of tea for the foreign market, besides the laborers for cultivating and curing it, and porters and boatmen for transporting it, in the interior of the country, also employs thousands of people in this city. The carpenter finds occupation in making small boxes for the finer descriptions of tea, and large chests for the coarser. The plumber is engaged in manufacturing leaden canisters of proper sizes for the more delicate sorts; and in lining the large chests with lead. In making the sheet lead, he exhibits a mode of manipulation truly Chinese: the portable furnace is placed on the ground in a convenient spot; near to it is imbedded a smooth tile about a foot and a half square, to which there is a mate of a similar size, both of them thickly wrapped with paper. The workman, holding the upper with its edge resting on the lower, pours a portion of liquid lead on the latter, and instantly drops the one in his hand, by which means a thin sheet is made. This he takes out and hands to another workman, who, with a pair of shears and a hot iron, fashions it into various canisters, boxes, &c.

After the carpenter has made, and the plumber has lined, and the packer has filled, the chest, the skill and taste of the painter are called in to adorn its exterior with grotesque flowers and fanciful devices; great numbers of persons are employed in this department,

though only the small boxes containing the finest teas are painted. When unpainted, the chests are covered with paper, on which is printed in English the name of the ship, description of tea, &c., &c., and these two branches, the papering and printing employ not a few. When papered and labeled, is has still to be sewed up in a mat, and secured with rattan, and for convenience, another label is pasted upon the outside. After all these operations are finished, and the chest is ready for shipment, there still remains the "chop-boat" or lighter to be engaged, and in these fine boats, it is at last brought alongside the ship at Whampoa.

The usual nett weight and measurement of a chest of the different descriptions of tea are as follows, taken from Macculloch's Dictionary. Teas are at present put up in much smaller boxes than formerly, very few of the largest sized chests being made. The fine, and middling, qualities are often packed in boxes containing ten, and five catties, and even less.

	Weight.	*Sol. meas.*
Bohea, whole chests -	catties 138	feet 8.956
,, half ,, -	,, 84	,, 5.416
,, quarter ,, -	,, 44	,, 3.374
Congo ,, -	,, 63 to 64	,, 4.085
Souchong ,, -	,, 60 to 62	,, 4.025
Pekoe ,, -	,, 49 to 50	,, 4.333
Hyson ,, -	,, 58 to 50	,, 4.000
Hyson-skin ,, -	,, 48 to 50	,, 4.125
Twankay, long chests -	,, 62 to 65	,, 4.864
Gunpowder ,, -	,, 80 to 84	,, 4.100
Imperial ,, -	,, 70 to 74	,, 4.074
Young Hyson ,, -	,, 70 to 72	,, 4.220

The Chinese have a great number of terms, most of them descriptive, to designate the varieties of tea; a part of these are merely the names of celebrated trees, or small plantations, and do not denote prominent qualities; their origin is in many cases similar to the particular brand by which some sorts of wine are designated. It is difficult to describe the nice shades of distinction between the several kinds, for long experience is necessary to distinguish them; moreover, the Chinese mix them to some extent, and traders in London and elsewhere compound them still further, so that, a long course of instruction and experience are necessary before one can become skillful at tasting tea. A general outline, therefore, of all the principal sorts must suffice for this paper. They may be considered in the ascending scale of their value.

Black teas are sometimes known by the general term of *hih cha* 黑茶 or 'black tea;' a more common designation, however, is 夷 (or 爨) 茶 *E cha*, which is a contraction of Wooe, the name of the hills. *Bohea*, as we have already seen, is a corruption of the name of the Wooe hills, derived through the local dialect, and is not known to the Chinese as a term for a quality. They call it *ta cha* 大茶 or 'large tea,' which may also be rendered 'large-sized,' or perhaps, 'coarse tea.' It is distinguished by containing a larger porportion of woody fibre than other teas; its infusion is of a darker color, and, as it has been more subjected to the action of fire, it keeps a longer time without becoming musty, than almost any other sort. There are two kinds of bohea, the coarsest of which is manufactured in this city, and other parts of the province, and therefore called *Canton bohea*. Much of it comes from the district of Hoping in Hwuychow foo in the northern part of the province; a part is raised in the vicinity of Canton. It is frequently mixed with the refuse of congo, and the leaves are much broken in consequence of the mode of packing by stamping them into the chest, and the thorough curing rendering them very crisp and brittle. It is used by the poor to a great extent from its cheapness, and was formerly largely exported. There is a still more inferior sort, seldom or never brought down to Canton, called *tsew loo* 秋露 or 'autumn dew' tea, from the term in which it is picked; it is composed solely of the leaves obtained at the last gleaning, and is very coarse.

Congo, the next higher kind, derives its name from *kung foo* 工夫 or 'labor,' meaning that its preparation is attended with care; it constitutes the great bulk of the cargoes to England. The leaf is not so much broken as the common bohea, and the infusion is not so dark colored, but its quality has of late years deteriorated, and at present, it is more correct to say, nearly or quite all the common sorts of black tea go under the general name of congo. *Campoi* is a corruption of *keën pei* 揀焙 (or *kam pooy* in the Canton dialect,) meaning, 'selected [for] firing;' it is a particular variety of congo, and has a more delicate flavor than the common congo, but is not so strong, and but little of it is exported. There is a sort of black tea called *Anke* 安溪 from the name of the hills where it is grown: its taste and appearance are peculiar, by which it is easily to be distinguished from the tea raised in the Bohea hills, and it is usually inferior in all respects; it is also adulterated to some extent. The

Anke hills, being, like the Bohea, of great extent, produce many kinds of tea, which are collectively called *Ankoi* teas by foreigners. The various descriptions of tea enumerated above are chiefly made of leaves obtained at the third picking, and constitute the largest proportion of the cargoes exported.

Souchong is the finest of the stronger black teas, with a leaf that is generally entire and curly, but more young than in the coarser kinds; it is made from the leaves of the second picking. The name is a corruption, through the Canton dialect, of *seaou chung* 小種 or 'small sort.' A variety called at Canton, *padre souchong*, derives its name from being frequently raised by Budhist priests living in the hills, and cured by them in a very careful manner, for their own use and to give away. It is done up in small packages containing about half a pound each. *Powchong*, from *paou chung*, 包種 the 'bundled sort,' is also folded in the same manner. Both of these are fine varieties of souchong; the flavor is fine, the leaves are large, of a yellowish hue, and not very strongly twisted. There are a great number of native names for varieties of souchong, powchong, and pekoe, which have never been Anglicized. Among these may be mentioned the *leëntsze sin*, 蓮子心 or 'nelumbium-seed kernel,' from the resemblance of the cured leaf to the embryo of that plant. The *woo lung*, 烏龍 or 'black dragon,' from a celebrated tree where this kind was first obtained; it is a kind of black tea which nearest resembles green, the leaf is thin and roughish, and the flavor somewhat peculiar. It comes from both the Bohea and Anke hills. The *tseŏ shĕ* 雀舌 or 'sparrow's tongue,' and *lung seu* 龍鬚 or 'dragon's whiskers,' are fanciful names, from the cylindrical appearance of the cured leaf; these two are varieties of pekoe. The *lung twan* 龍團 or 'dragon's pellet,' is in rounder grains, and is also a sort of pekoe. The *hwa hëäng* 花香 or 'flowery fragrance,' and *seaou pei* 小焙 or 'careful firing,' are varieties of powchong, and are cured by the priests with much care; the two last sometimes find their way to Canton. The *Sung che* 松製 or 'Sunglo [imitatio n] cured,' is a variety of souchong, that is cured in a particular manner to make it resemble a variety from Nganhwuy; it is remarkably heavy, and has lately fallen into disrepute from being often found to contain a ferruginous dust, that is detected by passing a magnet among the leaves; it is called *sonchi* or *caper souchong* by foreigners; the leaf is much crisped and curled, and has a fine black gloss.

Pekoe being composed mainly of the young leaf buds, the gathering of them must of course be injurious to the future produce of the plant, and this kind of tea is both expensive and scarce compared with souchong. Some have supposed that the flower buds were picked to make the finest kinds of pekoe, but we believe this idea is erroneous, and that it is wholly made from the leaf buds. The name is a corruption of *pih haou* 白毫 or 'white hairs,' from the whitish down that covers the leaf when picked, and which is in a manner preserved in the cured leaf. A variety called *shang heäng* 上香 or 'very fragrant,' or *orange pekoe*, and another *keun mei* 君眉 or 'old man's eyebrows,' both differ slightly in color and taste from common pekoe. The *hung mei*, 紅梅 'red-plum' blossom, or *hungmuey*, is so called from the color of the infusion resembling the tint of this flower. *Tsze haou* 紫毫 or 'carnation hair,' is an inferior kind, sometimes called *flowery pekoe*, and is but seldom seen in this market. There is a sort of pekoe made in Keängsoo from the leaf buds, which is so delicate, and fired so little, that the least damp spoils it, and it is seldom if ever exported; this hyson-pekoe, as some call it, is used by persons of rank as presents under the name of *lung tsing*, which is perhaps the name of the district where it is raised. There is a sort which is rolled up into little round pellets, and hence called *choo lan* 珠蘭 or 'pearl flower;' it is scented with the flowers of the Chloranthus, and cannot be obtained, even among the Chinese, except at high prices. The finer sorts of teas, and sometimes even the cheaper, both of black and green, are scented with odoriferous flowers, of which the *Olea fragrans* and *Chloranthus inconspicuus* are cultivated for the purpose near Canton; the *Gardenia florida* is also employed in the same way. The mode of scenting *chulan* and other teas is to put an open basket of the leaves just after firing over a coal fire, and cover them with fresh flowers; another similar basket is placed upon the top of this, and the leaves also covered with flowers, and a tatch over the whole; the two are then left to the influence of the fire, until the tea is thoroughly scented. If this operation is done, as is sometimes the case at Canton, when the tea is dry and has been cured for some time, this peculiar scent is evanescent, and the flavor imparted by the flowers is soon dissipated. In all the finest sorts of tea, with a view to preserve the delicacy of their flavor, the application of heat is very limited in drying the leaves, and hence it is that they are more liable to injury from keeping than the common kinds.

Green teas are collectively called *lüh cha* 綠茶 by the Chinese, which means teas of a green color; they are sometimes also called *Sunglo*, 松羅 or *Sung cha* 松茶 from the hills where they are cultivated. There are not as many varieties of green as of black tea. *Twankay* is rather the most inferior sort, affording an infusion of a pale brown color; it is the produce of the third picking, and the leaf is not twisted very hard. The name is derived from *Tun ke* 屯溪 or 'the valley-rivulet of Tun' in Chěkeäng, near Keëntih heën, where it is raised. There are two sorts. *Superior twankay* or hyson kind, which term describes this tea in its original state, when freshly gathered, previous to the leaves being assorted, in which state the flavor is superior. After assortment, the inferior or coarse leaves are denominated *twankay*, the taste of which is coarse and brassy. It is much employed by the dealers in England to mix with finer teas, but the greatest part is consumed by itself, just as it is imported; it constitutes about one half of all the green tea exported to that country. *Hyson-skin*, called *pe cha* 皮茶 or 'skin tea,' is a leafy-looking sort, made from the coarse, yellow, and half-twisted leaves of hyson, and is rather an inferior kind; its name implies the *refuse* of a better sort, the word *skin* meaning the inferior portion, alluding perhaps to the rind of fruit. It has a fresh smell, and the infusion is somewhat yellowish. The qualities comprised under this name vary a good deal in color and value; from its being the inferior assortings of hyson and young hyson, the quantity brought to market depends upon, and bears some proportion to, the whole amount of hyson manufactured. The best *skin* tea is, however, far better than any of the teas usually denominated twankay.

Hyson,* a corruption of the Chinese *he chun* 熙春 or 'flourishing spring,' because the leaves are picked when the plant is in full verdure, is prepared with much care; each leaf is twisted and rolled by hand, and the firing is done in a careful manner. That which is fleshy and light is the best. The ordinary kind of hyson is sometimes called *he pe* 熙皮 by the Chinese, and *old hyson*

* D'Israeli has made a singular mistake concerning the origin of this name; and that of tea, in his section on the "Introduction of Tea." "The word *chia*," says he, "is the Portuguese term for tea retained to this day, which they borrowed from the Japanese; while our intercourse with the Chinese made us no doubt adopt their term *theh*, now prevalent throughout Europe, with the exception of Portugal. The Chinese origin is still preserved in the term *bohea*, tea which comes from the country of Wooe; and that of *hyson* was the name of the most considerable Chinese then concerned in the trade."

by foreigners; the leaves are larger and lighter than the true hyson, and usually more crisp and brittle, showing a higher degree of heat. The various kinds of green tea are brought to Canton in lots, every chest of which bears the same mark, or *chop*, as it is called. There is no fixed number of chests comprised under the same chop, since it is merely a collective name given to a number of chests owned by an individual; sometimes there are 500 in a chop of twankay, but the number of chests of other sorts is seldom or never so great.

Young hyson is the quality of green tea most commonly exported to America, and the fine lots of hyson are sometimes included under this name. It was formerly called *uchain*, from the Chinese name, *yu tseën* 雨前 or 'before the rains,' implying that the leaves are gathered before the rains set in, and while they are still tender. In consequence of the large demand for young hyson for the American market, it is said to have deteriorated from what it was years ago. The manuscript, so often quoted, intimates that after hyson tea is fired, it is put into sieves, and the small and broken leaves which are sifted through are sold under the name of young hyson. There is a variety of young hyson, called *mei peën*, 梅片 or 'plum petals,' on account of the reddish tint of the infusion, caused probably by the ferruginous nature of the soil where the plant grows; it is not often brought to this market.

Imperial is a delicate kind of tea, cured rather slightly, and the leaves are rolled into little round pellets by hand, from whence come the Chinese names of *choo cha*, 珠茶 or 'pearl tea,' and *ta choo* 大珠 'great pearl.' The *choo lan*, 珠蘭 or 'pearl flower,' sometimes called *chulan hyson*, is a sort in which the flowers of the Chloranthus have been placed to give it a flavor. The foreign name *imperial* was probably given from the common practice in Canton of bestowing fine names on whatever was better than common. It is the heaviest portion of the young hyson, and differs from it in being in large and round grains, while the granules of the latter are smaller and longer; and after curing the young hyson, the imperial is sometimes separated by putting it into fanning-mills, when the heaviest grains fall through. It is said, "that out of one hundred pounds, about ten of imperial are obtained." *Gunpowder* is another variety, which usually presents a much finer granular appearance than the 'pearl tea,' and being of a dark green color, and having a lustrous bloom upon it, was named *gunpowder* from its resemblance to that substance. A kind of tea called *ma choo* 麻珠 or 'hemp pearl,' by the Chinese is included under this appellation.

We might add to this list of names by extracts from the *Cha King*, or Memoir on Tea, but as they would convey little or no information to our readers, being for the most part appellations given to the tea levied as a tax, or else to small farms which produce a peculiar variety, it appears unnecessary. Baron Schilling has enumerated thirty-six sorts; to which Rémusat added fifteen, some of which we suspect were taken from the *Cha King*.

The principal part of the supplies to the inhabitants of the countries on the west of China is raised in the conterminous provinces, as Yunnan, Szechuen, and Kweichow. Little or none of it ever reaches Canton, but for delicacy of flavor and carefulness of preparation, it is said not to be inferior to that grown farther east. It finds its way throughout the stepps of Chinese Tartary, and into Tibet; and from these regions passes over into Assám, Nípál, Bútan, and Samarcand. It is related in the *Cha King*, that the tea raised in the west of China was once exchanged to the Tartars for horses for the use of government. Russia consumes large quantities, which is stated to be of a superior flavor when it arrives at St. Petersburg, owing to the greater ease with which it can be preserved from dampness during the land-journey, compared with the voyage westward by sea. It is all carried from the northwest of China to Kiakhta, from whence it is distributed over that empire. Tea is a common beverage among the Tartars. To accommodate their nomadic habits, and make it easy of carriage, the tea is frequently cured by pressing the leaves, after a partial drying, into cakes, about 16 inches long by 12 wide, and about 1½ thick, which are thoroughly dried in this shape. We believe it is boiled a little when used, but our information does not extend to the minutiæ of the preparation of this *brick tea*, as it has been called.

There are other modes of curing tea adopted by the tribes resident on the west of China. "The Singphos have known and drank tea for many years," says Mr. Bruce, "but they cure it in a very different way from the Chinese. They pluck the tender leaves, and dry them a little in the sun; some put them out into the dew, and then again into the sun for three successive days; others, after a partial drying, put them into hot pans, turn them about until quite hot, and then pour them into a hollow bamboo, driving the mass down with a stick until it is full, holding and turning the bamboo over the fire all the time. The end is then closed with leaves, and the bamboo hung up: tea thus prepared will keep for years." Tea also forms part of the merchandize carried by the caravans between China and Burmah,

from whence it gradually finds its way south to the Laos people, the Siamese, and Cambodians. However, we think it very improbable, if a plant so universally diffused over the empire of China, restricts itself wholly to her borders; it is probably indigenous to some extent in these countries, as it is in Cochinchina, and has lately been found to be in Assám, and the borders of Tibet. By some of the tribes on the southwest, tea is used as a pickle, and the leaves are eaten, though the exhilirating properties of the infusion are well known. Specimens of tea have been brought to Canton from those regions rolled into balls, about the size of a peach, and then encased in leaves, two or three together.

Few nations use tea more universally than the Japanese, and none have it of a more delicate flavor, or take more pains in curing it. It is cultivated in most parts of the country; and as in China, the spots usually selected for it are on the acclivities of hills; it is sometimes planted in hedgerows, but the care taken of it is none the less. The most celebrated is the *Udzi cha*, so called from the hills where it is cultivated; it is the perquisite of the dairi, and is cured with extraordinary care. The Japanese sometimes triturate the cured leaves to a powder, and pour hot water upon them when lying on a sieve-like dish, and drink the infusion as it runs off; but this is not a common mode of using it, being, we understand, chiefly confined to marriage ceremonies.

Our mode of drinking tea with the addition of milk and sugar, while it may sometimes conceal the inferior taste of bad tea, in a measure destroys the fine aroma and delicate flavor of the finest teas, and renders them comparatively insipid. It would probably better the taste of our tea to imitate the Chinese mode of covering the cup until the liquid is drank. The Chinese in all cases drink the simple infusion, and so common a beverage is it, that in the poorest houses, a pot is usually kept standing to quench thirst; and if a guest is not presented with a cup of tea, it is, ten to one, a designed omission, as it is in Turkey not to offer a dish of coffee.

When we consider the great demand for this beverage, it will not be thought strange if the Chinese sometimes tried to adulterate it with the dried leaves of other plants; or if they should simulate the finer kinds by chemical agents; or if unfair attemps to increase the weight should be resorted to. When, however, we estimate the enormous amount manufactured for domestic and foreign use, we think it will be conceded that, (judging from the data in our possession,) there is proportionably but little garbling or deception practiced in this arti-

cle. Attempts are made at Canton to deceive the purchaser, sometimes in one way, and sometimes in another. *Young* hyson is now and then made, in order to supply a sudden demand, by cutting up and sifting other kinds of green tea; and even when hard pressed, taking black tea, and coloring it with a preparation of gypsum and Prussian blue, after cutting it up to a proper fineness. Mr. Davis describes the various processes which he witnessed in one of the packhouses, in manufacturing a lot of young hyson in this manner. The variety of bohea, called *Canton bohea*, is sometimes adulterated, so as to resemble the very refuse of a firing-house. It was formerly customary, whenever a deception was detected in a lot on opening it in England, for the hongist who sold the tea, to return two chests as an equivalent; but this somewhat excessive demand is now exchanged for a fair bill of damages, which the hongs pay. The adulteration of teas is prohibited by the English laws under severe penalties. When one hears so much of the frauds practiced by the Chinese in adulterating teas, he would think the business was of course, confined to them; but these restrictions indicate either, a great fear lest tea will be vitiated by the traders in that country, or a determination on the part of the lawgiver that it shall not be.

The Chinese themselves occasionally employ the leaves of other plants to eke out the genuine leaf, or wholly as a succedaneum for it; and this appears to be practiced to a much greater extent, especially in those quarters where tea is not cultivated, than one would suppose. A species of moss is sold in Shantung for this purpose; and we have been informed that a species of the family of Rhamneæ is employed by the poor peasantry in this region. Dr. Abel saw a kind of fern for sale in Nanchang foo, that was employed as a substitute for it. It is highly probable that the leaves of some species of the Camellia are also taken instead of the true tea; in many points they resemble each other, in appearance as well as in their qualities; they are cultivated in the same regions, and both are called *cha* by the Chinese. While passing up and down the streets of this city, trays containing the refuse of tea are seen on shop-boards set out for sale; the coarse leaves are called *cha keuh* or 'tea bones;' the fine dust-like powder, *cha mŏ* or 'tea-leavings.' We have once or twice seen other leaves than those from the tea plant among the 'tea bones;' and attempts of this sort are not unfrequently detected by the tea-inspectors.

The history of the origin and progress of the tea trade is one of the most interesting in the annals of commerce. Its gradual extension

in Britain and America has also had almost as much to do with improving the social system in those favored countries — as well in softening the asperities, and cementing the bonds of the intercourse between all ranks of society — as it has in developing the enterprise of their merchants. The exhibition of all the happy effects which have resulted from the use of

"—— the cups
That cheer but not inebriate;——"

the many associations that cluster around the tea-board, and the full meaning of the simple invitation, "Come and take tea with us this evening," belong to other pens; and we at present must content ourselves with a sketch of the commercial growth of this commodity.

The curious D'Israeli has collected various notices of its introduction into England. He thinks that it was used in Cromwell's time, from the fact that one of the Protector's tea-pots was subsequently in the possession of a virtuoso; but it is quite as likely that the latter owner called it a tea-pot from its resemblance to that article in his day, as that Oliver used it to boil water in for his tea. According to common accounts, the Dutch first carried tea to Europe, from whence, in 1666, it reached England; but there are authentic notices of its being known in London in 1660. However, its consumption was so limited for many years, that the whole of the importations were obtained from Bantam in Java, where the English had a factory; but from its first introduction, the use of it surely, and in a short time, rapidly extended. In 1670, the importations amounted to 79 pounds, but in fifteen years, they rose to 12.070 lbs. The rate of increase in its use in England is shown by the following table; which for the year 1839 — supposing none to be exported to the continent — is nearly an average of two pounds avoirdupois for each individual.

1711	141.995	1780	5.588.315	1830	30.047.078
1735	1.380.199	1790	14.693.299	1834	28.347.300
1750	2.114.922	1800	20.358.702	1837	36.315.000
1760	2.293,613	1810	19.093.244	1838	36 416.266
1770	7.723.538	1820	22.452.050	1839	40.678.666

The following table shows the comparative exportation of the various kinds of the tea to England, and the United States. It is partly made out from the returns of the General Chamber of Commerce in Canton.

A TABLE, showing the exports of Tea from China by the East India Company in the year 1832; by British vessels in the years 1838 and 1839; the exports by vessels under the American flag during the same years; the combined British and American trade for 1837; the exports by French vessels in 1837; the average cost in taels per pecul, and cents per pound; and the market price.

Description of Tea.	Fuhkeen Bohea.	Canton Bohea.	Congo.	Caper Congo.	Souchong	Powchong	Campoi	Ankoi	Hungmutey	Pekoe	Orange Pekoe	Hyson	Young Hyson	Hyson Skin	Twankay	Gunpowder	Imperial
England in 1832.	54,367	—	136,816	—	3,921	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,990	1,181	7,085	30,834	157	—
United Kingdom in 1838.	—	—	169,681	5,040	7,582	—	217	530	2,887	4,382	3,495	10,082	6,404	1,792	31,873	3,433	2,224
U. K. in 1839.	504	355	219,677	2,260	6,497	—	428	795	2,347	4,568	6,687	9,753	4,948	3,893	33,562	5,679	3,137
United States in 1832.	7,519	—	1,128	—	24,616	1,122	268	—	—	404	—	4,590	26,212	8,994	2,069	3,739	3,211
U. S. in 1838.	—	—	477	—	30,827	3,860	—	—	—	1,593	—	6,556	47,709	10,702	342	6,915	4,907
U. S. in 1839.	—	—	1,826	—	6,779	3,501	—	—	—	71	195	4,159	41,567	4,003	475	6,276	4,708
Combined British and American trade in 1837.	2,415	—	183,509	5,094	36,583	2,322	287	1274	3,989	3754	7,088	29,916	68,396	25,137	34,629	12377	8,871
In French ships.	—	—	24	—	553	55	—	—	—	396	69	162	13	46	41	123	126
Av. cost, taels per pecul.	12½	15⅝	32	26	35¾	25	30	21	22½	62¼	31	55½	28	24	29	53	50
Av. cost, cents per pound.	13	—	33½	27⅛	37½	37½	32	22½	25	64¾	32¼	57	30½	25¾	32½	54½	52
Market price, Feb. 1839.			22 a 30	18a25	42 a 52				26a34	40a85	24 a 37	45 a 65	30 a 50	18 a 26		48a62	45a59

Next to England, the United States consume the greatest quantity, principally green teas. It is impossible to arrive at the exact consumption, for much that is carried there is reëxported. In 1832, 9,906,606 lbs. were imported, of which 1,279,462 lbs. were reëxported, to Hamburgh, Cuba, &c. The use of it has gradually increased since the revolution, and the average consumption for each individual is now about 11 *oz.* av., per annum. At present the importations may be stated at about twelve millions of pounds annually, being an increase of nearly one half since the duties were taken off in 1833. In the season of 1833-34, no less than 18,688,533 lbs. were exported from China in American vessels, but it has not since again reached that amount.

The consumption of tea on the continent of Europe is principally confined to Holland and Russia. That in Holland amounts to about 2,800,000 lbs. a year; the duty on it various from 1½*d.* to 4½*d.* per lb. The tea consumed in Germany is entered at the port of Hamburgh, and amounts to from 1,800,000 lbs. to 2,000,000 lbs. annually. The use of it in France appears to be on the increase from the table just given, though the whole exportation from Canton in French ships is much more than the importation into France. Up to 1832, the consumption barely equalled 250,000 lbs.; but a notion that it was an antidote to cholera is said to have made it more fashionable. The comparative cheapness and great use of wine in France must ever present an obstacle to the consumption of the Chinese beverage. Russia, as we have already seen, is supplied through Kiakhta. Mr. Davis informs us that a letter written from Siberia in 1819 stated the quantity annually carried to Russia was about 66,000 chests, containing upwards of five millions of pounds. In 1830, the imports are said to have been 5,563,444 lbs.; in 1832, they were 6,461,064 lbs. The teas, which are mostly of the black sorts, are carried from Kiakhta, overland to Tomsk, and thence partly by land and partly by water, to Novogorod. A Danish ship now and then arrives at Whampoa; and Swedish and Prussian ships come at intervals, but what proportion of their export cargoes is tea we have not been able to ascertain.

Small quantities of tea are also carried to Kamtschatka, Sandwich Islands, Peru, Mazatlan in Mexico, Chili, Lisbon, and Trieste, but the mention of these places does but little more than impress upon us the universality of its consumption, and the untrammeled character of the commerce of the present age, for the use of it in all of them is extremely limited. The exportations from China to New South Wales,

to various ports in the Archipelago, and to India, is for the most part carried on in British vessels. The first mentioned trade employs five to seven vessels annually; and the consumption is increasing; which remark is also true when applied to India. The native trade in this article, between China and the islands of the Archipelago, is of a very ancient date, and a good share of it is at present in the hands of Chinese merchants from Fuhkeën. Their junks leave in the northwest monsoon, proceed to the Súlú Archipelago, to Luçonia, Borneo, Singapore, and the interjacent places, carrying not only tea but other commodities. We have no means of knowing their exportations, but conclude that in tea they are not as great as formerly, from the importations by Spanish, Dutch, and English vessels, to the respective colonies of those nations.

It thus appears, from the most authentic data that we have seen, that the annual amount of exports from China, in the article of tea alone, is between sixty and sixty-five millions of pounds. The price paid to the Chinese for it cannot be so nearly ascertained. In 1837, there were 56,751,133 *lbs.* exported in British and American vessels, at the cost of 19,928,052 dollars; in 1838, only 52,202,533 *lbs.* were exported by the same nations, at an invoice cost of 13,535,026 dollars. It might be added here, as a commercial antithesis, that the sale price of opium to the Chinese for 1837, was 13,554,030 dollars, and for 1838, it was 19,727,259 dollars.

Few articles ministering to the happiness of man have been more the object of taxation than tea. The Chinese government levies an export tax upon it of two and a half taels per pecul, which is doubled to five taels ($6.94) by several consoo and other charges. Under the E. I. Company's monopoly, when the system of making advances to the hong merchants was practiced, the export charges were six taels and seven mace, showing a reduction under the free trade. Besides the charges in Canton, we have already seen how it is obliged to pass through seven or eight excise-houses on the road hither, and those fees are all ultimately paid by the foreign purchaser. On the arrival of a cargo in England, it is again taxed 2*s.* 1*d.* per *lb.*, which, on the cheapest kinds, is often 100 per cent. upon prime cost. These heavy charges, combined with the other necessary ones of freight, commission, insurance, &c., make the price of tea to the consumer in England about 400 per cent. above the price in its native hills of Wooe. In the various ports on the continent of Europe, the duties are levied, generally *ad valorem*: but in the ports of the United States it is admitted free, on the reasonable ground that its introduction does not interfere with any domestic manufacture.

The great consumption of this leaf, and the steady demand for it, have suggested the attempts to cultivate it in other places in order to supersede the monopoly of the Chinese. Heretofore, these experiments have met with only partial success; but the plantations recently laid out under the protection of the Indian government in Upper Assám, where the shrub is indigenous, appear likely in time to produce so large a supply as seriously to affect the exportations from this port. Fifty-five tracts, of greater or less extent, have been discovered in Upper Assám by Mr. Bruce; and the cultivation of the tea, and curing of the leaf, can be extended as far as the demand requires. The first sale of Assám teas took place in London, April 2d, 1839, and excited a good deal of curiosity and competition among the brokers. There were three lots of souchong, and five lots of pekoe, all of which sold at high prices; and it was the opinion of good judges on that occasion, that the unskillfulness of the workmen had spoiled the quality of the tea, as it had a smoky and strong flavor. We may reasonably look for an improvement in this respect, inasmuch as there are Chinese workmen employed on the plantations there, who have been procured from Fuhkeën itself, who will soon rival their countrymen in the Bohea and Sunglo hills in workmanship, if they cannot excel them as cultivators.

The Dutch in Java have within the last few years made considerable efforts to supersede the necessity of resorting to China for their tea, and the exports already amount to two cargoes, which left Batavia for Holland in 1838. The government there called in the assistance of Chinese, settled upon the island, many of whom were from Fuhkeën; and the plantations bid fair, we believe, to answer the expectations of the projectors of the enterprise. Attempts have at one time and another been made in Penang, Martinique, St. Helena, and Rio Janeiro, to cultivate the tea plant; but the undertakings were successively abandoned, or suffered to fall into neglect. In Brazil, sanguine hopes were entertained of success, and heavy initiatory expenses incurred, but the whole has sunk into comparative neglect, leaving a few hot-house shrubs to tell the tale of their exile. These disappointments may all be ascribed to various opposing causes — as difference of climate and unfitness of soil, excess of heat and moisture, and above all ignorance of the manipulations in curing the leaf — combining to produce the result.

Both green and black tea are known as hot-house plants in England. Linnæus had the honor of introducing the first living plant into Europe, though not until he had experienced many disappoint-

ments. He finally advised captain Eckeburg to sow the fresh seeds in pots as soon as he left China; this plan succeeded, and the growing plants were safely brought to Upsal in 1763. They are cultivated in a loamy soil, or in loam and peat well drained, and do not need a fire heat. They are increased by layings, or cuttings of the young branches, when the seeds begin to ripen. The treatment, in almost all respects, resembles that of its congener, the Camellia: but the Thea is not so well naturalized as the former, nor its flower so great a favorite with florists. The green tea plant, being hardier than the other, is more frequently met with in hot-houses; and in England, it flourishes the whole year in the open air.

We were about adding a paragraph upon the medicinal and chemical qualities of tea, but for the recorded opinions of physicians upon its use, we refer our readers to their works. The Materia Medicale of Mérat and De Lens contains a synopsis of the medical properties of tea, and a chemical analysis of it, which probably combines nearly all that is known. A leaf, that is in general use as an every day beverage by more than four hundred millions of people, cannot possess any noxious properties in a very high degree; notwithstanding its occasional abuse may serve to show that it is capable of injuring those who take it to excess. Its widely extended diffusion in Asia, Europe, and America, is an argument in its favor that appeals to the common-sense of mankind; and he, who undertakes, as we have seen attempted, to prove by a few instances of injury resulting from its use, that taken in any degree it is deleterious, only runs the risk of bringing down his dogmas upon his own head. We were lately much amused with the endeavor made in a "Journal of Health and Longevity," to terrify tea-drinkers by quoting from Davis' Chinese, the account he gives of adulterating and manufacturing young-hyson in the pack-houses at Canton; which that author only gives as an instance of fraud, but which, as an isolated quotation, conveyed the impression that this is a common mode of curing tea in China. W.

Note. In preparing this article, free use has been made of all the authors within our reach, both native and foreign, but the principal object was to furnish our readers with information derived from the former; and the greater part has therefore been translated from the manuscript spoken of on page 137, for the use of which we are indebted to a friend. Nearly all the extracts from it are included in quotations, but we have selected whatever was to our purpose. The *Cha King* or 'Memoir on Tea,' is the most elaborate native work on this subject which we have yet seen, and has been referred to occasionally. It is in six octavo volumes, printed in a most beautiful type, and adorned with cuts of many of the utensils used in curing tea. The present edition, which is an enlargement of a smaller treatise published about A. D. 780, is the work of Luh Manting of Fuhchow in the

province of Fuhkeen, and issued from the press during the reign of Yungching. It probably tells us all that is known about the tea as a matter of history, but it is not a practical treatise. Mr. Davis' Chinese contains such notices of the tea as an article of commerce, as we should expect from his pen, and many of the facts on his pages have been transferred to our own. For details of the consumption of tea abroad, especially in England, Macculloch's Dictionary is the best authority, and we have not made many remarks on this point, as his work is so easily accessible. Mr. Royle, in the fourth part of the "Illustrations of the Botany of the Himalaya Mountains," has devoted several pages to the discussion of the identity of the plants which respectively afford the green and black tea, and to his work we refer those who are desirous of ascertaining all that is known upon this part of the subject. He inclines to the opinion that there are two distinct species, but we still think that both black and green tea can be, in fact they often are, manufactured from the same shrub.

ART. VI. *Lombock; disturbances on the island; self-immolation of the late queen; with notices of the government, people, &c.*

THE Singapore Free Press, for the 20th of June last, contains the following paragraph: "For about the last eighteen months, the island of Lombock has been torn by intestine commotion, and a prey to civil war; and its annals during that period have been characterized by an event of the most tragical description, of which we wish it was in our power to give more particular details. About the beginning of last year, the goostie or chief of Mataram headed a rebellion against the royal authority of Karang-Assam, at that time swayed by a female sovereign. The queen maintained and defended her rights with courage and resolution, protracting the war from month to month, until the successes of her rebellious vassal compelled her to solicit the assistance of the Javanese government. Before this could be given, she was reduced to the extremity of distress, and on the point of falling into the hands of the rebel force. Driven to desperation, and resolved to avoid the ignominy of being lorded over by a vassal, she called a council of all her kindred, male and female, and urged upon them the alternative of self-sacrifice, in preference to falling into the hands of their enemies. The proposition received the unanimous consent of all present, and shutting themselves up together in the palace, the whole, to the number of about fifty, took an early opportunity of destroying themselves in the presence of each other, by stabbing themselves or falling on their swords! The goostie of Mataram, whose rebellion led to this terrible act of self-immolation, did not survive to enjoy the fruits of his ill-omened success, having himself been killed in course of the war, and the rájá Moorah Mattie, the only relative of the late heroic queen who was left alive, succeed-

ed to the sovereignty of Lombock, a dignity which he was allowed to enjoy unmolested until, not many weeks ago, the present goostie of Maratam, following the example of his predecessor, threw off his allegiance, and succeeded in deposing his rightful liege-lord, who is still in arms, however, for the recovery of his lost power. These disturbances have in the meantime compromised property to a considerable amount belonging to an English mercantile house settled in Lombock, the present *de facto* ruler having thought fit to confiscate all the outstanding debts due to them, on the plea of their having given assistance to the former rulers of the country — a proceeding which the said rájá would be at no difficulty in finding a law for, being himself a debtor to the mercantile establishment in question The local authorities have, we understand, been applied to for their assistance in recovering the property confiscated, and we hope they will address a firm remonstrance to this Polynesian Tharrawaddy on the subject. Even that not very scrupulous personage would scarcely think of confiscating property on the ground that its owners abetted pretensions of one sovereign, in a country where there had been three in the course of little more than a twelvemonth."

From a private manuscript journal we are allowed to make a few extracts, referring chiefly to the preceding topics.

"May 1st, 1839. We visited the rájá of Karang-Assam; we went on horseback, the want of bridges and proper roads precluding the use of carriages. A pleasant ride of seven miles, brought us to the mud walls of the palace, from the door of which came a motly crowd of natives, all said to be of royal blood. After waiting an hour or more, till he had finished his afternoon *siesta*, we were admitted, and conducted to an outer court, opposite his own. Three of our number were honored with chairs, by his side, and mats were spread on the floor for the rest of the party. He is twenty-two years of age, and appears dull and stupid. He has under his protection an uncle, who came from Balli to assist in the war, one year since, and while here lost his own kingdom, and is now a mere outcast. He has many smiths at work, all of which he superintends, with much interest. His rifles and locks are very superior; many were brought in for our inspection. We saw also a funeral pile, on which a widow had been burned a few days before with the body of her husband. An eye-witness of the scene says she gave the widow some intoxicating drug, which is here a general custom. She thinks widows are *never* burned of their own free-will. On our return, near the resident's gate, we saw two men lying dead, who in a dispute about their daily wages had stabbed each other.

"May 2d. A rumor from shore says that war is brewing. At present the island seems to be governed by two chiefs; who, at a treaty of peace a year ago, left the division of land to the rájá of Balli. He gave the people of Karang-Assam two thirds, and one third to those of Mataram.

"May 3d. The troubles increase. —— went out with his party, he says to prevent bloodshed, and returned with the spoils of a few sacked villages. The island is enveloped in a cloud of smoke, rising from the burning villages. Some say, that the proper cause of the war is, that the old rájá of Balli has too much to say, and has too much influence with the young chief.

"May 4th. This morning, —— moved off again in martial order, with about two hundred men, all armed with krises, some also having spears, others muskets, cutlases, &c. No music. Their dress is a white turban; a red scarf about their shoulders, and a sarong about their loins. They do not fight in the middle of the day, for it is then "too hot." —— says he is under the orders of the rájá [of Mataram], and if he says, "sack this village or that," he has no alternative but to obey. The people of Mataram say, they only demand the old rájá of Balli, and that as soon as he is given up all will be quiet again.

"May 5th. War continues. The government seems to afford no security to foreigners, nor even to itself. To-day one is absolute in authority; to-morrow, if in existence, he is hunted and chased like a wild beast. It is scarcely a year since the late queen, who governed the islands supremely, lost her dominions, and rather than fall into the hands of her enemies, by request was dispatched by a slave, who then killed himself. Seventy of the royal family followed her example.

"May 6th. To-day the old rájá of Balli killed himself and several of his wives, and wounded his nephew, the chief of Karang-Assam. At night he was brought, with the light of many torches, amidst chanting and wailing, and cast into the sea, for to be burned on shore is considered a great reproach. Peace is again declared, and all seem to join in the jubilee.

"May 9th. It is reported that the chief of Mataram is to govern the island, assisted by the chief of Karang-Assam. The people are swearing allegiance; —— had to go up and make his salaam, and offer presents. "Chow-chow" trade is now to be free.

"May 11th. Our merchants are doing nothing; though the people say *it is all free trade now*, yet matters are involved in obscurity, and correct accounts cannot be obtained.

"May 23d. Orders from rájá for Messrs. —— and —— to leave

the island before dark; and now they are permitted to trade free, if they will remain afloat. They are forbidden ever to set foot again on land. The natives know the island only by the name of *Sasak*; and as the now ruling powers are from Balli, many are refusing to swear allegiance to the rájá of Mataram. Another war, therefore, is anticipated."

ART. VII. *Great imperial commissionary's governor's of two Kwang province lieutenant-governor's of Canton earnest proclamation to foreigners again issued.*

FOR the managing opium on the last spring being stopped trade for present time till the opium surrendered to the government than ordered be opened the trade the same as before.

The American vessels are ready to continually enter into the port ten and more ships have been examined by the hupos officers are bringing no opium on board and the hong merchants and foreign merchants give bond for the same then captain Remmond's ship loaded and filled with cargo sailed and returned to her country but English country ships get anchored in outside sea not get information coming into the port must being deceived by rumors of bad persons saying you are being ready selling opium now if you go into the port should be put you into the punishment therefore you are still retain and expect some other chance why you are never think celestial empire treat natives and foreigners all equal in the world if any to be found out bad merchant dealing with opium will be brought into punishment if honest merchant from whatsoever may come into the port should be allowed to trade the same as was and will not intend to say being do a kindness to one and to another never will treat you foreigners by two manners of ways therefore another proclamation.

Now you are whose persons had any opium on board the celestial empire law as strictly should be not allow such opium bring into the port if any honest merchant without any opium the great imperial commissionary the governor and lieutenant-governor must be to representate cherishing favor of emperor the great and valiantly protect you and to make no separate black and white put you into boat you must taking in good purpose get your formation enter to the port all the constitutions of examine and bond will be according American ships managed and not to be deceived by rumor when you did not intend come into the port and quickly sail back to your country and not allow to be continue these proclamation.

Taoukwang, 19th year, —th month —th day.

Note. So far as we know, this is the first document which ever came from the Chinese in the English language. It is evidently the work of the commissioner's senior interpreter, who has for many years been in the employment of the government, at Peking. Its idioms are perfectly Chinese; and, like all the documents in their own language, it is without punctuation. If our readers should be able to understand what it means, they will here see the "great imperial commissionary's" compassion manifested, and his earnest desire shown that the English ships should enter the Bogue as usual, promising that he "will never treat you foreigners by two manners of ways." It is a document worthy of being put on record.

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: visit of the commissioner to the foreign factories; homicide at Hongkong; encounters between foreign vessels and Chinese on the coast; Canton newspapers; foreigners in Macao; notices from the Dutch and British consulates.*

On the morning of the 7th instant, at 9 o'clock, his excellency, Lin, according to previous notice, appeared in front of the foreign factories, borne by six men; he was followed by all the high provincial officers, attended by crowds of those of lower rank, civil and military. He entered the hall of the British consulate, and found it desolate and empty; and after having inspected the alterations in front of the factories, returned by the way he came, through Old China street.

On the same day, at Hongkong, an affray occurred, in which a native, named *Lin Weihe*, lost his life. The particulars of this affair shall be given in our next.

There are rumors abroad of two encounters on the coast; one is said to have been between "a brig called the Ann," in which two foreigners and four or five Chinese lost their lives; the other was between a schooner and a small party of natives on shore; two or three of the schooner's people are said to have been taken. We fear these rumors are founded on facts, but it is not in our power to verify them.

In his paper of the 6th instant, the editor of the *Canton Press* remarks that, owing to the disturbances in Canton, it has been necessary to make arrangements for issuing it in Macao; and adds, "We are happy to say that our views have been met with the greatest liberality by the authorities of this city." The editor of the *Canton Register*, referring to the above, says, "for this liberality we offer our most grateful thanks."

The thanks of the whole foreign community, as well as of the conductors of the public presses in Canton, are justly due to the Portuguese government and inhabitants of Macao; who, throughout all the troubles with the Chinese, have rendered to foreigners every possible aid and facility for business, consistent with the laws of the settlement.

His Neth. maj. consul in China, M. J. Senn Van Basel has given notice, that consignees of Dutch vessels previous to applying for pilots to proceed to Whampoa, are requested to inform him of the same, and that they will be held responsible for the consequences which may arise from disobeying his notice.

The following notice to British subjects, signed by Edward Elmslie, sec. and treas. to the superintendents, is dated Macao, 29th July, 1839. "Notice is hereby given that the chief superintendent has moved her majesty's and British Indian governments to forbid the entrance of tea and other produce from this country, imported in British vessels entering the port of Canton, in violation of his lawful injunctions, to the serious injury of measures taken for the general security of this trade. And the chief superintendent has further to give notice that he has also moved her majesty's and the British Indian governments to forbid the entrance of cargoes from this country (till the port of Canton be declared safe for British trade under his hand and seal), except their manifests be duly signed in his presence. By order of the chief superintendent, &c., &c.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial intercourse in Eastern Asia; government of Valdes, de la Torre, Arrechiderra, and Arizala. (Continued from page 112.)*

THE third century, of the annals we are tracing, opens with some account of peaceful advances made by the sultan of Súlú, which were met, on the Spanish side, by the mission of an envoy to that piratical capital. A restoration of captives, a system of licenses or safe-conducts for vessels, &c., were the fruits of this negotiation. While the colony gained something on this side, in the safety of its coasting trade, it sustained, the same year (1726), a severe blow in the loss of the San Christo de Burgos, one of its richest galleons. Two years after, the vacant archbishopric was refilled by the appointment of don C. B. G. de Castro. He touched at the Marianas, on his voyage to Manila, and there exerted himself for the conversion of the islanders. Among the children, brought to him at the font, was one — an infant — which could not be induced to return to the mother's breast, until she too had submitted to Christian baptism. A twelvemonth after, death removed him from the new scene of his labors. The treaty with Súlú did not long secure the colony from piratical depredations. Before Torre Campo's administration closed, it had become necessary to send a naval force to repress these incursions. The treasury being too low to afford this extraordinary outlay, the citizens were called on for a forced loan or 'benevolencia.' This is by no means the only instance the Philippine records supply, of a resort to involuntary contributions. In the case of this remote colony, as yet unable to support itself, and depending on the regular

receipt of the Mexican subsidy, the recourse was perhaps necessary. The colonial authorities were further supported in these impolitic 'ways and means,' by the example, not of Asiatic states alone, but of European also; e. g. by that of Great Britain down to the time of Charles II.

The expedition thus fitted out, was so far successful, as to inflict a severe chastisement on the coasts it visited. Whether these blows fell upon the guilty or the innocent, does not appear, but we have our author's assurance that, 'se-mato infinita canalla.'

This was the last public act of Torre Campo. He was succeeded in August, 1729, after eight years' government, by don Fernando de Valdes y Tamon, the 22d captain-general, &c., of the colony. De Valdes was a military officer, and proceeded, as usual, to examine and expose the destitution of the troops, magazines, &c. To replenish these last, a vessel was dispatched to Batavia, to purchase arms, &c., but the Dutch authorities refused to grant the supply asked, although they had done so on a former occasion.

Again, in 1731, a hostile armament was sent to Súlú, notwithstanding Torre Campo's treaty. Its track, after reaching that group, was marked by the destruction of boats, the desolation of towns, &c. The next year, the expedition was repeated, and its ravages extended to Mindanao, Basilan, and other islands. It will be seen hereafter, that these retaliatory enterprises, while they wore the appearance of success, did nothing toward breaking the spirit or force of the islanders.

In June, 1733, a fire broke out at Cavité, which consumed a great part of the stores, &c., prepared for the galleon, about to sail for Acapulco. It was not necessary now, however, to lay 'benevolences' on the colonists to repair these losses. The fear of losing the annual shipment was enough, and they came forward with $30,000 as a contribution to the royal service. De Valdes accepted the offering, and memorialized the throne in behalf of the 'ever-loyal' citizens.

These years — 1730 to 1733 — again supply some references to attempts made to civilize and Christianize the natives of the Carolines. A party of these having again been thrown by shipwreck, on the coast of Luzon, they were reconveyed to their native group, by way of the Marianas. The energetic father who accompanied them home, remained with them, and for a time, obtained an unmolested residence, and baptized many. He seems not to have been well supported, however; and falling a victim at last to the fierceness of the people, his fate again deterred the colonists from prosecuting the intercourse.

We are now upon a period marked by a long commercial contest, growing out of the rival interests of the merchants of Spain and the Philippines. In order to understand and follow the quarrel, it is necessary to premise, that soon after a trade sprung up between the newly-founded city of Legaspi, and Acapulco, the Cadiz merchants saw or foresaw the effect of direct importations of Chinese and Indian goods on the markets of Mexico. The infant state of the new colony at first limited the traffic; but by 1604, the Spanish interest had procured a restriction by royal order, to an annual shipment of *one* cargo from Manila, costing not over $250,000, and the returns for which must not exceed $500,000. *Americans* were forbidden to have any interest in these cargoes. This close limitation was evaded by false valuations, but it continued in legal force, till 1702, when the amounts were raised to $300,000 and $600,000. Probably throughout this long period, the actual commerce was at least double the licensed amount, and yet this was a fatal check on the development of the resources of the Philippines. To carry on this unnatural system, it was necessary to provide galleons of great size, whose construction was scarcely ever equal to the legal service required, and still less to the double load of licit and illicit lading. Hence the history of the galleons is full of disasters, every one of which cost the annual commercial harvest of the colony. To navigate and guard vessels of such size and value, they were placed on the footing of ships of war, and commanded and manned accordingly. The cargo of each galleon was represented by 1000 tickets of three bales each, and these were allotted — one half to the members of the board of trade (colonists entitled to trade), and one half to the ecclesiastical chapter, the municipality, widows of officers, &c. The freight on these tickets was estimated at $200 each, equal to $200,000 per voyage. The cargo paid 30 per cent. duties.

This system had been maintained so long by a sort of royal compromise between the demands of Spanish merchants and manufacturers, and the desire to favor a remote and feeble colony. Meantime, England and Holland were yearly drawing larger and larger supplies of goods from India, China, &c., and pouring them, through illicit channels, into the markets of Spanish America. The Manila merchants felt the effects of this new competition in the reduced profits of the Acapulco 'fairs,' but they had no remedy. The merchants of the peninsula suffered still more, and ascribed the disastrous change to the excessive importations on the west coasts of Mexico. Their strongest argument was, that the looms of Spain were stopped, and their

workmen driven from employ, by the cheaper fabrics of India and China. These representations had their influence, so far as to procure a royal order to be transmitted to Mexico, that after six months, the galleons should be confined to spices, wax, porcelain, &c., and that the importation of silk and silken goods not Spanish, should be held contraband.

When this order reached the viceroy of New Spain, he applied to it, a rule of great authority in Spanish colonial affairs, as respects unwelcome commands, 'to obey, but not to fullfil.' He represented that Spanish colonisation in Eastern Asia, and with it, the extension of the faith there, could not but suffer severely by orders like these. In his own government too, he stated that the people were so far dependent on importations from Manila, that the arrival of one galleon was a greater event with them, than a whole fleet from Spain. When his statements, including a reference to the loss which the treasury would sustain, were laid before the 'council of the Indies,' the subject was reconsidered, and a sort of compromise struck, between the conflicting interests at work, abroad and at home. It was settled, that the trade from Manila to Acapulco should henceforth be carried on in two ships of 500 tons (instead of one of 800 or 1200), whose joint cargoes should not exceed $300,000, subject to $100,000 duties, and from which, silk piece-goods should be excluded, under forfeit of treble values. This decision showed the ascendency of the domestic interest, as well as the narrow commercial spirit of the time. The order, conveying it, was dated in 1720, but an influence was at work, which delayed its publication in Mexico till 1724. Scarcely two years elapsed, when the old system of one galleon was reverted to, and silks again permitted. Four or five years later, and the home interest was again active. The decay of domestic industry was brought forward anew, and the Manila merchants were again thrown into confusion by the intimation, received from the Mexican authorities in 1732, that the old restrictions were to be revived. The city took the alarm, and prepared, in bar of these harsh renewals, a long and able plea. This document was designed to prove, what was probably the fact, that the Spanish sales in Mexico were interfered with, not by the 500 cases of silks sent annually from Manila, but by the illicit importations made under other flags. Evidence was brought, that the heavy purchases of the English, Dutch, and others at Canton, were made with silver from the mints of Spanish America, and it was argued that, for these $3,000,000 or $4,000,000 of specie, their cargoes of silks were the return. The city further

proved the decay, that had fallen on its commerce during the former suspension, and pressed its suit, in the 'royal and pious ears' of his majesty, by its sufferings, its loyalty, its distance on the outposts of the colonial establishment, and its services in the Catholic cause.

While this appeal was made to the court of Madrid, the governor convoked the leading officers and citizens, to consult them on the reintroduction of the regulations then just received. Their decision was, that there was no absolute necessity to enforce provisions, so disastrous to the colony, until direct and explicit orders came. The governor yielded to these opinions, and suffered the shipments of silks, &c., to go on. This permission would not, however, have availed against a confiscation of the property in Mexico, had not the earnest appeal of the citizens of Manila, procured the concessions, embodied in the royal order of 1734. This rescript extended the annual privilege to $500,000, withdrew the prohibition against silks, and provided, that if the returns exceeded $1,000,000, that sum might be extracted in silver,* and the excess in fruits of New Spain. These new advantages were further secured to the Philippine colonists, by the entire exclusion of strangers, Mexicans and others, from any share.

The same year, we find the colonists contributing $10,000 toward an expedition to Mindanao. This armament failing to repress the incursions of the Moors, de Valdes convoked his council, and proposed a plan for the defense of the islands, in which the natives should concur. Some years before, letters of marque had been offered to such of them as would fit out vessels to cruize against pirates, and now, it was proposed that the scattered inhabitants of the seaside should be collected into pueblos, and these fortified. It was argued, in favor of this plan, that the states of the petty piratical chiefs were so defended by impassable rivers, and marshes, and jungles, as to be beyond the Spanish power. It was impossible to prevent their prows from issuing by a thousand creeks, combining and committing depredations, so that the only expedients for safety were, to arm the vessels trading in those seas, and to maintain a military guard on shore.

These suggestions were in a great measure adopted, and circular orders dispatched to the alcaldes of the southern provinces, to aggregate the smaller hamlets to the larger pueblos, to construct fortifications, and to prepare a provincial fleet of 15 or 20 boats, to which

* The importation of silver into Manila from Spanish America, during 250 years of intercourse, 1571 to 1821, is computed by de Comyn at $400,000,000. A large share of this, perhaps a half, perhaps a fourth, passed over to China.

the central government would send a reinforcement of two ships per year. It appears, however, from the sequel that these orders were very partially executed, if indeed they were regarded at all.

The weakness of the colony at this time is farther illustrated, by the consequences which followed the condemnation of a Dutch vessel, seized by a Spanish galley, on the ground that it was furnishing aid to a hostile chief on Mindanao. The Batavian authorities took up the case, and sent a remonstrance to Manila with a demand for restitution in June, 1735, backed by three men-of-war. The former — the remonstrance — says our authority, very ingenuously, could have been very easily answered, but it was not so easy to deal with the three men-of-war! The governor referred the matter to his council, a minority of which was of opinion, that the vessel having been legally condemned, and an account rendered to his majesty, a restoration was impossible without reference to him. This opinion was overruled by the consideration, that the Dutch were peremptory, and it was impossible either to reason, or to trifle with three men-of-war! The governor was therefore authorized to restore the prize, and to fine the captors in the value of whatever articles might not be forthcoming of the property originally on board. This deficit being fixed at $6500, the poverty both of the captors and the treasury was shown, in the necessity to borrow the sum. De Valdes, on making the restitution, wrote to the Batavian authorities, that his compliance with their demand was the expression of an extreme desire on his own part and on that of his sovereign, to keep the peace.

We here reach the 11th volume of our authority, the opening chapters of which are filled with details of those persecutions, so fatal to Catholicism in China, which followed the death of Kanghe, and the accession of Yungching. These severities are connected by the historian with the 'luminous crosses,' and other sights that superstition then saw, and also with those terrible visitations by earthquake and inundation which afflicted the northern provinces of China at that time, and by which more than half a million of men are said to have been destroyed. We leave these digressions from the Philippine annals, and proceed to glean such facts concerning the progress of the colony, as our minute and excursive chronicler has seen fit to record.

The archiepiscopal chair had been some years unoccupied, when the arrival of the galleon of 1736, brought an incumbent, in the pere I. A. Rodriguez. He had received his translation from a Peruvian see, two years before, and now, on reaching his last place of earthly labor and honor, 'began his government like an angel.'

Three years latter, De Valdes received a call to a high military command in America, and left the colonial authority, after ten years administration to don Gaspar de la Torre. The new governor entered on his charge with a fair character, and we are pained to find among his early acts, a public prosecution, oppressive in itself, and fatal in its consequences to two of the highest officers of the colony. The fiscal, who was the object of this legal process, was a friend of the archbishop, and had been counseled by his venerable adviser to trust his cause and his person to the justice of the governor. When the prelate found that his counsel had contributed to throw his friend into a rigorous confinement, the symptoms of his previous disease became aggravated, and he died shortly after. The prosecution did not stay for one indirect victim. It went on, until the imprisoned fiscal died also. Long afterwards, when the sufferer was forever beyond the reach of human redress, his cause was taken up, and his sentence righted by the 'Council of the Indies.'

The death of the archbishop, leaving the colony without a mitre, the bishop elect of Nueva Caceres, petitioned, on receiving his appointment in January, 1743, to be permitted to go over to Macao, in order to obtain consecration. The governor, in his reply, withholding the passport asked for on the ground that admiral Anson was at Macao, gives us the first intimation of a visit which was soon to rank among the great disasters of the colony.

It will be remembered that Anson had arrived at Macao in Nov. 1742, after a series of sufferings and losses, scarcely exceeded in the history of any other nautical expedition. Having extorted from the local officers, permission to refit his only remaining ship, he left Macao, April 19th, 1743, in pursuit of the Acapulco galleon. His reduced crew amounted to but 201 men and boys, among which were only 45 able seamen. Early in May, the Manila authorities received information of his movements, and hastened to fit out the Pilar, an old galleon then lying at Cavité, to escort the expected Cobadonga. The delays which took place in dispatching this vessel, and the slowness of her movements after sailing, (June 3d,) gave Anson his long desired opportunity. Before the Pilar had cleared the straits of St. Bernardino, the Centurion had met and captured the rich, but unfortunate, Cobadonga. This galleon, mounting 42 guns, and carrying 550 men, had sailed from Acapulco, April 16th, and touching at Guam, in June, had there learned that Anson had been at Tinian with a sick and reduced crew, the previous September. With these advices, all apprehension was laid aside, the battery was neglected,

until, on the 20th June, the two ships met off the Straits of St. Bernardino. Retreat was impossible, and after an action of two hours, in which the Centurion lost 31 men and the galleon 141 (killed and wounded), Anson took possession of his prize, worth $1,500,000. To guard and navigate these two ships was a work of difficulty, yet in 22 days, they were safely carried into the Chinese waters. The sufferings of the captured crew, 492 in number, crowded together in the ship's holds, in the depth of a tropical summer, were extreme, so that, it is added, on being landed at Macao, they 'were all mere skeletons.' Most of them found their way back to Manila in December. The report of the capture had preceded them, gathering on its way the further statement that Anson had written home for a squadron to join him in sacking Manila.

The authorities resolved to dispatch a fleet of four ships without delay, to overtake Anson at Macao, and recover the lost treasure. The city contributed liberally to this expedition, but when it reached China in March, 1744, Anson who had sailed in December, was already far on his way to England. The first object of the enterprise lost, the Spanish commander determined to remain in order to make reprisals on British commerce. This design did not please the Chinese, who endeavored to save their waters from being made the theatre of what they deemed piracy, by refusing supplies, as they had done to Anson. In the end, however, they yielded, and the Philippine commodore, getting his provisions, but meeting no prizes, returned to Manila. His ill success laid him open to an inquiry, which however, terminated in his acquittal. A long inquest into the loss of the Cobadonga followed, but the court acquitted her commander also, and the council of the Indies some years after, also approved the verdict.

The loss of the Cobadonga fell heavily on the government, the private merchants, and the benevolent institutions or 'obras pias.' The dissatisfaction of the first expended itself in the expedition sent to catch Anson in China. The second party had still some spirit left, and a letter of marque was fitted out, to cruise against British commerce. One running fight with an English ship, in the Straits of Malacca, sent the cruiser back roughly handled to Manila. Some time after, a second letter of marque captured a small British brig on the Chinese coast, and the owner of her cargo, a Portuguese, sought in vain to recover his property in the courts of Manila, nor is it said that he succeeded any better, in his appeal to the council of the Indies.

The third party — the obras pias — endeavored to lighten their heavy share of the loss, by laying claim to certain goods of the galleon's outward cargo, which had been left unsold in Mexico. The colonial courts admitted their claim, but the defendants appealed to his majesty, and the final decision of the council of the Indies reversed the inferior decree, and confined the liability of the borrowers from the obras pias, to the goods actually on board the galleon.

The years 1743 and 1744 passed away, and the colonists were still unable to resume the trade with Acapulco. This long failure of arrivals alarmed the Mexican authorities, and early in 1745, they dispatched a small vessel to an outport of the colony. Before it arrived, in July, governor Torre was already ill with disease and melancholy. He had been called on to quell some local insurrections, and further suspicions, it is said, had been maliciously infused into his mind, of a projected rising of the Chinese population. Overborne by real and imaginary afflictions, he died in September, and the vacant state of the higher offices at the moment, threw the government into the hands of the bishop of Nueva Segovia, F. I. de Arrechedera. The prelate entered with zeal on his new duties, inspecting the city, repairing its defenses, and introducing some much-needed reforms into the municipal regulations.

It fell to his lot to execute a singular order which had come from Spain, viâ Mexico, accompanied with a remittance of $5398, to defray the costs; viz. for the transportation of the inhabitants of the Babuyanes islands to the opposite coast of Luzon. This order was probably a repetition of the policy which had so nearly completed the depopulation of the Mariana islands. The governor appropriated the sum as directed, but so strong and general was the preference of the natives for their seagirt homes, that only a few families could be induced to leave them.

At this time, Arrechedera was also called to do the honors of a welcome to a Danish ship from Tranquebar, bearing orders from his majesty for the admission of the vessels of that power, to the port of Manila. Full effect was given to the royal rescript, but before any valuable intercourse ensued, the courts of Madrid and Copenhagen had quarreled, about supplies furnished by the Danes to the king of Morocco, &c., and new orders came out, to exclude that flag from all the colonies.

A great deficiency still existing in the colonial armory, the governor remitted $39,000 to Batavia for the purchase of arms and ammunition. The colonial chest was too poor at the moment to afford

this sum, and it was accordingly borrowed, until the receipt of the next subsidy.

When the news of the loss of the Cobadonga reached Spain, his majesty felt it so deeply as to order that no galleon should be dispatched from Manila, while the war lasted. The distress of the citizens was only aggravated by this command. They had been gradually collecting goods for the Mexican markets, from time to time, as their means permitted, and a considerable portion of a cargo was ready, when the prohibition reached them. Arrechedera was happily a reasonable governor, and while he took the responsibility of allowing the shipment to proceed, he in fact doubled the license, by granting that the risk should be divided between two vessels. Information now reached Manila that a fleet of English and Dutch ships had just left Canton for the Mexican coast, but the delay caused by this account, was soon terminated by a further report that a tyfoon had dispersed the squadron. Still, great difficulty was found in equipping two large ships, with heavy armaments, and carrying 850 men. To accomplish this, it was necessary that the city should contribute $50,000, and the ecclesiastical and other bodies make liberal loans.

During the absence of these vessels, the colony remained under great depression, and even the appearance of a strange sail on any part of the coasts was sufficient to awaken the most excited apprehensions. A Dutch squadron especially, which had come up to Mindanao, on the invitation of some native ally, caused much alarm at Manila. The mitred governor exhausted his weak resources, in preparing for the common defense, but the Dutch retired on the death of their friend, and no harm befel the Philippines.

The cellars, as well as the treasuries of the colonists, were at this time quite empty, so that there was no wine for the celebration of the sacrament. To supply this pressing want, the clergy dispatched a small vessel to Macao, which, in due time, brought back 216 arrobas of wine, 'pure and genuine, as appeared from sundry accompanying certificates.'

The return of the two Acapulco ships the following year, brought great relief to the merchants and the government. Yet the colony was still distressed, there were six subsidies in arrear, and when the galleon of the next season put back into harbor, the government was again obliged to ask a loan for the public exigencies.

In August, 1747, Arrechedera was outranked by the arrival of a new archbishop, the Fr. P. M. de Arizala. This prelate, however, declined with much moderation, to assume the administration, until

reference had been made to court, and he was formally directed to preside over the colony, until the arrival of a civil governor. In one respect, Arizala followed in the steps of his clerical predecessor. He paid much attention to the military department, being present at the exercises of the soldiers, and rewarding their marksmanship, &c. Once, we are told, his spirits rose to an extraordinary height, on the occasion of the successful issue of an attempt to cast a number of heavy cannon. These, however, were not the archbishop's only weapons. When the sultan of Súlú, a fugitive from his own territories came to Manila in 1749, the prelate received him kindly, and set his heart upon his conversion. Especially, says our authority, 'in riding and conversing together, and still more at his excellency's dinner-parties,' was the faith of the Mohammedan vigorously assaulted. To these means of grace, were added, 'gifts of rich dresses, with ornamented muskets, pistols, &c.' When plied by the governor of the Philippines upon a poor exile, who had no other hope of recovering his dominions, how could these means be unsuccessful. In December of that year, Alimudin desired baptism. Much discussion followed among the clergy, as to his sincerity, but the archbishop was satisfied with his convert, the future instrument of the conversion of all Súlú, and he was baptized in April following. This spiritual conquest was celebrated, within the city, by entertainment and public congratulations. The suburbs expressed their joy in four days illuminations, three days masquerade, three bull-fights, and three comedies. The whole was closed with a grand mass and sermon. Whether the conversion of Alimudin were real or not, his sufferings certainly were so. Not to break unnecessarily the detail of these, we close here the account of Arizala's administration, with his release from civil cares, in July, 1750, on the arrival of the marques de Ovando, one of the most unfortunate as well as most noble of Philippine governors. Our 'Historia' becomes from this time scarcely more than a long detail of Súlúan wars, to the close of which, we hasten, in our next sketch, to conduct the reader.

Art. II. *Affray at Hongkong; death of a Chinese, Lin Weihe; court of justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction instituted; its proceedings; captain Elliot's address to the grand jury; his address to the prisoners, with sentence of the court passed on the same.*

Sunday, July 7th, 1839, a most serious affray occurred at Hongkong, near the anchorage in a village called *Tseënshatsuy*, where a large party of foreign seamen had collected together on shore. A Chinese, named Lin Weihe, expired the next day, Monday; a report of the case reached Macao the same evening, the 8th; and captain Elliot proceeded to Hongkong early on Tuesday the succeeding morning. About the same time a report reached the Chinese authorities in Canton, from whom a deputation was sent to hold a court of inquest. The importance of this case — bringing up as it has that clause in the Chinese penal code which requires life for life — will be seen in the sequel. All the particulars that have come to our knowledge, well authenticated, shall be put on record; these, however, are few. Though at Hongkong when the affray occurred, and during the next day when the man expired, we could only ascertain these few facts — that a large party of sailors were on shore, drunken and riotous; that a serious row took place between them and the villagers; that several Chinese were beaten, and one of them so severely that he died of his wounds the following day, Monday, July 8th. These few transactions, however, seem to be the prelude of a new scene in the grand drama now being enacted, on these southern confines of the celestial empire. After two or three days, captain Elliot returned to Macao; and has, no doubt, transmitted to his government a full account of all he did, and of all he learned, touching the case in question. Very few of these particulars have been made public here. None of the testimony of the witnesses in court, nor even the names of the persons accused and condemned, have been published in the newspapers, which have given notices of the trial. The reason for this secrecy is well understood by those who are acquainted with Chinese policy. That we may not be misunderstood, we here remark, explicitly, that we have no reason to doubt that the chief superintendent has taken every means in his power to secure the execution of strict and impartial justice throughout the whole of these proceedings. If we have rightly understood him, he has plain and unequi-

vocal instructions from his sovereign not to surrender or submit any subject of her crown to the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts of law. These instructions are founded, no doubt, on the notorious fact that no foreign authorities or witnesses are recognized in these courts, which still maintain that spirit of exclusiveness, now abandoned even by the Sublime Porte and the Barbary States. This spirit, probably, is now about to have its last struggle here.

We have seen a partial and garbled report made by the deputation sent from the provincial city to Hongkong. The chief particulars detailed therein, have reference to the wounds found on the body of Lin Weihe, and to the money paid and to be paid to the family of the deceased. Whatever was paid, or was to be paid, we have been assured was offered solely in consideration of the needy and afflicted state of the deceased's family, and not with the intention of 'hushing the matter,' or of staying the course of justice. Notwithstanding the assurances given that the parties engaged in the affray should be tried and dealt with according to English law, the Chinese authorities have peremptorily demanded, and continue so to demand, the surrender to them of the murderers. In the meantime captain Elliot has pursued an independent course, the successive steps of which form the following part of this article. On account of the novelty of the case, and the bearings which it may have in future, we introduce here, from the Register and the Press, all the documents that have appeared in those papers, on this melancholy subject.

OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE TO BRITISH SUBJECTS.

Macao, July 26th, 1839.

In obedience to an order of his late most excellent majesty in council, dated on the ninth day of December, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, made in pursuance of the provisions of an act of parliament of the 3d and 4th year of his late majesty's reign, entituled, 'an act to regulate the trade of China and India:'

The following rules of practice and proceeding are hereby promulgated, to be observed in the courts of justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, created in the aforesaid order in council, for the trial of offenses committed by her majesty's subjects within the dominions of the emperor of China and the ports and havens thereof, and in the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast of China.

Section I. Concerning Arrest.

Rule 1. No subject of her majesty to be arrested for trial under this jurisdiction, unless charged upon oath of one or more credible persons before the

chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, with such an offense as will justify holding him to bail when taken.

Rule 2. Arrest may be made in three ways. First, by warrant under the hand and seal of the chief superintendent, or in his absence by the deputy superintendent. (See Appendix. No. 1.) Second, by word of the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent (or at the stations of the British shipping), by any magistrate or quarter-master of the police, in the emergency only of any subject of her majesty committing a sudden and dangerous breach of the peace, or felony in their respective presence. Third, in the absence of other competent authority, by any subjects of her majesty, who shall by such means be able to prevent the commission of a felonious offense by any other subject of her majesty.

Rule 3. Officers or others charged with the execution of warrants of arrest to exercise the like authority, to be entitled to the like immunities, and to be liable to the like penalties for unlawful proceedings, as officers or others executing the warrants of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Section II. Of Commitment.

Rule 1. When a person charged with a crime be arrested, he is to be brought before the persons named in the warrant for examination.

Rule 2. Persons conducting examinations not to take any subsequent part in any capacity, in the trial of the prisoner, examined before them.

Rule 3. Examination of prisoner, and the information of person brought with him, or having any knowledge of the alleged crime, to be taken in writing. Witness only to be sworn.

Rule 4. If it shall plainly appear that no such crime has been committed by the prisoner, he is to be discharged; otherwise to be detained for safe custody (see Appendix No. 2), till the examination can be submitted to the chief superintendent, or in his absence, the deputy superintendent, for further disposal.

Rule 5. Persons authorized to examine, to be sworn, and to have the like powers with respect to summoning of witnesses (being subjects of her majesty), as are hereinafter vested in the court, and British subjects refusing to attend the summons of examiners to be liable to the penalties hereinafter provided for failure of attendance. (See Appendix No. 3, for form of subpœna.)

Section III. Of Bail.

Rule 1. The chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, to have the like power in respect to bail as belong of law and usage to the court of Queen's Bench in England; and to be liable for refusal or delay in the case of bailable offenses to the like penalties as magistrates in England.

Rule 2. If the prisoner be not bailed, to be committed by warrant under the hand and seal of the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, to take his trial for the offense charged against him.

Rule 3. The principles and practice of the law of England to obtain

with respect to time in which a prisoner should be placed on his trial, or within which prosecution for past offenses, committed in his jurisdiction, should be instituted.

SECTION IV. OF THE MANNER OF PROSECUTION.

Rule 1. In all cases falling under the jurisdiction of this court to be by way, only, of indictment preferred to, and presented on oath by, a grand jury.

Rule 2. Recording officer of the court to return every session, 24 good and lawful subjects of her majesty, habitually resident in China, to inquire, present, do, and execute all those things which on the part of our lady the queen shall then and there be commanded them.

Rule 3. Grand jury to be sworn to the amount of twelve at the least, and not more than 23, so that twelve may be a majority.

Rule 4. In the finding of the indictment, twelve of the jury at least must concur, and the grand inquetes to be conducted generally, according to the principles and practice of the English law.

Rule 5. Persons above 70 years of age, or persons laboring under sickness, surgeons, officers of the queen in actual public employment, may be exempted from serving on grand or petit juries, on claiming privilege.

SECTION V. OF PROCESS.

Rule 1. Sessions to be declared from time to time by public notice under the hand and seal of the chief superintendent, and all persons her majesty's subjects upon any account concerned therein to be attending at the time and place so fixed by public notice.

Rule 2. Court to have the like power, and pursue the like course, as the courts of oyer and terminer (as far as the difference of circumstances will permit), for compelling defendants to appear not in actual custody upon certificate of indictment found.

Rule 3. Arraignment to be in the manner, and subject to the rules, of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 4. If the prisoner "stands mute," or "confesses the fact," court to proceed agreeably to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

SECTION VI. OF THE PLEAS AND GENERAL ISSUE.

Rule 1. Pleas to be allowed to prisoner according to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 2. Herein the prisoner shall be entitled to request any person being a subject of her majesty (and having due sanction of the court), to support on his behalf, any point of law which may arise proper to be debated.

Rule 3. Court to proceed herein agreeably to the principles of the courts of oyer and terminer in England, but with special regard to the general scope and intention of the particular laws under which, and the objects for which, this court is created.

SECTION VII. OF TRIAL.

Rule 1. Recording officer of the court to return at every sessions a pan-

nel of 24 good and lawful subjects of her majesty, either habitually or occasionally resident in this jurisdiction, to the end that twelve thereof may try and make deliverance between our sovereign lady the queen, and any prisoner placed at the bar of the court for offenses committed within this jurisdiction, according to the principles and practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 2. Regard being had to local circumstances, the prisoner shall have no privilege of peremptory challenge, but only for cause, to be determined according to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 3. Trial to be had, and evidence to be taken, both in the prosecution and defense in the manner and subject, as far as circumstances may permit, to the principles and practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 4. If it should be impossible for the trial to conclude in one day, the court (regard being had to local circumstances) shall have the power to adjourn from day to day without confinement of jury, swearing them "neither to speak themselves to any other person than one of their own number, nor to suffer any other person to speak to them touching any matter relative to this trial."

Rule 5. In respect of illness or death of jurors, court to proceed agreeably to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

Rule 6. Verdict to be found agreeably to the practice of the courts of oyer and terminer in England, i. e. by unanimous decision of jury, and upon both the law and the fact.

Rule 7. Court to have the power of sending the jury to reconsider their verdict.

Rule 8. When the prisoner is convicted, sentence is to be pronounced by the chief superintendent in the manner declared in the order in council, and when the prisoner is acquitted upon the merits, he is for ever free and discharged upon that accusation.

Rule 9. When the acquittal arises from a defect in the proceedings and cannot be pleaded, the prisoner may be detained in safe custody by warrant of the court, to be indicted in such a manner as may fullfil the ends of justice.

SECTION VIII. OF THE MODE OF COMPELLING JURORS GRAND AND PETIT TO PERFORM THEIR DUTIES, AND WITNESSES TO ATTEND

Rule 1. A person being a subject, of her majesty (not herein before excused), who shall fail to perform his duties as a grand or petit juror, being duly summoned by the recording officer of the court, shall be liable to a penalty not exceeding $20 for the first offense, or $50 for the second, (at the discretion of the court,) to be for the use of her majesty.

Rule 2. Any subject of her majesty, whose evidence may be necessary to prove or disprove any indictment, may be bound over under sufficient surety by the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, to appear and give evidence at the trial of the prisoner: and the chief superin-

tendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent, shall determine the amount of reasonable penalty according to the circumstances of the case.

Rule 3. In the case of witnesses about to leave the country upon urgent business, they may be examined by the consent of the prisoner, as well as the chief superintendent, upon interrogatories before the chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent.

Rule 4. Citizens or subjects of foreign states, whose evidence may be desirable to prove or disprove an indictment, shall be invited for the satisfaction of the ends of justice to appear before the court; but failing attendance, the jury to deliver their verdict upon the best evidence before them.

SECTION IX. REPRIEVE AND JUDGMENT.

Rule 1. In these respects, the court to be guided by the principles and practice of the law of England, and to have the like powers, which belong of right to the judges in the courts of oyer and terminer in England.

CONCLUSION.

And notice is hereby further given, that these rules of practice and proceeding shall take effect from the date hereof, and are binding till the same be disallowed by command of her majesty.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

FORM OF WARRANT.

These are in her majesty's name to require you (*name of officer*), to take into your custody, and bring before (*names of examiners*), A. B. charged with (*brief description of offense, time and place, when and where committed*), and for so doing, this shall be your lawful warrant.

L. S. (Signed)

Chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent.

No. 2.

These are in her majesty's name to require you (*name of person to whose custody committed*) to detain in safe custody, C. D., herewith sent to you by me, charged upon oath with (*brief statement of offense and particulars thereof*), and for the said safe custody, till he be delivered in due course of law, this shall be your lawful warrant.

L. S. (Signed)

Chief superintendent, or in his absence the deputy superintendent.

No. 3.

Indictments will be prepared by recording officer, but the following form is inserted: ex. gr.

CHINA ADMIRALTY AND CRIMINAL JURISDICTION, to wit;

The jurors for our lady the queen upon their oath present, that (*A. B. particular designation*), not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being moved and seduced by the instigation of the devil, on the day of in the year of our Lord, did at in and upon E. F., feloniously, willfully, and of malice aforethought, make an assault upon, and (*here state*

the means and manner of killing, and the consequent death according to the facts). And so the said jurors, upon their oath aforesaid do say, that he the said A. B., him the said E. F., in the manner and by the means aforesaid, feloniously, willfully, and of his malice aforethought, did kill and murder, against the peace of our lady the queen, her crown and dignity

Indorsement.

If found. "A true bill."

If otherwise. "Not found."

No. 4.

Oath to foreman of grand jury. Mr. G. H., you as foreman of the grand inquest for this jurisdiction, shall diligently inquire and true presentment make of all such matters and things as shall be given you in charge: the queen's counsel, your fellows', and your own, you shall keep secret; You shall present no one from envy, hatred, or malice; neither shall you leave any one unpresented for fear, favor, or affection, gain, reward, or hope thereof; But you shall present all things truly as they come to your knowledge according to the best of your understanding. So help you God.

Oath to the rest of the grand jury. The same oath your foreman has taken on his part, you and every of you shall truly observe and keep on your part. So help you God.

Oath to witnesses before the grand inquest. The evidence you shall give to the grand inquest upon this bill of indictment shall be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. So help you God.

No. 5.

Record to be kept by the recording officer in the usual form.

No. 6.

Oath to petit juror (on the challenge of him) before asking questions. You shall true answer make to all such questions as shall be asked you by the court. So help you God.

To triers of challenged jurymen. You shall well and truly try whether I. J. (*the juryman challenged*) stand indifferent between the parties to this issue. So help you God.

Oath to petit jurors upon trial. You shall well and truly try, and true deliverance make, between our sovereign lady the queen, and the prisoner at the bar, whom you shall have in charge and true verdict give according to your evidence. So help you God.

Oath to interpreters. You shall true interpretation make of the evidence, between the court, the jury, and the prisoner at the bar, according to the best of your skill and understanding. So help you God.

No. 7.

In the queen's name take notice, that you are hereby summoned to serve (*as grand juror or petit juror as the case may be*), at the sessions of the court of criminal and admiralty, jurisdiction to be held at on the day of

To I. K., L. M., &c., &c.

(Signed) Recording officer.

To be left at dwelling-house, or usual place of business, by sworn officers of the court, *(and time of leaving to be endorsed on the back of the summons)*, at least three days before sessions.

Subpœna to witnesses. In the queen's name take notice, that you are hereby required to lay aside all pretenses and excuses whatever, and to appear before the criminal and admiralty jurisdiction in your proper person, at the sessions to be held at on the day of in the year to testify the truth and give evidence upon the trial of for and this you are not to omit under the penalty of *(not exceeding* $400 *at the discretion of the court.)*

(Signed)

Recording officer.

N. B. Same remark as above, concerning the services of summons to grand and petit jury.

L. S. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief Superintendent, &c.

COURT OF CRIMINAL AND ADMIRALTY JURISDICTION.

The first sessions of this court were held at Hongkong on the 12th of August. The following gentlemen were returned as grand jurors.

John Harvey Astell, esq. *Chairman*

William Bell, esq.	George T. Braine, esq.
David L. Burn, esq.	Wilkinson Dent, esq.
Thomas Fox, esq.	Thomas Gemmell, esq.
Crawford Kerr, esq.	William P. Livingstone, esq.
James Matheson, esq.	Peter Scott, esq.
John Rickett esq.	Dadabhoy Rustomjee, esq.
Dinshaw Furdoonjee, esq.	Framjee Jamsetjee, esq.
Heerjeebhoy Rustomjee, esq.	Bomanjee Maneckjee, esq.

The petit jury consisted of the following persons.

John Hudson, esq. *Foreman*	William Clark, esq.
William Symes, esq.	John Burns, esq.
George Dicey, esq	David Gardyne, esq.
Oliver Cunningham, esq.	William Mallory, esq.
John Hawkins, esq.	Thomas Stewart, esq.
William Jellard, esq.	Charles Liebschwager, esq.

J. B. Compton, esq. Recording officer.

Captain Elliot, on opening the court made the following address to the grand jury.

Gentlemen of the Grand Jury—Situated as we are, you will believe that I have diligently applied myself to the best sources of refer-

ence within my reach for such directions as may serve to guide you in the important task you are here to perfrom. Let me crave your attention, then, to a few general remarks upon the nature of your duties, upon the manner of conducting the inquest, and lastly, to some observations bearing upon the principal case to be laid before you. The authorities I have consulted shall be noticed for your satisfaction as I proceed. It is a principle of the law of England, that no man can be convicted at the suit of the crown of any capital offense, unless by the unanimous voice of at least 24 of his neighbors and equals; i. e. by 12 at least of the grand jury assenting to the accusation, and afterwards by the whole petit jury finding him guilty on his trial. But if 12 of the grand jury assent, it is a good presentment, though some of the rest disagree. According to the common law of England too, it is absolutely necessary that all the grand inquest should be inhabitants of the country for which they are sworn to inquire: and I may take this occasion to explain the reasons which led me to confine the performance of grand jury functions in this jurisdiction, to persons habitually resident in China. In our position, it appeared to me to be a very suitable adaptation of this principle to devolve these duties upon persons usually resident: because they would bring to the task a more familiar knowledge of the customs of the country, and of the particular pressure of circumstances, than it could be reasonable to expect in casual visitors, and would therefore be better able to judge of what should be sent to trial, for the ends of justice and of peace. Indeed it must be obvious to every reflecting person who hears me, that the heavy responsibility of acting upon the jurisdiction order in council, (till the whole machinery has been set in action by the queen's government, and a more proper person were here to fill this seat, than myself,) has been forced upon me.

With our intercourse interrupted, I may certainly say, chiefly, if not entirely, because it is impossible to consent to the pretensions of the Chinese government to judge her majesty's subjects by their forms of judicature, for offenses declared to be capital, how could we disregard an unprovoked outrage upon the peaceful inhabitants of this empire, attended with loss of life, charged by the Chinese officers upon British subjects.

"From the oldest times," says the profound and eloquent lord Stowell, speaking of the intercourse between the men of the western parts of the world and the nations of the east, "an immiscible character has been kept up; foreigners are not admitted into the general body and mass of the society of the nation. They continue strangers

and sojourners in the land, as all their fathers were. *Foris mare suam non intermiscuit undam.*" But these extreme differences of custom and law could never be suffered to cover impunity for crime; and hence the separate jurisdiction for foreigners, which it has been necessary to establish in all the nations of the east, with which they maintain any general intercourse. Here, indeed, this necessity has never been conceded by treaty, or special arrangement; but here more particularly, than in any part of the world, it is admitted in principle, and constantly adverted to in practice. The theory is, that whenever a foreigner charged with an offense be delivered up to the Chinese government, he has been tried by his own officers and people and found guilty; a feature specially noticed by sir George Staunton, and which at once explains the eagerness of the Chinese officers to gain possession of the foreigner with the consent of his own countrymen.

In no instance that I am aware of, except one, has the government of this country ever resorted to force for the apprehension of a foreigner charged with offenses against the laws of the empire, and in that case it is material to remark the individual was not executed; on another occasion, indeed, they deported an individual by forcible means from Canton, and from the empire, but so far as British subjects be concerned, at all events, there has been no instance of apprehension and execution, without reference to British authority. Perhaps it may not be misplaced to remark here, that the anxiety of this government to obtain our own written consent to be tried by their forms of judicature, (which constitutes the main difficulty of our present situation,) is explicable only upon a mixed principle of justice and policy: upon the one hand, that it is reasonable to have our own consent to trial by laws so contrary in spirit and form to our own; upon the other, that our governments would find it impossible to interfere, if such laws were executed after the procurement of our own written consent.

On the whole, I have thought that it became me in this serious conjuncture, both upon general and special grounds, to provide as far as lay in my power, for the satisfaction of the ends of justice and of the reasonable demands of this government. I can deliver no man into their hands, which they have required me to do; but I have invited their officers to be present at as impartial a trial (according to our own forms of law), for the grave offenses charged against British subjects, as if those offenses had been committed upon our own countrymen, upon our own shores.

Requesting your excuse for this disgression, I resume the subject in hand. The particular mission of the grand jury is to hear evidence in support of an indictment, and in support only, for the grand inquest is strictly in the nature of an inquiry or accusation, afterwards to be determined. Whilst, however, they are only to inquire whether there be sufficient cause to call upon the party to answer it, they should also be persuaded of the truth of an indictment, so far as the evidence goes; and not be satisfied with remote probability, a doctrine that might be applied to very oppressive purposes.

I will now submit a few plain rules, concerning the kind of evidence which a grand jury may receive or should reject. 1. They are bound to take the best legal proof of which the case admit. 2. The testimony must be parole, except in the cases provided for in the rules and regulations of practice and proceeding. 3. They should find no indictment upon the testimony of incompetent witnesses, as of persons convicted of a conspiracy, or any infamous crime: and if a bill be presented with no more credible witnesses endorsed upon it, the court upon application, will direct the grand jury to reject it. 4. One credible witness to one overt act will suffice. 5. The grand jury cannot find one part of one charge to be true, and another part false, but they must either maintain or reject the whole.

It may now be desirable to say a few words upon what I believe is the current doctrine of all the best authorities concerning the finding of bills in cases of homicide, *where there is doubt as to the degree.* In all such circumstances, it is advised to find for the higher offense, because that course is to the ease and advantage of the prisoner in the important respect, that it will bar subsequent prosecution for manslaughter. For had it appeared in evidence upon a trial for murder, that the offense was only of manslaughter, the petit jury might have found him guilty in that degree. The finding for manslaughter, on the contrary, exposes the prisoner to be harassed with a fresh accusation. For if the grand jury throw out the bill upon the capital charge, he may be again indicted, which it is material to remark, can never take place after an open acquittal. In some authorities, it is laid down as a rule, for the above reasons, that wherever the fact of homicide is clear, the grand jury should find the bill for the murder. And if upon the trial of an indictment for murder, the prisoner appears to the jury to be guilty of manslaughter, they may find him guilty of the latter offense.

If, however, the grand jury should determine upon finding at once for manslaughter, I should observe, that it is considered the safer

course to prefer a fresh indictment for that offense, than to make any erasure on the original bill. The difference consists only in the omission of the words 'of malice aforethought,' 'maliciously,' and the conclusion charging 'murder.' In all other respects, the matter may stand, and it is to be observed particularly, that the words 'feloniously,' and 'felony,' are essential, because the crime of manslaughter amounts to felony, but within the benefit of clergy.

It remains to touch upon the distinction between murder and manslaughter, and I may begin by laying down what I believe are the accepted and best legal definitions of either offense. It is murder according to lord Coke, 'When a man of sound memory, and of the age of discretion, killeth any reasonable creature in rerum natura and under the king's peace, by malice prepense or aforethought, either expressed by the party, or *implied by law*.' Manslaughter, according to Blackstone, Hale, and many other very learned authorities, is the unlawful killing of another, without malice either expressed or implied, which may be either voluntary upon a sudden heat, or involuntary, but in the commission of some unlawful act: and Blackstone has a rule, perhaps as easy of practical application as the real difficulty of seizing the distinction in particular cases will ever admit. 'In general,' says he, 'when an involuntary killing happens in consequence of an unlawful act, it will be murder or manslaughter according to the nature of the act which occasioned it: if it be in prosecution of a felonious intent, or if its consequences naturally tended to bloodshed, it will be murder; but if no more was intended than a mere civil trespass, it will only amount to manslaughter.'

Concerning the first condition of lord Coke's definition of murder, 'that the agent should be of sound memory and discretion,' it may be necessary to remind you of another principle of the law laid down by the same authority, 'that a drunkard, who is *voluntarius dæmon* hath no privilege thereof, but what hurt or ill soever he doeth, his drunkenness doth aggravate it; *nam omne crimen ebrietas et incendit et detegit*.' By the words, 'under the king's peace,' all persons except an alien enemy in the actual heat of war are taken to be included — and indeed to kill an alien enemy except in battle is murder. We now come to the circumstance in English law which chiefly distinguishes murder from every other description of homicide, namely, that there must be malice aforethought, either expressed by the party, or implied by the law. The legal sense of this language, however, does not confine it to a particular animosity to the deceased. It extends to an evil design in general, a wicked and unlawful motive, an

intention to do evil, the event of which is fatal. In a variety of cases the law implies malice; as for example, when an officer of justice is killed in the discharge of his duty, or a private person legally interfering to prevent crimes, or when death happens in the prosecution of some unlawful design, and when in heat of blood, such violence is used as the circumstances will not soften into simple felonious homicide.

The principal niceties in the distinction between murder and manslaughter will arise in cases of sudden quarrel. Every homicide it should be remembered, according to the principles of English law is *prima facie* murder, and shall be so considered till justified or excused; therefore, when the fact of killing be once established, it remains for the prisoner to make out that he is justified or excused, or that the fault is reduced to manslaughter by some adequate provocation: and killing is taken to be felonious and malicious till the contrary is shown in evidence. But I must again carefully remind you, that when the death ensues evidently from sudden heat of blood, or some grievous provocation, the offense is reduced by the tenderness of the law to manslaughter. For the easier apprehension of this distinction; it is material to inquire whether the force or weapon used by the prisoner was likely to produce death; because there can be no doubt that the use of firearms, swords, pikes; or other weapons of deadly strife, will carry worse construction that that of sticks, or less dangerous instruments casually snatched. Upon the whole, we may conclude in the language of an excellent practical treatise on the criminal law (Chitty's), that if the provocation be light, if the resentment be inadequate to its cause, if dangerous instruments be used under pretense of correction, where correction is lawful, or be the provocation what it might, if time for reflection intervened; if previous malice can be shown, if there be traces of deadly animosity from whatever cause, the offense of homicide is murder. But if the cause be but sudden passion, overstepping its bounds; correction well intended though too severe, a sudden fury though blind, the law reduces the crime to manslaughter.

The cases of riot and assault to be submitted to you present no difficulty. They are no more than offenses against the peace, accompanied, however, I am ashamed to admit by credible averment, by unprovoked and unmanly outrage.

Two indictments were presented to the grand jury. One against a seaman, for willful murder of a Chinese named Lin Weihe, on the

7th July in or near a village on the eastern shore of the anchorage of Hongkong.

The first indictment for willful murder was ignored by the grand jury.

The other against five seamen, for riotously, unlawfully, and injuriously entering certain dwelling-houses in a village on the eastern shore of the anchorage of Hongkong, in search of spirits; and for then and there riotously assaulting the inhabitants, men and women, cutting, beating, and otherwise dangerously ill using them. Also for having, on the 7th July last past, riotously damaged and injured a certain josshouse in the neighborhood of the above said village. A true bill was found against these five seamen, and after the evidence had been fully gone into, the jury returned a verdict of guilty.

On the day following, captain Elliot passed sentence on the prisoners, and addressed them in the following words:

"You have been found guilty after a very patient trial of riotous conduct committed on shore in the immediate neighborhood of this anchorage on the 7th July last, neither do I find any evidence to disturb the painful fact laid in the indictment, that this riot was occasioned by the determination to procure spirits. And in the train of this indulgence of a brutal vice, what follows? Shameful riot attended with unmanly outrage upon men, women, and children: the loss of innocent life, and increased jeopardy to vast public and private interests, to an extent which no human wit can foresee.

"The jury, however, making a distinction upon the evidence, in the soundness of which I perfectly concur, find that you ————, and you ————, and you ————, are guilty, not merely of the riotous conduct which led to all these disastrous consequences, but that you participated in the actual violence or assault laid in the indictment.

Seeking anxiously on your behalf for some circumstances which might extenuate these serious offenses, I must reluctantly confess that so far as you are all concerned, both as Englishmen and Christian men, I can find none. You have done those things which you ought not to have done, under the incitement of a vicious motive.

"But looking to my own duties here I feel myself compelled in a spirit of strict justice, and not at all of leniency for the offenses you have committed, to pronounce a mitigated sentence upon you mainly, because of the inexcusable negligence of permitting so many persons of your station to go on shore, particularly at such a moment as the present, without regard to your personal steadiness, and with no

officer to control you, in spite of the dictates of common prudence, and contrary to my own recent injunctions. Be assured also that the evidence of general good character you have produced has had its full weight with me.

"Thus impressed then, the sentence of the court is that you ——, and you ————, be imprisoned in any of her majesty's jails, or houses of correction in the United Kingdom, which her majesty may be pleased to command, there to remain and be kept to hard labor for the space of three months. And further that you each pass a fine to our sovereign lady the queen, of £15 lawful money of England, and that you be kept in safe custody until you shall have paid the said fine.

"And the sentence of the court is that you ————, you ————, and you ————, be imprisoned in any of her majesty's jails or houses of correction in the United Kingdom, which her majesty may be pleased to command, there to remain, and be kept to hard labor for the space of six calendar months. And further that you each pay a fine to our sovereign lady the queen, of £20 lawful money of England. And that you be kept in safe custody until you shall have paid the said fine.

"And you ————, ————, ————, ————, and you ——, will severally understand that the period of your respective imprisonments now adjudged, will take place from the date of your respective committal within such of her majesty's jails or houses of correction in the United Kingdom, as her majesty may be pleased to command, and that till a suitable opportunity presents itself to send you to England, that you will be detained in safe custody according to the customs and usages of the sea-service (and agreeably to the manner of your behavior), on board such ships as the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China may think fit to appoint from time to time."

ART. III. *Chun yuen tsae cha sze. Sanshĕh shoo. A ballad on picking tea in the gardens in springtime. In thirty stanzas.*

It was our intention to have inserted the following ballad as part of the article in our last number on the tea plant, but the limits of the number forbade. The original was obtained from one of the traders from the green tea country, and is very prettily printed on a square piece of paper, with a flowered red border. We have introduced the original Chinese on the top of the page, for the gratification of those of our readers who can relish its beauties; for we think they will agree with us in judging of its merits. Each stanza in the original a single column, is composed of four lines; the first, second, and fourth of which rhyme with each other; and each line contains seven words. For example, the first stanza;

Nung keä, keä choo, wan shan chung;
Tsun nan, tsun pĭh, tsun ming tsung;
Shay how, yu tseĕn, mang puh leaou;
Chaou chaou, tsaou he, ko cha kung.

"In a verse of seven words," says Davis in his Dissertation on the Poetry of the Chinese, "the cæsural pause being after the fourth, the first section of the line generally consists of two compound terms of two characters each. The fourth and fifth characters can never be coupled in this manner, because the pause cannot take place in the middle of a compound term; but it must be the first and second, the third and fourth, which are thus related. This being the case, with regard to the first section of the verse, the last, which contains three characters is commonly a compound term, with the addition of a single word, which may either precede or come after it." The cæsural pause is very distinctly marked in this composition, falling between the fourth and fifth words; and there is in most of the lines, a comma, or a pause much less than the cæsura between the second and third characters. These parts of the line are, however, in this instance, only seldom made up of compound terms. Many examples of parallelism between succeeding lines — a very prominent feature of Chinese poetry, and one which Davis illustrates by many quotations — will be observed, but we can only refer our readers to that author's Dissertation for a full account of the characteristics of the poetry of this people. In this translation, no attempt has been made to reduce it to the rules of English poetry, but simply to give the meaning of the original.

	1				2				3			
春	儂	村	社	朝	曉	提	小	問	空	霧	不	教
園	家	北	後	朝	起	籃	姑	上	濛	葉	識	儂
采	家	村	雨	早	臨	出	大	松	曉	雲	爲	辛
茶	住	南	前	起	粧	戶	婦	蘿	色	芽	誰	苦
詞	萬	盡	忙	課	畧	霧	同	第	單	未	來	日
三	山	茗	不	茶	整	方	携	幾	山	易	解	雙
十	巾	叢	了	工	容	濃	手	峰	缸	降	渴	雙
首												

A Ballad

On Picking Tea in the Gardens in springtime.

In Thirty Stanzas.

1.

Our household dwells amidst ten thousand hills,
Where the tea, north and south of the village, abundantly grows;
From *chinshay* to *kuhyu*, unceasingly hurried,
Every morning I must early rise to do my task of tea.

2.

By earliest dawn, I, at my toilet, only half-dress my hair,
And, seizing my basket, pass the door, while yet the mist is thick:
The little maids and graver dames hand in hand winding along
Ask me, "which steep of Sunglo do you climb to-day?"

3.

The sky is thick, and the dusky twilight hides the hill-tops;
The dewy leaves and cloudy buds cannot yet be easily plucked
We know not for whom, their thirst to quench,
We're caused to toil and labor, and daily two by two to go.

4				5				6				7	
雙	細	既	更	采	提	同	驚	一	葉	行	試	兩	誰
雙	語	恐	防	罷	籃	人	起	池	小	向	看	鬢	家
相	叮	梢	來	枝	貯	笑	雙	碧	如	磯	儂	鬍	有
伴	嚀	頭	日	頭	滿	向	鳧	水	錢	頭	貌	鬆	婦
采	莫	芽	雨	葉	始	池	兩	浸	半	清	近	貌	醜
茶	要	欲	絲	自	言	前	處	芙	未	淺	何	帶	如
枝	遲	老	絲	稀	歸	過	飛	葉	舒	處	如	枯	奴

4.

In social couples, each to aid her fellow, we seize the tea twigs,
And in low words urge one another, "Do n't delay,
Lest on the topmost bough, the bud has even now grown old,
And lest with the morrow, come the drizzling, silky rain."

5.

We've picked enough; the topmost twigs are sparse of leaves;
We lift our baskets filled brimful, and talk of going home;
Laughing, we pass along; when just against the pool,
A pair of scared mallards rise and fly diverse away.

6.

This pool has limpid water, and there deep the lotus grows,
Its little leaves are round as coins, and only half-expanded:
Going to the jutting verge, over a clear and shallow spot,
I try my present looks, mark how of late my face appears.

7.

My curls and hair are all awry, my face is quite begrim'd;
In whose house lives the girl so ugly as your slave?

8 9 10

只雨朝小采相今忙匆忘園濕遙把
緣灑來笠得看日梳匆却中透囑儂
日風風長旗却窓鴉便泥纔弓鄰青
日吹雨籃鎗是前髻向濘到鞋姑箬
將失又手歸半天緊園未又未傳寄
茶故凄自去身色橫中換聞肯信將
采吾凄提後泥隹釵去鞋雷回去來

'Tis only because that every day the tea I'm forced to pick;
The soaking rains and driving winds have spoiled my former charms.

8.

With the morning comes the wind and rain, together fierce and high,
But the little hat and basket tall, still must I take along;
The tender leaflets being fully picked, we now to our homes return,
When each sees her fellow's dress, half-bedaubed with mire.

9.

This morn, without the door, behold a pleasant sky,
Quickly I comb'd my girlish tufts, and firmly set my pin;
With rapid steps away I speed in the path toward the garden,
And forgetful of the muddy way, omit to change my shoes.

10.

But just within the garden bounds, I hear the thunder roll;
My bow-shaped shoes are soak'd quite through, but I'm not ready to return,
I call my distant comrade, to send my message home,
And have my green umbrella-hat sent hither to me soon.

11				12				13				14	
小	衣	手	只	雨	攀	高	柒	芬	品	采	今	番	鴉
笠	衫	巾	少	過	來	低	得	芳	色	龍	朝	番	鬢
蒙	半	提	長	枝	香	摘	衣	香	休	新	已	辛	斜
頭	濕	着	竿	頭	氣	盡	襟	氣	寧	芽	是	苦	拖
不	像	青	與	汎	便	黃	處	似	勝	旋	第	不	主
庇	漁	絲	細	碧	氤	金	處	蘭	婆	又	三	辭	指
身	人	籠	綸	紋	氳	縷	芬	蓀	源	發	番	難	寒

11.

The little hat, when on my head does not protect my limbs,
My dress and gown are wet half-through, like some poor fisherman's;
My green and fine meshed basket, I carry closely in my hand;
And I only lack his long rod, and his thin slender line.

12.

The rain is pass'd, and the outmost leaflets show their greenish veins;
Pull down a branch, and the fragrant scent 's diffused around.
Both high and low, the yellow golden threads are now quite culled,
And my clothes and frock are dyed with odors all around.

13.

The sweet and fragrant perfume 's like that from the *Aglaia*;
In goodness and appearance, my tea 'll be the best in *Wooyuen*,
When all are picked, the new buds, by the next term, will again burst forth,
And this morning, the last third gathering is quite done.

14.

Each picking is with toilsome labor, but yet I shun it not,
My maiden curls are all askew, my pearly fingers all benumbed;

	15			16			17		
惟	一	早	更	怎	容	焙	知	閒	活	那	無	遍
願	月	時	深	不	顏	出	是	教	火	知	端	體
儂	何	出	尙	教	雖	金	何	纖	煎	摘	一	淋
家	曾	采	在	人	瘦	芽	人	手	來	取	陣	淋
茶	一	暮	爐	損	志	分	調	侍	破	苦	狂	似
色	日	方	前	玉	常	外	玉	兒	寂	多	風	水
好	閒	還	焙	顏	堅	妍	碗	煎	寥	嬌	雨	澆

But I only wish our tea to be of a superfine kind,
To have it equal his 'sparrow's tongue,' and their 'dragon's pellet.'

15.

For a whole month, where can I catch a single leisure day?
For at earliest dawn I go to pick, and not till dusk return;
Till the deep midnight, I'm still before the firing pan;
Will not labor like this, my pearly complexion deface?

16.

But if my face is lank, my mind is firmly fixed,
So to fire my golden buds that they shall excel all beside.
But how know I who 'll put them in the gemmy cup?
Who at leisure, will with her tapir fingers give them to the maid to draw?

17.

At a bright fire she makes the tea, and her sorrows all flee;
Where shall she learn our toil, who so tender picked it all?
How that without a sign, the fierce winds and rain did rise,
Drenching and soaking our persons, as if plunged into a bath.

18 19 20 21

雨雙緣愁 縱且只縷 工倘焙今 手松
橫雙何上 使安圖縷 夫覺出朝 挽巖
風猶夫心 愁貧焙旗 那儂乾還 筠山
狂自壻來 腸苦得錦 敢家茶要 籃下
鳥戀輕手 似莫新起 自事忙上 鬢采
離花言忘 桔辭茶白 蹉務去松 戴山
巢梢別梢 棲勞好毫 跎多采巖 花茶

18.

In driving rains and howling winds, the birds forsake their nests;
Yet many a couple seem to linger upon the flowery boughs.
Why did my loving lord with lightsome words drive me away?
As my grief swells in my heart, my hands forget to pick.

19.

But though my heaving bosom, like a well-sweep rise and fall,
Still patient in my poverty and care, I'll never shun my usual toil
My only thought shall be to have our new tea well fired,
That the flag and awl* be well rolled, and show their white'n'd down.

20.

But my own toil and weary steps, how shall I dare to mention them?
Still I see that in our house is many a sort of work:
As soon as the tea is fired and dried, I must quickly go and pick:
This morning, even, must I reascend the steep Sunglo.

21.

My splint-basket slung on my arm, and my hair plaited with flowers;
I go to the side of the Sunglo hills, and pick the mountain tea.

* The *ka* or 'flag' is the term by which the leaflets are called when they just begin to unroll; the *tseang* or 'awl' designates those leaves which are still wrapped up and somewhat sharp

22					23					24				
途	笑	妾	一	明	到	作	焙	西	道	今	携	小	睡	
伸	指	家	帶	日	門	暖	茶	山	是	日	籃	姑	倚	
姊	前	樓	青	若	先	還	天	日	多	西	候	更	欄	
妹	村	屋	陰	蒙	覺	寒	色	落	晴	山	伴	覺	杆	
勞	是	傍	護	來	焙	屢	最	東	却	山	坐	嬌	喚	
相	妾	垂	草	約	茶	變	難	山	少	色	村	癡	不	
問	家	楊	堂	伴	香	更	平	雨	晴	青	亭	慣	醒	

Amid the pathway going, we sisters one another rally,
And laughing, I point to yonder village—"there's our house!"

22.

Your handmaid's house and home is at the weeping willow's side,
In a place where the green shade, the grassy dwelling hides;
To-morrow, if you're content, I beg you'll come and be my boon companions,
Coming to the door, you'll know it by the fragrance of the firing tea.

23.

Awhile 'tis warm, and then 'tis cold, the weather's ever changing;
The sky is never so unsettled as when one wants to fire tea,
For as the sun goes down the western hills, o'er the eastern hills there's rain,
Promising much fair weather, yet in truth but little comes.

24.

But to-day, the tint of the western hills betokens fair;
Taking my basket, I wait for my fellow at the village stile.*
There the little lass is seen, the simple girl most tenderly brought up;
She 's fast asleep, leaning on the rail; I call but none awakes.

* The *ting* is not exactly a stile, being a kind of shed, or four posts supporting a roof, which is often erected by the villagers for the convenience of wayfarers,

25				26				27			
直	半	匆	提	同	棲	欲	樹	黃	可	攀	說
待	開	匆	着	行	畔	待	高	鳥	人	枝	到
高	媚	便	籃	迤	花	折	攀	枝	天	各	傷
呼	眼	向	兒	邐	開	來	不	頭	氣	把	心
始	若	前	忘	過	海	分	到	美	半	衷	淚
應	難	頭	着	南	石	插	梢	好	晴	情	不
承	勝	走	簦	樓	榴	戴	頭	音	陰	訴	禁

25.

When at length, to my loudest call, she begins to answer;
She half opes her pretty eyes, she's like one staggering;*
Quick she starts, and in the op'ning path before her, goes;
Takes up her basket, and quite forgets to put its cover on.

26.

Together we trudge the sideway path, and pass the southern lodge,
By its side, the sea pomegranate displays its yellow flowers;
We'd like to stop and pluck them, for each to adorn her hair;
But the tree is high, and the outer boughs quite beyond our reach.

27.

The yellow birds, perched on the boughs, warble their sweetest songs;
The weather most grateful to man is when the sky 's half cloud half clear,
While pulling down the twigs, each vents her troubled thoughts;
We talk till our hearts are wounded and tears are not restrained.

who can stop there and rest. It sometimes contains a bench or seat, and is usually over or near a spring of water.

* *Jeo nan shing* alludes to a person who has attempted to carry a load too heavy for him, and staggers along under it; it here refers to the actions of the girl suddenly awoke, who staggers a moment, and then recovers her recollection.

28				29				30				
破	北	無	纖	茶	箇	不	掐	任	去	却	從	海陽亦馨主人李亦青
却	枝	端	手	品	中	知	破	他	采	把	教	
工	尋	折	擎	由	滋	却	儂	飛	新	袖	露	
夫	罷	得	來	來	味	爲	家	燕	茶	兒	出	
未	又	同	鬢	苦	兩	誰	玉	自	換	高	手	
滿	圖	心	上	勝	般	甜	指	呢	舊	捲	纖	
籃	南	葉	簪	甜	兼	苦	尖	喃	衫	起	纖	

28.

Our task is done, but our baskets are not half filled;
On the north the twigs are searched, we think we'll see the south;
Just then I snapp'd a twig, whose leaves were all in pairs,
With my tapir fingers, I fastened it upon my curls.

29.

Among the kinds of teas, the bitter heretofore exceeds the sweet,
But among them all, both these tastes can alike be found;
We know not indeed for whom they may be sweet or bitter;
We've picked till the ends of our pearly fingers are quite marred.

30.

You, twittering swallows, may fly just as your wills incline.
Going to pluck new tea, I'll change to my old gown;
I'll grasp the cuff, and rolling it high up,
Will thus display my fine and slender arm.

Written by Le Yihtsing, (also called Yihhing) a native of Hae-yang.

W.

ART. IV. *Chronology of the kings of Tongking. Translated from the Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes, vol. 6th.**

TONGKING has always been a dependency of the emperors of China, sometimes as a tributary kingdom, and at other times as a province of the empire, under a governor or viceroy chosen by the emperor. The annals of Tongking, from which the chronology of its kings is derived, contain abundance of fables, even in the more recent periods. Still, so far as regards the succession of dynasties and kings, and the different revolutions which the kingdom has experienced, we have no reason to call in question the authenticity of these annals; especially since the tenth century of our era, from which epoch, Tongking, which, from being a mere province of China governed by viceroys, began to have its own sovereigns, whose succession has suffered only a few interruptions of short duration.

We shall divide the chronology of the Tongkingese kings into five principal epochs. The first extends from the origin of the monarchy to the year 110 or 112 of the Christian era. The early periods of this epoch are a tissue of fables, and the sequel presents nothing bearing the stamp of certainty. During the second epoch, from A. D. 110 or 112 to A. D. 968, Tongking was most of the time subject to China. The third epoch, from A. D. 968 to A. D. 1428, comprises four dynasties, the last of which ceased to reign in 1414, and the country fell once more under the immediate domination of China. The fourth epoch embraces the second Ly dynasty, which ascended the throne in 1428, was overturned in 1528 by the Mac family, again established in 1533, by the head of the Nguyen family, and entirely subverted in 1788. The fifth and last epoch begins with the year 1788, since which time the kingdom has been subject to the Cochinchinese. It was first invaded by the rebels of Cochinchina, called Tay-son; and since 1802, it has been subject to the legitimate sovereign of Cochinchina of the Nguyen family, and the two countries have formed one kingdom.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE KINGS OF TONGKING.

FIRST EPOCH.

Hongmang dynasty.

* While some parts of the original are considerably abridged, everything essential to a connected and clear view of the subject is retained. For the value and correctness of this account of the chronology of the kings of Tongking we have the authority of Remusat. Tr.

From B. C. 2874 to B. C. 252.

King-duong vuong.
Lac-long-quan (son of the preceding).
Hung vuong (descendant of the preceding).
Hau vuong.

The history of this dynasty is fabulous. It continued 2622 years.

Thuc dynasty.

From B. C. 252 to B. C. 202.

252. An-duong vuong, reigned 50 years.

Trieu dynasty.

202. Vu-de, appointed king of Namviet by the first emperor of the Han dynasty. He reigned 71 years.
131. Van vuong. reigned 12 years.
119. Minh vuong. " 12 "
107. Ai vuong. " 1 "
106. Thuat-duong. " 1 "

SECOND EPOCH.

From B. C. 110 to A. D. 968.*

During most of this epoch, Tongking was subject to China, and governed by viceroys. In the former part of the epoch, a few years before the birth of Christ, a woman named Trung or Trung nu-vuong, placed herself at the head of an army, and delivered her country from the Chinese yoke. Her reign lasted but three years. She was defeated, and put to death by a Chinese general, Ma-vien by name, who brought Tongking again under the power of China. In the year 542 of our era, a Chinese general, whose name was Tien-ly-nam-de, less faithful than Ma-vien, took advantage of the declining state of the empire at that time to declare himself king of Tongking, having first killed the viceroy, and put to flight such of the troops as were opposed to his usurpation. After a reign of seven years, he was supplanted by Trieu-viet vuong, who reigned twenty-seven years, and was in his turn dethroned by Hau-ly-nam-de. This third king held the throne thirty-two years. After him the nation was again subjected to the Chinese emperors.

At the commencement of the tenth century, the Chinese empire was torn by intestine wars. It was divided into several kingdoms, the sovereigns of which contended with each other for the title of

* We have here a discrepancy in our authority. On a preceding page, the year 110 or 112 of the Christian era is twice mentioned instead of 110 *before* Christ as here stated. The earlier date, viz. 110 B. C. seems to have been the one intended by our author. Tr

emperor, so that in the space of fifty-four years, five imperial dynasties succeeded each other, the heads of which claimed descent from some of the ancient dynasties. Tongking participated in the troubles of the empire. In 932, Duong-chinh-cong, a general, drove away the viceroy who then governed, and took possession of the government, which he continued to administer in the name of the emperor of China. At the end of seven years he was put to death by another general, Cong-tien, who enjoyed less than a year the fruits of his victory. The death of Duong-chinh-cong was avenged by his son-in-law, who declared himself independent, and was the founder and head of the Ngo dynasty, which we place in the second epoch, the one in which Tongking was most of the time a dependency of China, because the race of Ngo was a Chinese family.

Ngo dynasty.

A. D.
940. Tien-ngo vuong. - - - reigned 6 years.
946. Duong-tam-kha, (tutor of the son of Tien-ngo, whose right he usurped). - - - reigned 6 years.
952. Hau-ngo vuong, (son of Tienngo). - " 15 "
967. Ngo-su-quan. This was the name given to twelve prefects or governors, who after the death of Hau-ngo divided between them the government of Tongking. Bo-linh, who from a shepherd had become a general of the army, expelled these twelve prefects and seized upon the throne in the ninth year of the reign of Hau-tong-thai-to, first emperor of the nineteenth dynasty of the emperors of China. This emperor recognized Bo-linh, and appointed him king of Giaochi. Bo-linh took the name of Tien-hoang. He is the head of the dynasty Dinh, which is reckoned the first Tongkingese dynasty. His reign opens the third epoch, during which Tongking was governed by its own kings, with the exception of the last four years.

THIRD EPOCH.

Dinh dynasty.

A. D.
968. Tien hoang. - - - reigned 12 years.
980. Phe-de. - - - " 1 "

Ly dynasty.

981. Dai-hanh. - - - reigned 24 years.
1006. An interregnum of a year, during which the son of Dai-hanh contended for the throne.
1006. Trung-tong, (son of Dai-hanh who reigned but three days, and was put to death by his brother).
1006. Ngoa-trieu (a name which signifies dynasty dethroned).

Ly dynasty.

Before giving a catalogue of the kings of this dynasty, and of the succeeding dynasties, it is necessary to observe that the kings of Tongking, in imitation of the emperors of China, adopt, when they ascend the throne, a name which is used in counting the years of their reign. Independently of these titles assumed by the emperor at the beginning of a reign, it has been the custom, since the year 36 before the Christian era, to give particular names to the years of their reign, borrowed from some remarkable event, or adopted from mere fancy. These names, which the emperor may change at pleasure, serve for dates in letters, in books of accounts, in almanacs, and in conversation, and are recorded with accuracy in history. The Japanese, who are imitators of the Chinese, introduced the practice into their empire, A. D. 650. It appears to have been at the commencement of the eleventh century, that it was introduced into Tongking by the first king of the Ly dynasty. This prince did not change the name during the whole of his reign of eighteen years. His successor who was upon the throne twenty-seven years, changed the name of the years of his reign five times; since which time most of the kings of Tongking have changed the name more or less frequently. The notion which leads them to make these changes of the name of the year is often prompted by superstition, as they regard such a change as a means of averting public calamities, and of securing a more tranquil and happy reign.

It is also the custom in Tongking, as it is in China, to decree to their sovereigns, after their death, an honorary name expressive of some virtue, or some brilliant quality, or some eminent prerogative. It is this name which is commonly used in history. Sovereigns who have been dethroned by a usurper, do not ordinarily receive an honorary name, unless some prince of the same family regains the throne. On the contrary, a name is given them, which refers to their misfortunes, or the titles of the years of their reign, are still employed.

In continuing the catalogue of the kings of Tongking, we shall designate them by the names given to them after death, without mentioning the titles of the years. Still there are some whom we cannot designate otherwise than by the titles of the years, because they received after death no honorary names. To distinguish such instances we shall place before their name an asterisk (*).

A. D.		Length of reign
1010.	Thai-to.	18 years.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1028.	Thai-tong.	27 years.
1055.	Thanh-tong.	17 "
1072.	Nhan-tong.	56 "
1128.	Than-tong (grandson of Thanh-tong).	11 "
1139.	Anh-tong (appointed king of Annam).	
1176.	Cao-tong.	35 "
1211.	Hue-tong.	14 "
1225.	Chieu-hoang (daughter of Hue-tong). By marriage she brought the crown into the family of Tran.	

Tran Dynasty.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1226.	Thai-tong.	32 years.
1258.	Thanh-tong.	21 "
1279.	Nhan-tong.	14 "
1293.	Anh-tong.	21 "
1314.	Minh-tong.	15 "
1329.	Hien-tong.	12 "
1341.	Du-tong (brother of Hien-tong).	29 "
1370.	Nghe-tong (brother of the two preceding). After a reign of three years, he abdicated the throne in favor of one of his brothers.	
1373.	Due-tong.	4 "
1377.	Phe-de (the son of Due-tong). He was strangled by his uncle Nghe-tong.	12 "
1389.	Thuan-tong (son of Nghe-tong). He was forced to surrender the crown to his son, and was afterwards put to death.	
1398.	Thieu-de.	2 "
1400.	Ho-qui-ly (a usurper).	1 "
1401.	Han-xuong (son of Ho-qui-ly).	6 "
1407.	Gian-dinh-de (son of Nghe-tong).	2 "
1409.	Trung-quang-de (grandson of Nghe-tong). This last king of the Tran family was taken prisoner by the troops of the emperor of China. While they were carrying him off, he threw himself into a river. The kindom of Tongking was now for fourteen years subject to China. Loi, a descendant of the kings of the Ly family, collected an army in 1418, and attacked the Chinese. After a war of ten years he expelled them, and reëstablished the dynasty of Ly.	

FOURTH EPOCH.

Ly dynasty restored.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1428.	Thai-to. - - - - -	7 years.
1435.	Thai-tong (son of Thai-to). - -	8 "
1443.	Nhan-tong (son of Thaitong). - -	17 "
1460.	Thanh-tong (son of Thai-tong). This king rendered himself very distinguished. He promulgated a code of laws and divided the country into thirteen provinces. The southern ones, called Thuanhoa and Quangnam, were formerly a considerable portion of the kingdom of Chiem-thanh or Tsiampa, which he had conquered. - - -	38 "
1498.	Hien-tong (son of the preceding). -	6 "
1504.	Tuc-tong (son of the preceding) - -	1 "
1505.	Uy-muc-de (brother of Tue-tong). -	4 "
1509.	Tuong-duc (grandson of Thanh-tong). This king was put to death. - - - - - -	7 "
1516.	Chieu-tong (great-grandson of Thanh-tong). He was dethroned. - - - -	7 "
1523.	Cung-hoang (brother of Chieu-tong). -	5 "

This is the period of a revolution in Tongking. Mac-dang-daong, who had left the station of a fisherman for the military profession, attained the dignity of general and defeated a rebel named Le-du. As a reward for these services, the king Chieu-tong, in the fifth year of his reign, conferred upon him the title of generalissimo of all the forces of the kingdom, naval as well as military. Two years after, Mac-dang-daong obliged Chieu-tong to abdicate the throne and proclaimed Cung-hoang, his younger brother, king in his place. Cung-hoang again, at the end of five years, was forced to yield the sceptre to Mac-dang-daong. This usurper after a reign of two years, resigned the crown to his son Mac-dang-duanh, and lived twelve years afterwards. Mac-dang-duanh reigned three years, when Nguyen-do, a general of the army, born in the province of Thanh-hoa, placed upon the throne a prince of the Ly dynasty, son of Chieu-tong, but without entirely expelling the Mac family, who still remained masters of a considerable part of the country till near the close of the sixteenth century. The two families waged war during the whole of this time. At length the Mac family yielded, and retired into the mountains of the northern part of Tongking, called Cao-bang, the sovereignty of which was granted to them by the emperor of China. They were dispossessed of it about 1680, and restored two years after

by order of the emperor Kanghe: but soon after this family retired into China, abandoning entirely the country of Cao-bang, which has ever since remained subject to the king of Tongking.

A. D.		Length of reign.
1533.	Trang-tong (son of Chieu-tong).	16 years.
1549.	Trung-tong (son of the preceding).	8 "
1557.	Anh-tong (descended from Thai-to in the fifth generation).	
1573.	The-tong (son of the preceding).	27 "
1600.	Kinh-tong (son of The-tong).	19 "
1619.	Than-tong (son of Kinh-tong). After having reigned 24 years, he resigned the throne to his son.	
1643.	Chan-tong (son of Than-tong).	6 "
1649.	Than-tong, resumed the sceptre after the death of his son.	
1663.	Huyen-tong (son of Than-tong).	9 "
1672.	Gia-tong (brother of the preceding).	3 "
1675.	Hi-tong (posthumous son of Than-tong).	30 "
1705.	Du-tong (son of the preceding).	24 "
1729.	* Vinh-khanh (the adopted son of Du-tong. He was put to death by the *chua*, or perpetual regent of the kingdom, on account of his debaucheries, and received no honorary name after his death).	
1732.	Thuan-tong (son of Du-tong).	3 "
1735.	* Vinh-huu (brother of Thuan-tong). After a reign of five years, he resigned the crown in favor of a nephew still a minor, hoping that a change of king would cause a change in the times, and put an end to the calamities which afflicted the kingdom. He died the twentieth year of his successor.	
1740.	* Canh-hung (son of Thuan-tong).	46 "
1786.	* Chieu-thong (son of the preceding. He reigned not quite two years. Dethroned by the rebels of Cochinchina called Tay-son, he retired to Peking in 1788, and there ended his days).	

FIFTH EPOCH.

Reign of the usurpers called Tay-son.

A. D.		
1788.	* Quang-trung.	reigned 5 years.
1793.	* Canh-thinh (son of Quang-trung. In 1801, he changed the name of the years of his reign, calling them Bao-hung).	

Nguyen Dynasty.

1802.	* Gia-long. (Nguyen-do, the general who opposed the Mac family and restored the Ly dynasty, died thirteen years after,	

leaving sons who were too young to succeed to his station of generalissimo. His son-in-law Trinh was therefore his successor, and Trinh transmitted his authority to his posterity. The son of Nguyen-do became the governor of Cochinchina, subject to the kings of Tongking, whose power was little more than nominal, the Trinh family administering the government of Tongking, and the Nguyen family that of Cochinchina. These rival houses were often at war with each other for several generations, until Nguyen-anh, who had reigned twenty-two years over the southern part of Cochinchina, and one year over the whole of Cochinchina, subdued Tongking in 1802, took the name *hoang-de*, king and emperor, and gave to his reign the name of Gia-long. The two countries have since formed but one kingdom.)

1820. * Minh-minh (son of the preceding), and the present king.

ART. V. *Proclamation from the high imperial commissioner, concerning the murder of Lin Weihe.*

[This translation, with the notes, on pages 213 and 214, we copy from the Canton Press. No edict, on this subject, of a prior date, has been made public, so far as we have been informed.]

Lin, high imperial commissioner, &c., Tang, viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangse, and E, fooyuen of Kwangtung, conjointly issue this proclamation, to the end that unauthorised communication between natives and foreigners be interdicted.

Whereas, it appears that the natives of the central land and the outside foreigners are not permitted of themselves mutually to give and receive—this being a circumstance which the established laws of the land most strictly prohibit;—therefore it is that in all matters relating to business, or to correspondence (between natives and foreigners), the high officers have appointed hong merchants for such purposes; and in so far as the supplying (of foreigners) with their daily meat and drink is concerned, the said high officers have furnished them with compradors, that there may be no occasion for fighting or quarreling, and that fraud and deceit may be duly prevented.

Now during the 5th moon of the present year, we find that the tungche, keunmin, foo of Macao, with a certain weiyuen petitioned us, saying, that the English superintendent Elliot had sent them a note which contained

these and other words: "At Tseenshatsuy, on the ocean's surface (i. e. Hongkong), while your ships of war lie anchored there, it is very difficult for the foreign shipping to obtain the necessary supplies," &c., &c., &c. We, the imperial commissioner and viceroy found, that these war ships were there only on the preventive service, and not for the purpose of cutting off provisions from the foreign shipping; nevertheless, as the benevolence of the celestial dynasty cherishes men from afar, in order to subdue their hearts by goodness, and as our compassion extends even to their most minute concerns; so, finding that from our ships of war surrounding them, the hearts of the said foreigners were filled with fear and dread, out of our indulgence we permitted the cruizers to shift their moorings for the time being to Shakeo, thus setting the minds of the foreigners at rest; and further, at the time we sent the war ships to Shakeo, we gave orders to the weiyuen and others in their turn, to command Elliot to take the empty opium store-ships, and fixing a limited term, order them to get under weigh; and in respect to the merchant-vessels which had arrived or were going away, to let these set sail and those enter Whampoa: all of which is on record. But up till now, — a month and more — the opium store-ships did not get under weigh, and the merchantmen still kept looking about them until, as time rolled on, the number of ships daily increased; which in fine led to a number of the English sailors going ashore and getting drunk, when they forced their way into the village of Tseenshatsuy, and taking a man called Lin Weihe, who was passing by at the time, wounded him so severely, that he died! This is indeed going to the extreme of disobedience to the laws! In course, the cheheen, magistrate of Singan district made a clear inspection of (*anglice*, held a coroner's inquest upon) the corpse of Lin Weihe. The different wounds he had received from a club or clubs, were all distinctly stated in his report to us — and at the same time he, in communication with the military officer of the district, apprehended Lo San, who had arranged the paying of the money as a bribe * to hush up matters: and on the very day that the disturbance was raised, how many sailors there were ashore — what ships they belonged to — how they possessed themselves of the club or staves with which they struck and wounded Lin Weihe, till he dropped down — what time it was that a certain ship's captain brought a foreign surgeon to wait upon and relieve the wounded man — what time they conveyed him to the sandy beach — what time he breathed his last — what man it was that gave orders about hushing up the matter with a bribe — how much money was paid down on the spot — who it was that seduced the relations of the deceased to grant a certain document by way of proof (that he had lost his life by accident) — in reference to the balance of the money not yet paid, who it was that wrote out the promissory note for it — within how many days the said balance was to be paid in full: — these particulars, every one of them, came out in Lo San's evidence, as clearly and distinctly, one by one, as if they had been delineated upon a

* Captain Elliot denies that he paid the money as a bribe, he gave it as compensation to the widow and the orphans for the irreparable loss they had sustained.

map! And at the same time, the relations of the deceased having handed up the promissory note, and the same having been translated into Chinese, the name of the ship's captain specified therein — the name of the ship — the amount of the note — the date when due, and the person who guarantied payment of the same: — every item corresponded most perfectly with the evidence given by Lo San! In one word, then, the murder is now fixed and settled (or traced home); what use to go groping about, and inquiring any further?

The English nation, having an officer intrusted with the management and control of the public affairs of that country, who went himself to the village of Tseenshatsuy to examine into and arrange this matter, ought immediately to produce the foreign murderer, that, according to the established law and custom, he may forfeit his life for the life he has taken: this would show due respect and submission, and be acting in conformity with the great principles of justice! But on the one hand, you will not deliver up the the murderer; and further, you would not consent to receive our edicts — you only wished most unreasonably to throw the blame of the murder on the Americans.* Immediately after this, however, the American consul Snow sent up a petition stating vehemently in reply; that the charge was false. Again, with your excuses and explanations about "killing with malice prepense," and "killing by mistake," and "supporting widows and orphans," and such phrases, all these are so many evasions to screen and varnish over the real facts of the case! Thus to wish that the foreign murderer may escape capital punishment, and that (the ghost of) the dead man may still be longing for revenge in the regions below, and his vengeance be unappeased: — to hold the employment of a nation's officer, and unjustly oppress the manes of a murdered man (by depriving him of his expiatory victim), is this reasonable or not?

Had it been a Chinese who had struck and killed a foreigner, the officers of the celestial dynasty would immediately have given orders for the murderer, and executed him in open day. Take for example what occurred in the fourth moon of the present year: — there were some native soldiers who landed on the Praya Grande at Macao, and who struck at and wounded a foreigner. Now although the said foreigner recovered, yet we, the high commissioner and viceroy, commanded the offender to be seized and punished severely, according to the statute. On going back, we find that in the 19th year of Keenlung, there was a French foreigner called She-luy-she (?) who wounded with a musket a foreigner of the said country (England), called Chache Polang (George Brown?) so that he died. The viceroy and fooyuen of that time took the said Frenchman, and condemned him to be strangled, after having kept him some time in the prison of the district magistrate. There are records to this effect which may at any time be referred to. Besides this, there have been successively records kept

* The mandarins very falsely accuse captain Elliot of having imputed the murder to the Americans. All he said was, that, on the day of fatal affray, Americans and other foreigners were ashore as well as Englishmen.

of the other cases where foreigners have killed foreigners; how can the said country but be aware of the fact! He who kills a man must pay the penalty of life; whether he be a native or a foreigner, the statute is in this respect quite the same. Moreover, to give money as a bribe to hush up the matter, is a flagrant breach of the laws; the punishment is more or less grave in proportion to the amount of the bribe, and he who gives and he who receives it, are punished alike. And yet ye know not to deliver up the murderer and beg for mercy! On the other hand, you varnish over the truth with false pretexts, and give way to the most outrageous obstinacy! Why did you alone not reflect on the circumstance, that, as a foreigner has deprived a Chinese of his life, and as you are still obstinate in refusing to deliver up the murderer for condign punishment — how can we permit the Chinese to furnish foreigners with the necessaries of life, and not prohibit them from privately selling these to you?

Now it appears that the weiyuen and others have reported to us, that at Tseenshatsuy (or Hongkong), there are daily upwards of 100 comprador's boats, and several shops for the sale of rice, wine, and miscellaneous articles, opened near the seashore, for supplying the foreign shipping with provisions: it is in accordance with the regulations, that all such be now rigidly prohibited; and forasmuch as we now send our cruizers, that they take up different stations at Tseenshatsuy, and stop and seize all the comprador's boats that come from every creek and inlet to sell provisions to the ships:— and hereby rigidly forbid the people of the shops and stores near the sea to hold any clandestine dealings with foreigners. Besides all this, it is proper to unite these circumstances, and embody them in a clear and distinct edict, and forasmuch as we now issue this proclamation that the people belonging to every foreign ship may thoroughly know and understand: do ye then immediately in conformity with the contents of this proclamation, take the real murderer and deliver him up to us forthwith, that he be tried and executed! In sending cruizers to stop and seize the comprador's boats, and prohibiting the shops and stores near the seaside supplying you with any necessaries, as we are doing at present, this is in perfect conformity with the established law and custom of the celestial dynasty; but if the said foreigners have occasion to purchase the daily necessaries of life, we can only permit these in accordance with the law to apply to a linguist, who will petition the officers for liberty to supply a comprador; you cannot be allowed to carry on clandestine dealings with the Chinese, which will involve you in heavy penalties. Only wait till after the foreign murderer be delivered up, when we will then consult about and arrange this matter of supplying the compradors. It is proper that all tremble and obey! A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 6th month, 23d day. August 2d, 1839.

To be pasted up on the Praya Grande, Macao, on a spot secure from wind and rain.

ART. VI. *Two edicts from the keunmin foo of Macao, depriving the English of food, and ordering the servants to leave their employ.*

TSEANG, keunmin foo of Macao, San, cheheën of Heängshan district, and Pang, tsotang of Macao, hereby conjointly issue this proclamation, that all may know and understand.

We have just received a dispatch from their excellencies, the high commissioner Lin, the viceroy Tăng, and the fooyuen E, which contains the following, viz.

"The English merchant-ships which arrived here during this present year, having gone in a company to anchor at Tseënshatsuy (or Hongkong) on the high seas, a number of sailors and others in consequence of this went ashore, got drunk, and raised a disturbance, which led to one of our people being deprived of his life. Immediately afterwards, a certain weiyuen commanded Elliot to produce the murderer for trial and execution. Who would have supposed it? Elliot in opposition refused to receive our edicts, and obstinately declined to deliver up the murderer! Previously to this, the said keunmin foo had commanded the wei-le-to (or procurador) to petition the governor of Macao, to give Elliot orders that he should forthwith bind the murderer, and deliver him up to expiate his crime; but we have no document from the keunmin foo stating that he has complied with our demands. Anterior to this, we, the high commissioner, &c., had given orders in reference to the empty store-ships which had discharged their opium, that they should forthwith get under weigh and return to their country, but they have already delayed upwards of two months, and scarcely eleven of their number have yet been reported to us as having passed the Ladrone islands; the rest of them still keep loitering and looking about them! And further, in respect to Dent and others, whom we had received a positive imperial edict to expel and drive back to their countries, hardly six individuals of them are yet reported to us as having set sail, the rest are either staying at Macao, or living on board the foreign ships, neither one nor the other has any intention to fix a date for returning home; they delay and put off in a manner which amounts to positive opposition to the laws of the land! Now we find that among crimes, none is greater than the crime of murder, and among the affairs of this world, none are of so much importance as those where human life is concerned. What reason is there why

we should permit you to screen a murderer, and decline acting in a case of this kind? Respectfully searching the records, we find that during the reign of the emperor Keäking, because that the outside foreigners showed a great deal of pride and perverseness, and conducted themselves most unsubmissively, therefore an imperial edict was with deep respect received, commanding, that "on the receipt of this imperial order, prohibit all entrance to Macao by water, and cut off all supplies of food, &c. Respect this!" And at this present moment, as the circumstances of the case are somewhat similar, so ought we to set to work in a somewhat similar manner. But then this present affair has reference to the English foreigners *alone*, and as they persist in offering opposition to the laws, we cannot but show them the stern majesty of the celestial empire. As for the Portuguese dwelling at Macao, and the foreigners of every other country whatever, they are not one hair's breadth concerned in the matter. As respects the Portuguese dwelling at Macao, let them make out a clear and distinct list of the rice, flour, vegetables, fowls, ducks, and other eatables that they require for their daily consumption, and the cooked victuals for the black slaves; which done, let them petition the said keunmin foo and tsotang, who will examine the list and settle the quantity, and give a chop along with it to show the shopkeepers and others, that they may sell this amount to them the same as ever, to manifest our sympathy and compassion. As regards the English foreigners, however, who dwell at Macao, the half of them are captains and mates of ships, who, when they come to Macao to live, by forming connections with the Portuguese, and having constant intercourse with them, come to be as intimate as brothers. These said Englishmen who live at Macao, pay very handsome sums for the houses they rent, to serve as bait to their hook. The Portuguese covet the rents thus to be obtained, and utterly forget the preventions they ought to take against these robbers—birds who wish to possess themselves of their nest! It is indeed hard to secure that these Portuguese will not supply (the English) with provisions, thus getting most egregiously duped and befooled by them, and it is also not certain that they may not feel pleasure in giving them this assistance! We, the high commissioner, viceroy, and fooyuen, wish to subdue the hearts of these southern barbarians according to the principles of reason, and forasmuch as looking up and embodying the goodness of the great emperor, fearing lest their hearts be at the extremity of fright and agitation, and feeling anxious about their simplicity and stupidity in allowing them-

selves to be duped, cannot but completely explain all these particulars, and issue this edict, that you (the inferior mandarins) may immediately in your turn communicate the same (to the Portuguese,) &c., &c., &c.

Now we the said keunmin foo, tsotang, &c., having received this edict, find that some English sailors having got drunk, deprived one of our people of his life, and yet set themselves against the delivering up of the murderer; that the merchant-vessels which had arrived, would neither enter the port to Whampoa, nor spread their sails and go back; that the empty opium ships which had delivered their opium, as well as those vagabond foreigners who had been expelled by a positive imperial edict to that effect, had not entirely returned to their country. In every instance have these English shown the utmost contempt and recklessness, which is equivalent to the putting of themselves by their own act out of the pale of the laws! Now we the said keunmin foo, &c., have received a communication from his excellency the imperial commissioner, and the officers of the provincial government, commanding that a display be made of the stern majesty of the celestial empire in cutting off the provisions; but this view or intention is meant to apply to the English foreigners only; the Portuguese who dwell at Macao, as well as the foreigners of all other countries, being in nowise concerned in this matter, ought as formerly to remain quiet in the full enjoyment of their wonted *otium cum dignitate*. But as the English foreigners who are now residing at Macao, have firm friendship and constant intercourse with the Portuguese, it is hard to secure that these last may not clandestinely buy provisions for the English, and it is equally difficult to secure that our own shopkeepers and common people, may not clandestinely supply them with the same.

Besides then, in accordance with the edict from the high officers, issuing our commands to the Portuguese wei-le-to (or procurador), that he communicate the same to the governor of Macao, that he in his turn command all the foreigners dwelling at Macao, that with one accord they permit not the English people to be supplied with the necessaries of life:— as relates to the provisions required for the daily sustenance of the Portuguese, and all other foreigners dwelling in Macao, whether it be rice, flour, vegetables, fowls, ducks, fish, flesh, or other eatables, as also the food prepared and bought for the black slaves, let lists of the men, women, children, servants, &c., be made out, and these lists passed to the procurador, who will sum them up, and acquaint us the keunmin foo, &c., with their total amount, who

having examined the same and settled the quantity, will conformably give orders to the said shopkeepers and others that they duly supply the same:— besides all this, really fearing lest many of our native people and shopkeepers now dwelling in Macao, may not fully know our manner of acting, we hereby unite the circumstances, and issue this clear and perspicuous edict, and by these presents command that all the natives dwelling at Macao, shopkeepers, &c., &c., make themselves thoroughly acquainted therewith. Do ye supply the Portuguese, and all other foreigners (excepting the English) residing at Macao, with the provisions and necessaries as specified in the duly examined and certified accounts; beyond this, sell not one hair's breadth more! which will lead to the English receiving sustenance by stealth and other evils of like nature! In reference to the compradors, servants, and others in the employment of Englishmen, we have already issued a proclamation that they be immediately driven forth. As for you shopkeepers, who have long been resident at Macao pursuing your business, you surely will carry out these views with all sincerity; but if you dare clandestinely to sell provisions (to the English), so soon as discovered, your persons will be seized and most rigorously punished, and your shops will be closed and sealed up! Most assuredly not the slightest indulgence will be shown you. Regarding the said English foreigners, if they can repent of their crime and awake to a sense of their error, and immediately deliver up the murderer, then we, the said keunmin foo, &c., &c., will petition the high officers of government, that as an act of extraordinary goodness they extend mercy towards them, and removing these restrictions, permit them to transact business as before. As for you, the said shopkeepers and native inhabitants of Macao, ye have all properties and lives! Let each and every tremble and obey! A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th moon, 7th day. August 15th, 1839.

Tseang, keunmin foo of Macao, San, the cheheën of Heangshan district, and Pang, tsotang of Macao, conjointly issue this clear and perspicuous edict, to the end that all men may know and understand, viz.

Whereas it appears that during the present year, the merchant-ships of the English nation which had arrived here, went in a company, and anchored at Tseenshatsuy on the ocean's surface (or the high seas), and that they would not on arrival enter the port of Whampoa, which led to a number of their sailors and others going ashore and getting drunk, when they raised a disturbance, which ended in depriving one of our people of his life!

Now the high officers of government have already communicated their orders through a weiyuen to Elliot, commanding him forthwith to deliver up

the murderer for trial and punishment. But who would have supposed it! Elliot has now for a long time refused to deliver up the murderer, and in reference to the empty opium store-ships which were ordered to get under weigh and return home, it appears that hardly a dozen of them have yet been reported as having passed the Ladrones! and in so far as regards Dent and the other foreigners whom we had received a special imperial edict to expel and send back to their countries, those who have been only reported to us as having gone home scarce amount to six individuals! the remainder of the opium store-ships, and the foreign vagabonds, still keep loitering here and looking about them the same as ever! In every instance have delay and procrastination been persisted in, which amounts in fact to a determined opposition to the laws! and therefore it is, that the high officers indignant thereat, have resolved to show them the majestic severity of the celestial empire, and forasmuch as without discriminating between those who remain on shipboard, or those who dwell at Macao, we shall treat them in the same way, by utterly cutting off their provisions, and in other respects treating them with increased rigor. Besides the Portuguese, and all other foreigners of different countries now dwelling at Macao, whom this affair does not at all concern, and whom we permit to be supplied with their necessaries as heretofore, in order to make a distinction, and for this end now issue another special proclamation; besides these, we find that the English foreigners depend entirely upon compradors, servants, Chinese traitors and others of that ilk, for the supply of their food, who buy the same from native shops and stores, and give it to the said Englishmen.

Having now received the commands of the high officers of the provincial government to cut off the supply of provisions to the English, and to execute the same more rigorously, we ought on the instant to have seized these said compradors servants (or "sha wan"), and Chinese traitors, and calling out their names one by one, consign them to examination and sever punishment! out of pure indulgence, however, we first issue this clear and intelligible proclamation beforehand, that the compradors, servants, Chinese traitors and others in the service of the English foreigners whether on shipboard or ashore, may all know hereby, that we have limited the term of THREE days, within the which they must return to their homes, and follow after some other occupation. If they dare to delay or still render services (to the said English), most certainly they will be apprehended and punished with the utmost rigor of law! Assuredly we shall show no indulgence! Tremble and beware! Do not oppose! A special edict!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th moon, 7th day. Macao, August 15th, 1839.

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences: British chamber of commerce: notice for a criminal court; departure of U. S. ships Columbia and John Adams; interdiction of provisions; meeting of*

British subjects; servants leave; notice of leaving Macao; the British commission goes to Hongkong; attack on the Black Joke; English leave Macao; edict from the commissioner; arrival of the ship-of-war Volage.

Long will the occurrences of this month be remembered. In such times, it is particularly difficult to keep a full and faithful record of public events. Many rumors and reports, bearing for a while the stamp of authenticity, prove untrue; and many things, which actually occur, are either purposely concealed from the public, or by mistake are misrepresented, or by design are falsified.

A meeting of the British merchants residing in Macao was held, on the 3d instant, at the house of the chief superintendent, for the purpose of organizing a British Chamber of Commerce. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the case, merely a provisional chamber was organized; James Matheson, esq., was chosen provisional chairman, and Mr. Scott, (the secretary of the old chamber) appointed provisional secretary.

August 5th. Captain Elliot issued the following public notice to British subjects, announcing the session of the first court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction held in China. For the particulars of that court, the reader is referred to the second article of this number.

Public Notice to British subjects.

Notice is hereby given that a session of the court of justice, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction for the trial of offenses committed by her majesty's subjects within the dominions of the emperor of China, and the ports and havens thereof, and on the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast of China, will be holden at Hongkong on board a British ship on Monday, being the twelfth day of this instant, August, by nine o'clock in the forenoon of the same day; and all manner of persons, being her majesty's subjects, that have anything to do before the said court, are required to be there and then attending. God save the queen. Charles Elliot, &c.

Aug. 6th. The U. S. frigate *Columbia*, commodore Read, and the U. S. sloop-of-war *John Adams*, captain Wyman, left the Chinese waters for the Sandwich Islands. These ships have suffered much from sickness during their stay here. No doubt it would be for the honor and for the interest of the United States, if their government would keep a small squadron constantly in these seas.

Aug. 15th. All supplies of provisions, for British subjects in Macao, and on board ship, were interdicted by the Chinese government. See page 219.

Aug. 16th. Captain Elliot called a meeting of British subjects for the purpose of concerting measures for their personal safety; he informed them that it was impossible for him to surrender any subject of her majesty to the Chinese authorities.

Aug. 17th. All the Chinese servants and compradors in the English families left their employers; and the orders, interdicting food, were reiterated, and in a remarkable manner: several placards, containing the substance of the interdict, written in large characters were pasted on boards, which were carried by policemen through all the principal streets and markets of the town.

Aug. 21st. The following public notice to British subjects was issued; and preparations were made by many families for early embarkation. Most of the houses, however, were supplied with provisions by Portuguese servants, who obtained them without much difficulty. The prices of provisions at this time were unusually high in consequence of the country people being forbidden to bring any into town, and the poorer classes of Chinese suffered much in consequence.

Public Notice to British subjects.

Having ascertained that the Portuguese inhabitants of Macao are called upon by the commissioner to withdraw their servants from her majesty's subjects, and to refuse them supplies, or any manner of assistance, the chief superintendent is unwilling to compromise them further in the present difficulties with the Chinese, and has therefore to give notice that he will embark this evening, with the officers of her majesty's establishment.

Her majesty's subjects who think fit to accompany him to Hongkong, will have the goodness to understand, that the chief superintendent does not propose to leave the neighborhood of this anchorage till the morning of the 23d instant. By order of the chief superintendent, &c., &c., &c.

L. S. (Signed) Edward Elmslie, Secretary and treasurer.

Aug. 23d. According to the previous notice, captain Elliot proceeded to Hongkong with his family. Many of the families were in readiness to follow.

The American consul Mr. Snow, who has resided in Macao since the 25th of May last, embarked in a chop-boat on the 22d instant for Canton, where the merchants of his country continue their residence and commerce, without any molestation, beyond what is occasioned by the state of public affairs.

Aug. 24th. A small schooner, proceeding from Macao to Hongkong, was boarded by Chinese; the most melancholy consequences followed, as will be seen by the depositions, given by the survivors of the crew. It is exceedingly important that the authors of this attack should be ascertained; that satisfactory explanations be given, and reparation made, so far as reparation is possible. To us it seems most probable that the act was committed by pirates, though some suppose it was done by governmental cruizers. The truth of the matter should be sought out and made known.

Deposition of the Tindal.

Haesan, the tindal, being examined before the committee of management, deposes as follows:

Left Macao on the morning of the 24th at 6 A. M, there being on board seven Lascars, himself, and Mr. Moss, passenger. The boat belongs to Mr. Just: owing to contrary tide, anchored at 6 P. M. under the south end of Lantao island. Two men were on the lookout, who at about 10 o'clock gave the alarm of boats approaching, when 5 or 6 pulling boats filled with men immediately ranged alongside, and began to massacre the crew. Deponent jumped overboard, and holding by the rudder, remained about half an hour in the water. The boat had personal baggage and stores on board, which the night before were taken from Mr. Just's house to the *Black Joke*. The Chinese took away several boxes, but not all. The boats remained alongside about half an hour, and then deponent got on board, and found Mr. Moss, who told him that the crew were murdered. Attempts had been made to fire the vessel, by means of tarred rope, gunpowder, and clothes; he extinguished the fire by throwing on water. Soon after the Harriet hove in sight, took them in tow, and brought them to the Typa this morning. A mandarin knife and cap were found on board the Black Joke.

Deposition of Mr. Moss.

Mr. Mark Moss, a British subject, born in London, deposeth as follows, before Mr. Van Basel, Dutch consul, Mr. Paiva, late procurador of Macao, and Messrs. Kerr and Leslie, British merchants, in Macao on the 25th day of August, 1839:

"I left Macao on board the Black Joke, containing personal and household property, on Friday night last, the 23d instant, to proceed to Hongkong; having got as far as the point of Lantao, anchored there yesterday evening at about 5 o'clock; supped, and went to lie down. At about nine o'clock, I heard the crew consisting of Lascars cry out, "*Wy-lo! Wy-lo!*" ran to the skylight, and saw three guns fired at us loaded with charcoal; when I reached the deck, I saw three lascars cut down, and received myself a cut on the left side of the face, on which I went below, when I heard the Chinese crying out, "ta, ta!" and on putting my head out of the companion, got a most severe wound on the top of my head from a pike. The Chinese then laid hold of me, stripped me of my clothes, and

cut my arm in three places as I put it up to save my head. They then proceeded to plunder and break up the boat, and coming down with lights into the cabin, one of them, seeing I had a ring on my finger, attempted to cut the finger off, but I took off the ring, and gave it him; another, seeing my watch, took it out of my pocket, and, laying hold of my ear, called to a man who came with a sharp instrument, cut it off with a large portion of the scalp on the left side of my head, as you now see, and put it in my mouth, attempting to push it down my throat. I was then knocked about on all sides by the Chinamen, and saw them bring a barrel of gunpowder, with which they attemped to blow up the boat but did not succeed. I was rendered insensible from the smoke caused by the explosion, and was nearly suffocated, when making a last effort, I reached the deck but found no one there. I called out the names of some of the Lascars, and seeing a rope moving astern, found that the tindal alone of the whole native crew had saved himself by hanging on to the rudder under water. He came up and gave me some water, of which I drunk five basons full, and felt refreshed, A short time after this, the Harriet, capt. Hall, came up, and I suppose, from the Chinese leaving so suddenly, that they had seen the vessel. From capt. Hall, I met with the tenderest treatment; he took me on board, dressed my wounds, and taking charge of my boat, brought me to Macao this morning at about 5 o'clock."

Deposition of the physicians.

This is to certify that we have carefully examined Mr. Mark Moss, who reports that he was attacked last night by some persons who boarded his boat, and inflicted several severe wounds on his person. We saw him this morning at eight o'clock, and found that he had received the following injuries.

On the head. A deep wound over the left eyebrow, and extending across the arch of the nose, the bones of which have been completely divided. An oblique wound on the forehead about two inches long. The left ear, with a portion of the scalp, has been cut away, leaving a large open wound. There are also two smaller wounds on the head.

On the left arm, forearm, and hand. At the lower part of the arm, there is a deep wound extending across the limb and dividing the external condyle of the hudmeries. In the middle of the forearm, an extensive deep wound,—the fascia has been torn and the muscles much lacerated; at the lower part of the forearm near the wrist, another deep wound down to the ulna, which bone has been divided; on the hand a deep wound at the back of the thumb, almost separating this member from the hand. Besides the above, there are also several wounds on the body and limbs which are of little consequence. From the severe injuries now described we consider the man to be in a dangerous condition.

Macao, Aug. 25th, 1839. (Signed) R. H. Cox, W. Lockhart.

Aug. 25th. A committee of British subjects, appointed on a previous day, were repeatedly in session. It was unanimously agreed, as we understand, that they should all leave Macao next day; it was also said that his excellency the Portuguese governor would be present at their embarkation, and afford every possible assistance and protection. During the evening, a rumor was abroad that Chinese soldiers were in town, in disguise, and that an attack on the English houses, during the night, was meditated. What gave rise to this rumor, and whether there was any truth in it or not, we have been unable to learn. Considerable excitement was created, but the night passed away without any disturbances.

In the afternoon of Monday, August 26th, the embarkation took place; men, women, and children, all alike were hurried from their residences, to seek a secure retreat on board their ships. This was their only peaceful course. Most of them proceeded direct to Hongkong; the others repaired to the anchorage in the Typa. The little fleet, consisting of small boats, schooners, and lorchas, crowded with passengers, presented an affecting spectacle as it moved slowly away from the harbor. But we forbear to speculate on what will be the consequences of this memorable event. Would that timely and friendly interposition of western governments had prevented such an issue.

During these proceedings in Macao, the imperial commissioner and the governor of Canton remained at Heangshan, about midway between the provincial city and Macao. A small detachment of troops, however, were quartered at Tseenshan, just beyond the Barrier, within sight of Macao. In the expectation of collision, probably more than one half of the Chinese inhabitants of Macao, left their homes, seeking safety in neighboring villages. They are now, at the end of the month, beginning to return; provisions are being supplied plentifully; and it is rumored that the commissioner and governor will in a few days pay the Portuguese of the settlement a friendly visit. While at Heangshan they issued a proclamation, which is here introduced, as it sums up the chief points of difficulty between the two parties, and announces the imperial law and punishment upon those who introduce opium. Whatever speculations may be made upon the use of this drug as a pleasurable, and (if not in excess) harmless luxury, it is evident that the Chinese government considers it only as a grievous burden, and is determined to remove it at any risk.

Lin high imperial commissioner, &c., &c., and Tang, governor of the Leang Kwang, again publish a clear proclamation. In the sixth month of this year, we received the imperial commands to promulgate the new laws, concerning those foreign ships which bring opium. If they endeavor secretly to sell it, it is ordered that the principals shall be immediately decapitated, and the accessories strangled, and the property entirely confiscated to government. During six months of this year, we have been permitted to remit the punishment of death for the offenses of those who voluntarily surrender their opium. This new law of the heavenly dynasty, all foreigners who come to Canton to trade must obey implicitly; now we, the commissioner and governor, do fully explain the particulars in the clearest manner, that all you foreigners may know them.

1st. All ships which bring no opium, shall clearly announce their wish to enter the port, when, waiting until they have been examined, they can unload their cargoes. They are not allowed to loiter.

2d. All ships bringing opium clandestinely, shall immediately make a surrender of it according to the orders, and their offenses shall be remitted; after a complete surrendry, they are permitted to enter the port, open their holds, and trade.

3d. If any ships presume not to enter the port, then let them instantly return to their own country, when they will not be pursued.

4th. Let the murderer who took the life of Lin Weihé be instantly given up, and not implicate all the foreigners in the same crime by their covert concealment of him.

By these heads, do we the commissioner and governor show our compassion for you foreigners, clearly explaining them that we may lead you in this new path. But if you are obstinate, will not hear and obey them, but follow your own inclinations, or think of going into bye places here and there secretly to dispose of your cargo, then it will be evident that at heart you are obstinate; and whenever you are taken, then you will be sentenced according to the new law. If you still presume upon your numbers and oppose, it will be impossible to discriminate between the gems and the pebbles [the good and bad], but all must be punished; and this punishment cannot be impeded by a subsequent repentance. Let each one tremblingly obey. A special edict. Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th month, 16th day. (August 25th, 1839.)

Her Brittanic majesty's ship of war, Volage, H. Smith, esq., captain, anchored in Macao Roads on the 30th; but soon after sailed for Hongkong. At Canton, everything remains quiet; preparations are making for the triennial examinations, now near at hand. At Hongkong, provisions are procurable, but in limited quantities, and at high prices.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—SEPTEMBER, 1839.—NO. 5.

ART. I. *Course of tyfoons in the Chinese and Japanese seas; with a chart by Mr. Redfield; statistics and philosophy of storms; Atlantic hurricanes; and observations at the Madras Observatory.*

IMMENSE destruction of life and property has been caused by those awful storms, which, during the autumnal months of almost every year, traverse the Chinese sea and coast. In his account of the East Indies, captain Alexander Hamilton gives the following brief notice of one which he experienced off Macao, in August, 1703. "We had visible signs of an approaching storm before it came, the air was in great agitation by much lightning continually flashing, but no thunder nor rain. We prepared for its coming from noon to sunset, making everything in the ship fast, our yards lowered as low as conveniently they could be, and our sails made fast with coils of small ropes, besides their usual furling lines. "At nine in the night it laid our ship's gunwales under water, and I wished our main-mast had been away, which about ten was effected, and it carried our mizzen-mast along with it. On its going overboard, our ship came to rights a little, and her lee gunwales were clear of the water, but much water getting down at the hatches, we had five feet water in the ship, and no possibility of getting it out by pumping, for our main-mast, breaking in the partners of the upper deck, disabled both our pumps. About midnight, we had cleared the ship of the main and mizzen-masts, by cutting the rigging that kept them fast to the ship. By this time, the wind had shifted from northeast to southeast, and had rather increased than assuaged, and those two

winds had put the sea into violent motions; however, we got our ship before the wind, but broaching too brought her head almost to the sea, which met her so violently, that it broke quite over the ship, carrying away our fore-mast and bowsprit, two anchors from the lee bow, three great guns of twenty-two hundred each, with our pinnace and yawl. We soon cleared ourselves of the anchors by cutting the cables, and before day, we were quit of our fore-mast and bowsprit. About eight in the morning, the storm abated, and at ten I called over the muster-roll, and found none wanting, but between seventy and eighty bruised and wounded, who were carefully dressed by our surgeons, and all recovered. The sea continued turbulent, but we having two spare top-masts, rigged them up, and having saved our mizzen-yard and ensign-staff, fitted them for yards, to which we bent sails, and stood towards the land, and before it was dark, anchored near some islands called Les Ilhos de Viados by the Portuguese."

Krusenstern, in 1804, encountered one of these storms off the southern coast of Japan. On the 24th of September the weather was remarkably fine. On the 28th, "the wind, that had hitherto been very moderate, became about 4 P. M. rather fresher." "This day," says he, "our latitude at noon, observed very carefully by several sextants, was 32° 05′ 34″ N., the longitude (by Arnold's chronometer, No. 128) was 226° 22′ 15″ W." He thus describes the storm.

"The next morning at daybreak, we perceived the land bearing N. 10° W., but had scarcely bent my course thither when the sky became overcast; and we not only lost sight of the coast, but our horizon did not extend, at the farthest, above an English mile. The wind blew fresh from the N. E., with constant rain; and I considered it as not only useless but dangerous to approach the land now, as we could not in the least depend upon our charts, even though of the best. I steered, therefore, under easy sail W. and W. S. W. Towards evening, the wind increased with a constant heavy rain; the sky wore a most threatening aspect, and I determined to lie to till the next morning; and the wind increasing about midnight to a perfect storm, we laid the ship to the eastward. This bad weather continued throughout the next day, and we therefore steered to the eastward under reefed courses. In the night the wind abated, veering to the southeast; and at daybreak, the weather appearing clearer and the sun showing himself, I again began to approach the land; but the heavy swell from the southeast, and

the constant depression of the barometer, seemed, notwithstanding the sun at noon was sufficiently clear for us to take a tolerable observation, in 31°. 7′ N. and 227° 40′ W., the certain forerunners of a storm from the southeast, which, as we were on an unknown coast, was not to be despised. We held our course, however, to the west until 11 o'clock, when I altered it to the south, and set as much sail as the ship could carry. About noon the weather assumed an appearance that left us no doubt of what would soon follow. The waves ran mountain high from the southeast; the sun was of a dead pale color, and was soon concealed behind the clouds which flew with rapidity from the same quarter; and the wind, which increased gradually, rose by one o'clock to such a height as to prevent our taking in the topsails and courses without the greatest difficulty and danger, the tackle, though almost all new, mostly giving way; but our men were animated by an undaunted courage, and a noble contempt of danger, and would not yied, so that not a single seam in any one sail was split. About three o'clook in the afternoon, the storm had increased to such a degree as to rend all our storm-sails, the only ones we had set. Nothing could equal the violence of the gale. Much as I had heard of the tyfoons on the Chinese and Japanese coasts, this exceeded all my expectations. It would fall within the province of the poet to describe it properly, and I shall content myself with relating its effect upon our ship. It was absolutely impossible to set even a double reefed mizzen storm-stay sail, and she was left quite to the mercy of the waves, which ran extremely high. I expected every moment to see the masts go by the board; the state of the atmosphere was particularly evinced by the extraordinary depression of the barometer: the quicksilver falling so suddenly that about five o'clock it had not only quite disappeared from the tube, but the great motion of the barometer, for which we had before calculated at least four, and even sometimes five, lines, not even bringing it in sight. As our barometer was divided into twenty-seven inches, six lines, if we deducted from this four lines, the height of the quicksilver could only be twenty-seven inches, two lines; and it might be said without extravagance, that it was only twenty-seven inches, and indeed even less, as it was upwards of three hours before it again made its appearance. There may undoubtedly be more violent storms than this, and the dreaful hurricanes which rage in the Antilles every year, are most probably worse; but I never recollected the barometrical state of the atmosphere to have been noticed during one of

these tremendous revolutions of nature. The Abbé Rochon mentions a hurricane in the Isle of France in 1771, when the barometer fell to twenty-five inches French, which was therefore three and a half lines lower than with us, if it be admitted that ours had fallen to twenty-seven inches.

"I was not afraid of the ship so long as the masts would stand; but we were placed in another great danger, known indeed only to myself and to one or two persons on board; the wind that blew from E. S. E. drove us directly towards the land, from which we could not then be at any great distance. I fancied, indeed, we might still have room to drive until twelve o'clock, but if we had once touched the ground the ship must have gone to pieces, and, in so violent a storm, it would have been impossible to have saved the people. Nothing but a change of wind could remove our danger, and fortunately this took place, and it veered from E. S. E. to W. S. W. On the sudden shift of wind a sea struck the ship's stern, carried away the larboard quarter-gallery, and flooded the cabin three feet deep with water, which occasioned me the loss of almost all my charts and books. This critical moment preceded a perfect calm, which fortunately lasted only a few minutes; we however, availed ourselves of it to set a reefed mizzen-stay sail, that we might be able to lay the ship in some degree to the wind. It was scarcely hauled home when the storm began to rage with the same fury as before from its new quarter. About ten o'clock it at length appeared to abate a little, and we again, to our great joy, saw the quicksilver in the barometer. We considered this as a certain proof that the storm would not resume its fury; and about midnight it was observed to abate considerably, although still blowing very hard. This indeed was very fortunate; for if the gale from the W. S. W. had not been altogether as violent as that from E. S. E., the first waves would not so soon have subsided, and our masts have been in greater danger than before. The leak in the ship gave us less trouble during the tempest than I expected; for as the ordinary increase of water was before from seven to twelve inches an hour, we were not a little pleased to find that during the gale it was not, at the utmost, more than fifteen inches; but the very heavy roll of the ship rendered it difficult to work the pumps.

"This tempestuous weather was followed by an extremely beautiful day, which was very welcome to us, and enabled us to get the ship again in order. She had not indeed suffered much in her hull, but the rigging required considerable repairs. The wind fell gradually,

and now came from the west; and as soon as the sails could be set, which was not until noon, I steered to the northward. About six o'clock, we saw land bearing W. N. W., distant nearly forty-five miles. It was calm throughout the night, but the swell had not quite subsided, and drove us rather to the eastward. About nine the next morning, we perceived the land bearing due west; and as we only neared it very slowly, it was still distant at noon about thirty-six miles, stretching from N. 30° W., to N. 84° W. Our latitude was at this time by observation 31° 42′, and the longitude 227° 43′ 30″. At half past two, we were nealy twenty miles from the land, but it now fell almost calm and continued so until ten o'clock at night, and we moved but very slowly forwards until rather a heavy squall brought us within a few miles of the land. The variation of the compass was found to be here 3° 1′ W."

Dr. Morrison, in his notices concerning China and the port of Canton, gives the following memoranda of the notions of the Chinese respecting these phenomena.

"In Keungchow (Hainan), and the opposite peninsula called 雷州 Luychow, or 'the region of thunder,' they have temples dedicated to the tyfoon, the god of which they call 颶母 keu woo, 'the tyfoon mother,' in allusion to this wind producing a gale from every point of the compass; and, this mother-gale, with her numerous offspring, or a union of gales from the four quarters of heaven, makes conjointly a 大風 taefung (or tyfoon). At the place above referred to, the local magistrate offers sacrifices, and performs other solemn rites annually, on the fifth day of the fifth month. For it is added, 誠畏之 *ching wei che*, 'there is a sincere awe or dread of it,' viz. the tyfoon. They say it commonly rises in the N. E., and ends in blowing from the south. One that happened at Macao, on October the 9th, 1819, was thought by the Chinese unusually severe. A work called Kwangtung Sin Yu (vol. 1, page 14,) calls a tyfoon, either 舊風 kow fung or reversed, fung kow. When the gale begins in the N.E., it is expected to go north about to the west; when it begins in the N.W., it goes north about to the east; draws to the south, and ends in the west, where it began; and this is expressed by 落西 lŏ se, 'falling in the west.' It always ceases within two days and nights. If it does not go this regular course, it may be expected to blow again on the same day of the ensuing moon, and next day cease: or if it begin in the night, it will cease the next night. When the tyfoon is moderate, it blows longer — perhaps two or three

nights; and it will occur two or three times in the same year; and contrariwise, it happens that it does not blow for three or four years. It happens they say at the spring equinox, or the summer solstice;—and we know it happens also at the autumnal equinox. Whenever it blows from the north in the sixth moon, it is sure to be a tyfoon, and a severe one that blows with the greatest violence from the south, which they call 鐵 颳 teĕ hwuy, or 'an iron whirlwind.' They say, that if it thunders the gale breaks up. Tyfoons are most severe at Hainan; next at Canton, and a little farther to the north their force is much abated. They say, that at Hainan, a few days before a tyfoon comes on a slight noise is heard at intervals; whirling round and then stopping; sometimes impetuous and sometimes slow: this they call 練 風 leën fung, 'a tyfoon brewing.' Then fiery clouds collect in thick masses; the thunder sounds deep and heavy; rainbows appear; now forming an unbroken curve and again separating, and the ends of the bow dip into the sea: the sea sends back a bellowing sound; the sea boils with angry surges; the loose rocks dash against each other; there is a thick muddy atmosphere; the detached sea-weeds cover the surface of the sea and float to the north; the water-fowl fly about affrighted; the trees and leaves bend to the south—and the tyfoon is now commenced. When to it is superadded a violent rain and an affrighted tide, the force of the tempest is let loose, and away fly the houses up to the hills, and the ships and boats are removed to the dry land; horses and cattle are turned head over heels; trees are torn up by the roots; the sea boils up twenty or thirty feet high; the fields are inundated with salt water, and all vegetation is destroyed:*—this is what is called 鐵 颶 teĕ keu, or 'an iron whirlwind.'"

To the kindness of Mr. Redfield, and his friends in China, we are indebted for two of his very interesting papers—one on the "Atlantic Hurricanes;" the other on the "Courses of hurricanes and tyfoons of the Chinese sea." This latter paper is dated New York, October 20, 1838, and has come to us accompanied by a plate, which enables us to give Mr. Redfield's chart, illustrative of the tyfoon of 1835. Several pages of his second paper are occupied with references to his first, to sources of error, and to Mr. Espy's theory of storms; he then proceeds to some general remarks on the "tyfoons of the China sea," and a particular account of the "Raleigh's tyfoon of 1835," all of which are hereto subjoined.

* The tyfoon of 1819, had a peculiar blasting effect on all vegetation in Macao: perhaps it was from the saline particles carried from the sea.

"It can hardly be doubted that the general course which is pursued by hurricanes, is the same as that of the general mass of atmosphere or winds by which they are surrounded, and of which they form an integral portion. It becomes, therefore, a point of some importance in meteorology, to ascertain the true course of the hurricanes or tyfoons of the Asiatic seas. Should this course prove to be in conformity with the existing monsoons, this would be in accordance, it is believed, with the analogies in the tropical latitudes of the Atlantic; at least, if we have regard to the entire stratum of winds which lies below the common height of the clouds. But if the general course pursued by these storms, be the very same with those of the corresponding latitudes of the Atlantic, in which there are no monsoons, it may serve to show that the westerly monsoons, which are opposed to the course of the regular trade winds, consist only of a misplaced or minor stratum or current, which forms a thin layer of surface wind, less general than that of the regular trades, and which is therefore inefficient in opposing the progress of a great hurricane;—the latter being impelled by the stronger and more general current of the regular trade wind; which is supposed to overlie, at all times, the stratum of misplaced current which forms the westerly monsoon.

"These remarks will apply equally to the monsoons of both north and south latitude. Colonel Reid has been fortunate in obtaining full evidence of the opposite recurvation of a hurricane in south latitude, in open sea, and during the prevalence of the northwest monsoon; a result which can hardly be too highly valued. This storm, however, (Culloden's hurricane, of March, 1809,) was encountered to the southward of the limits of the northwest monsoon in the Indian ocean; but the hurricane of the Albion, noticed by col. Reid, was exposed to the full influence of this monsoon. It becomes important, therefore, to ascertain its path, in order that the influence of the monsoon upon its course may be duly appreciated; and we hope that its path may yet be ascertained.

"In regard to the northern hemisphere, colonel Reid has given us notices of several hurricanes or tyfoons in the Asiatic seas, with no indications of a course different from those in the North Atlantic. The following generalization, grounded on independent evidence, was published by the writer in 1833.* 'The tyfoons and storms of the China sea and eastern coast of Asia, appear to be similar in character to the hurricanes of the West Indies, and the storms of this coast [United States], when prevailing in the same latitudes.' This

* American Coast Pilot, 12th edition, p. 629.

remark was made with special reference to both the rotative and progressive directions of these storms. One of the tyfoons noticed by col. Reid, that of the Raleigh, which visited Canton, on the 5th and 6th of August, 1835, has been adduced, however, by the correspondent of the Nautical Magazine, as holding its course towards the southwest.* As this tyfoon had previously attracted my attention, it will now be made the subject of our examination.

"The facts which have been chiefly relied on for establishing a southwestern course for this gale, are contained in the report of H. M. S. Raleigh, which was overset and disabled in this gale, in the Chinese sea, when under bare poles: which report I have as follows:

"'H. M. ship Raleigh. Aug. 1st, 1835. Working out of Macao Roads.—At noon, east end of Grand Ladrone, E. ½ S. Aug. 2d, at noon, S.E. end of Formosa, N. 85 E., 340 miles: fine weather all day. Aug. 3d, at noon, S. end of Formosa N. 82½ E., 252 miles.—Fine weather all day. Aug. 4th, 10h. 20m. a. m., close reefed topsails and courses:—12h. 30m. p. m.—barometer fell from noon $\frac{15}{100}$: took in mainsail and foresail;—at 1h. 30m. got all snug; vessel going through the water between 3 and 4 knots; barometer 29.40, falling;—at 7h. 30m., wind veered to N. N. E. and tyfoon commenced:—at 8 p. m. barometer 29.36, falling;—8h. 30m. tyfoon increasing;—10 p. m. close reefed fore-trysail and set it; tyfoon veering to E. N. E. with a heavy sea;—at midnight tyfoon increasing; barom. 29.04, falling.

'Aug. 5th.—3 a. m. tyfoon veering round to E. S. E., still increasing in violence;—6h. 30m. barometer 28.25;—8 a. m. tyfoon increasing;—9h. 30m. a. m., if possible blowing heavier, *ship went over.*—In this awful situation ship lay for about 20 minutes; 9h. 50m. lower masts went by the board and ship righted with seven feet water in her hold; barometer did not fall lower;—at noon tyfoon moderated a little;—at 6 p. m. tyfoon more moderate, with a heavy sea;—midnight, strong gusts of wind with heavy sea from south.'—*Abridged from Canton Register of March* 14th, 1837.

"See also the log of the Raleigh, as it appears in col. Reid's work, which contains a sketch, showing the position of the Raleigh, as given in the log, and illustrating the direction of the wind. Col. Reid has also given the position of a schooner, which encountered the tyfoon in lat. 18° 2′ N., long. 115° 50′ E., of which I had previously received no account. I will now submit such evidence as I possess, in addition on the account furnished by the Raleigh; adding, also, a sketch and figure illustrating the course and progress of the tyfoon; and which was prepared and stereotyped some months since, in reference to furnishing an account of this hurricane.

"At Macao, where the tyfoon was experienced on the 5th and 6th,

* See Nautical Magazine for May, 1837, pp. 303–306

many houses were greatly damaged; also, many lives were lost in the Inner Harbor, and some vessels driven on shore. The direction and changes of the wind at Macao are not stated; but we are favored with the following valuable table of the state of the barometer during the period of the storm.

"*August 5th.*			h. m.		Barom.	h. m.		Barom.
h. m.		Barom.	0 45	a. m.	28.30	6 45	a. m.	29.12
1 00	a. m.	29.47	1 20	"(*lowest*)	28.05	7 45	"	29.20
2 30	p. m.	29 28	1 25	"	28.08	8 15	"	29.21
5 00	"	29.20	1 45	"	28.20	8 45	"	29.23
7 20	"	29.12	1 55	"	28.30	9 30	"	29.27
9 00	"	29.08	2 00	"	28.37	10 25	"	29.30
10 20	"	28.95	2 25	"	28.56	11 00	"	29.34
10 45	"	28.90	2 45	"	28.68	2 00	p. m.	29.42
11 05	"	28.85	3 10	"	28.75			
11 30	"	28.75	3 40	"	28.83			
11 53	"	28.65	4 10	"	28.90			
August 6th.			4 45	"	28.97			
0 15	a. m.	28.50	5 15	"	29.02			
0 30	"	28.40	6 00	"	29.08			

and continued rising to 29.65, at which point it usually stands during fine weather.'*—*Canton Register, Aug. 15th.*

This table affords in itself good evidence of the passage of the centre of the vortex near to Macao.

"At Canton, (60 miles north of Macao,) the tyfoon began on the evening of the 5th, after three or four days of very hot weather, with northerly winds, and continued throughout the night and the next day. Its violence was greatest about two o'clock on the morning of the sixth. The following is an account of the state of the barometer and winds at Canton:

"*August 4th.*

9 a. m. barom. 29.79 wind N. W. Fine weather.
4 p. m. " 29.70 " N. by W. Moderate breeze.

August 5th.

9 a. m. " 29,62 wind N. and N.W. Fair weather.
4 p. m. " 29.54 " unsettled—rain and fresh breeze.
12 p. m. " 29.37 " N, blowing hard and in heavy gusts.

August 6th.

5 a. m. " 29.34 wind N. E., blowing hard with heavy rain.
9 a. m. " 29.51 " " " " " "
11 a. m. " 29.58 " S.E. blowing hard,—moderating.

* This relates to "fine weather" of the S. W. monsoon; the mean of the barometer for July and August being, at Canton, 0.40 in. *lower* than for December and January, in the N. E. monsoon. This barometer at Macao appears to stand about 0.15 or 0.20 inch lower in its adjustment than that used at Canton for the reports in the Canton Register, the mean of which for five years is 30.027. Many, if not most of the common ship barometers, stand too low in their adjustment.

5 p. m. barom. 29.70 wind S. E. moderating.
11 p. m. " 29.85 " S. E.

August 7th.

8 a. m. " 29.94 wind S. E. Cloudy.—*Compiled from the Canton Register.*

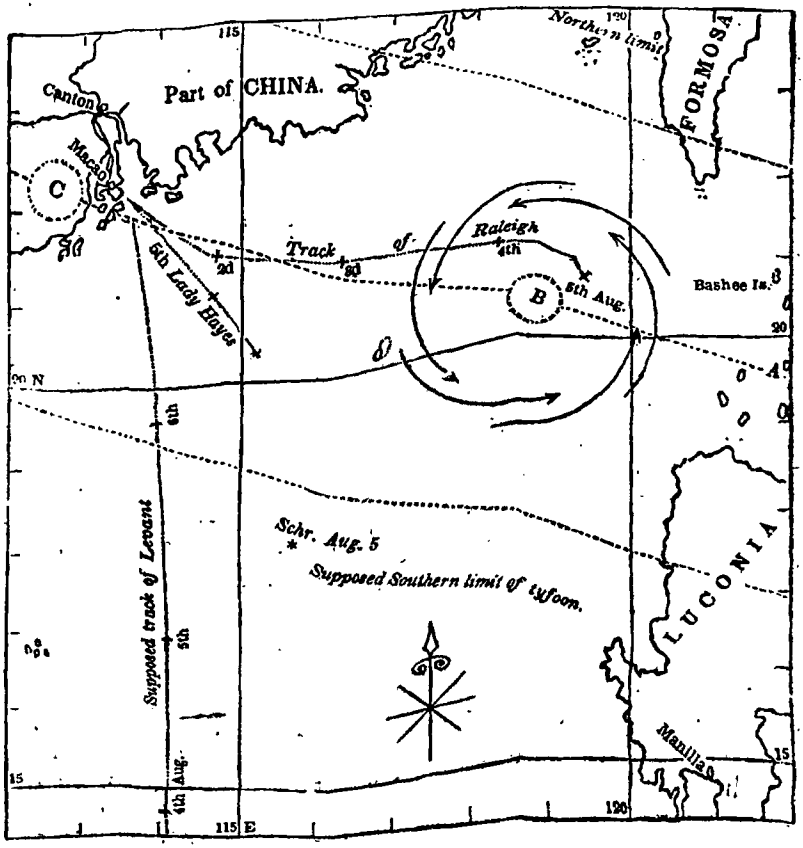
"'On Wednesday the 5th inst., a tyfoon swept over the city of Canton. It began in the evening and continued throughout the night and the next day, blowing its best about 2 o'clock in the morning. The damage done by the tyfoon at Canton is small, but not so at Kumsing Moon, Macao, and elsewhere on the coast.' *Canton paper.*

"The American ship Levant, captain Dumaresq, which arrived on the 7th of August, the day after the gale, came in with royals set, from Gaspar island, in fourteen days, having had light winds all the way up the China sea, and *did not feel the tyfoon.* This important fact is stated in the Canton Register of August 11th.

"'Extract from a private letter from on board the ship Lady Hayes, which left Macao Roads a day or two before the storm, and returned to Kumsing Moon, after the gale.

"'Early on the morning of the 5th, we observed indications of bad weather. At 10 a. m., the wind freshened a little from the same quarter it had been for the last twenty-four hours, viz. *north;* so we thought it best to turn her head back again to look for shelter, fancying ourselves to be about thirty-five miles off the land. We carried a press of sail until noon, when we found we had too great a distance to run before we could get into shelter, and expecting it would get so thick that we could not see our way, we turned her head to sea, and clapped on as much sail as she could stagger under, *steering S. E. by E.* The wind being then at north, we were desirous of getting as far off the land as possible, expecting the wind round to the eastward, there being a most *tremendous swell* from that quarter. *At 4 p. m.,* it was blowing in severe gusts, and we shipping a good deal of water, and the ship becoming unmanageable. About 8h. 30m. *the wind began to veer to the west,* but continued to blow as hard as ever, till midnight, when it *drew round to south,* and moderated a little. It continued to blow hard from that quarter until noon of the 6th, when it moderated fast, and we began bending other sails in room of those that were split. When the gale commenced, which we consider it did *at 1 p. m. on the 5th,* we were about twenty miles east of the Lema; where we were when it ended, it is hard to say, as we saw nothing till the morning of the 7th, at which time we made Mondego island. We hardly think we could have had the gale so heavy as those inside; and what is most extraordinary, the wind with them *veered to the eastward round to south;* but with us it veered to the *westward* round to the south. It was fortunate for us that it veered to the westward; for had it veered to eastward, we should most likely have been driven on shore among the islands as we could not have been more than fifty miles off the land [1] at 8 p. m., on the 6th.' *Abridged from the Canton Register of August 18th.*

"On the reduced chart which is given herewith, the tracks of the Lady Hayes and the Levant are laid down by estimate, from the printed accounts. The small dotted circle B, surrounded by the storm arrows, is supposed to indicate the position of the centre of the storm at the time the Raleigh was overset; and the position of the latter should be marked somewhat nearer this circle, according to the lat. and long. of the Raleigh on the 5th, which col. Reid has given in her log. The course of the storm appears to have been N. 72° W., and its centre is supposed to have been opposite the Raleigh about 8*h*. 20*m*. A. M. on the 5th; but this cannot be ascertained with precision, as the indications of the barometer do not appear to have been closely watched and recorded during this terrific period of the storm.



"Having shown the rotatory character of these tempests, I consider

the depression of the barometer which attends them, as being due to the rotative action; and the point of greatest depression, as indicating the true centre or axis of the storm.

"From the evidence now before us, we arrive at the following facts:

"1. That the Raleigh met a gale which set in with the wind *at N., veering round by the E. to S. E. and south.*

"2. That at the harbors and roads 'inside' (Macao, Kumsing Moon, &c.), as well as at Canton, the gale occurred *at a later period*; and the wind also *set in at north, and veered to E. and S. E.*, in a manner similar to that reported by the Raleigh.

"3. That with the ship Lady Hayes, off the islands near Macao, the wind also set in at north; but the ship steering S. E. by E. under a press of sail, (and doubtless falling off with the heavy sea from eastward,) the wind, towards the middle of the gale, began *to veer towards the west; whence it drew round to south*, towards the close of the gale.

"4. That the violence of the wind was apparently *greater* with the Raleigh, than the Lady Hayes.

"5. That the gale was experienced by an English schooner, Aug. 5th, in lat. 18° 2′ N.; lon. 115° 50′ E.; but the Levant, arriving on the 7th, in her course through the China sea, *did not encounter the gale.*

"6. That the fall and rise of the barometer at Macao, and with the Raleigh, and the strength and changes of wind with the latter, were such as are often exhibited near the centre of a hurricane; and that the minimum depression of the barometer occurred about *seventeen hours later at Macao*, than with the *Raleigh.*

"These facts seem to establish the following conclusions: 1. That the tyfoon advanced *in a westerly direction.* 2. Negatively;— that it did *not* pass through the China sea, from N. E. to S. W., nor on the opposite of this course. 3. That it was *a progressive whirlwind storm; turning to the left*, around its axis of rotation. 4. That its centre of rotation passed to the *northward* of the Lady Hayes; and to the *southward* of the *Raleigh* and of *Canton*, and the anchorages near Macao; and nearly on the line A, B, C, as marked on our chart. 5. That the rate of its progress was about *seventeen nautical miles per hour.* 6. That the extent or diameter of the violent part of the gale, as deduced from its duration and rate of progress, was about four hundred nautical miles, or equal to six or seven degrees of latitude. 7. That the latter induction agrees with the geographical evidence which has been obtained of the visitation of the storm.

"The progress of the tyfoon being taken at 17 miles per hour, it follows that the excess of velocity of the wind at E. with the Raleigh, over that of the wind at W. with the Lady Hayes, supposing the rotation to have been in a circle, would be more than thirty miles an hour; allowing nothing, however, for difference of retardation of the surface wind, and not taking into the account the additional retardation which the west wind of the Lady Hayes must have been subject to, in its recurving course over the land. If a circle be drawn on the chart around each of the points B and C, with a radius equal to 3 or 3½ degrees of latitude, these circles will comprise, somewhat nearly, the field of action of the storm, at the two periods of 9 A. M. of the 5th, and 2 A. M. on the 6th of August.

"The progressive velocity and course of this tyfoon is nearly the same as that of the Trinidad hurricane of June, 1831; and the rate of progression also corresponds nearly to that of the Antigua hurricane of August 12th, 1835. See tracks Nos. I. and V., on my chart of the courses of hurricanes, in the April No. of the Nautical Magazine, 1836.*

"This examination of the case before us appears to show that the direction of rotation, and the course of progression of this tyfoon, while crossing the China sea, agree with those of the hurricanes of the West Indies; and that *its course was not controled, or materially influenced, by the existing southwest monsoon.*

"The professional readers of the Nautical Magazine will naturally inquire for the best method by which the Raleigh might have avoided the heart of the tyfoon, had its true character, and probable course, been known. To this I answer, that the Raleigh being bound to the Bashee islands, and having searoom, and the gale having set in from N. or N. N. E., which showed that the ship was then not far from the centre of its path, its greatest severity could have been avoided by either of the following methods:

"*First,* by tacking to the N. W., upon the wind, and, as the latter veered eastward, hauling up for Formosa and the Bashee islands, so far and as fast as the veering of the gale in this direction might allow.

"*Second,* by standing away to W. S. W., with a view of saving time as well as distance in the escape, and keeping on more to the southward, as the wind should veer to the westward; and when the barometer began to rise, by bearing away, under the heel of the storm, for her point of destination.

* For this chart, see also Silliman's Journal, vol. XXXI, or Reid on the Law of Storms, chart III.

"The advantage of the first method would consist in having to run a shorter distance off her course, in order to avoid the centre of the gale. Its disadvantages consist in being too much headed off at the outset, and perhaps, in getting too far northward to make the best of the S. W. monsoon, after the gale should have terminated. The advantages of the second method would consist, in running off more rapidly, with a fair wind and sea; in getting under the southern semi-circuit of the gale, where, owing to the course of the wind being counter to the progress of the storm, it becomes less violent; in having almost throughout, a fair, instead of a head, wind; and finally, in being left by the storm to the windward of the point of destination, as regards the existing monsoon. The disadvantage, if any, of this method would consist in the greater extent of the rout; but as this would be accomplished under far more favorable circumstances, and probably in much less time than the northern, it can hardly be counted as an objection. It would, however, have been necessary to avoid the *Pratas*, in shaping the southern course. The second method for avoiding the heart of this storm, therefore, would appear to have been preferable. But had the ship fallen under the more northern portion of the gale, toward the dotted line which crosses Formosa, thus taking the wind first at N. E., or E. N. E., she should have kept to the wind, with her head to the northward. But if her position had been nearer the dotted line, which crosses Luconia, taking the wind first at N. W., she should first have brought the wind on her starboard quarter, and subsequently have bore away, as the wind veered by the west.

"Some further notices of tyfoons may now be added, to show that the results just noticed, are not peculiar to this storm alone, and that other tyfoons of the China sea pursue a similar course, and exhibit the same rotative action."

Mr. R. next brings under review the tyfoons which occured here in 1831 and 1832, with brief notices of four successive storms in 1797, and then remarks;

"These and other facts had been the basis of my inductions, in relation to the tyfoons of China and the storms of the North Pacific; and the voyages of Cook and others upon the coasts of Japan and China, and the journals of whale ships in the Northern Pacific, had afforded good evidence that the same system of storms prevailed in the North Pacific as in the North Atlantic. From a comparison of the foregoing accounts, it appears that those ships suffered most severely, which fell under the *northern* semicircle of the storm. This

result, probably, would not follow in the higher latitudes, where the storm has recurved to the northward, and commenced its easterly course."

Some further notices of storms, in the Chinese sea, may be found in our former volumes: see vol. I, p. 356; vol. II, p. 238; vol. IV, p. 197: and vol. V, pp. 192, and 238. With these references, after making one more short extract from Mr. Redfield's paper, concerning vernal and autumnal changes, we dismiss this part of our subject for the present. On these changes, Mr. Redfield says:

"It is generally believed that the hurricanes of the Indian seas occur only or chiefly at the change of the monsoons; but this opinion appears to be of doubtful accuracy. From the valuable meteorological journal which appears monthly in the Canton Register, I have compiled the following statement of the periods of change in the northeast and southwest monsoons at that place.

	Vernal change from N. E. to S. W.	Autumnal change, from S. W. to N. E.
1830.	From 20th to 28th of April	From 5th to 12th of October.
1831.	" 7th to 17th "	" 1st to 14th "
1832.	" 4th to 7th "	on 25th September.
1833.	" 9th to 14th "	" 9th to 30th "
1834.	" 3d of April to 8th of May	" 19th to 30th "
1835.	" 8th to 21st of April.	" 10th to 24th September."

Our chief object, in now noticing this subject, is to call public attention to the importance of collecting accurate and minute statistics respecting these storms, and to request, from masters of ships and all others who may be willing to communicate, such statistics for publication in the Repository. As exhibiting the importance of this subject, we cannot forbear to quote the introduction of a very excellent article, on the "statistics and philosophy of storms," published in the Edinburgh Review, No. 138, for January, 1839. The writer this proceeds:

"It is mortifying to the pride of science, and a reproach to every civilized government, that we know so little of meteorology — of the laws and perturbations of that aerial fluid which exists within and around us—which constitutes the pabulum of life; and in which we should instantly perish, were it either polluted or scantily supplied. Considering the earth's atmosphere merely in its chemical and statical relations, our knowledge of its properties is at once extensive and profound. We have decomposed the gaseous mass into its elements, and ascertained their separate agencies in sustaining and destroying life. Its weight, its variable density, its altitude, its action upon light, its electrical and magnetical phenomena, its varying temperature, whether we ascend from the earth, or move to different points on its surface,

have all been investigated with an accuracy of result honorable to the industry and and genius of philosophers. But, however great be the knowledge which we have acquired of our aerial domains, when in a state of serenity and peace, we must confess our utter ignorance of them in a state of tumult and excitement. When the paroxysms of heat and cold smite the organizations of animal and vegetable life—when the swollen cloud pours down its liquid charge, and menaces us with a second deluge—when the raging tempest sweeps over the earth with desolating fury, driving beneath the surge, or whirling into the air, the floating or the fixed dwellings of man—when the electric fires, liberated from their gaseous prison, shiver the fabrics of human power, and rend even the solid pavement of the globe—when the powers of the air are thus marshaled against him, man trembles upon his own hearth, the slave of terrors which he cannot foresee, the sport of elements which he cannot restrain, and the victim of desolations from which he knows not how to escape.

"But though the profoundest wisdom has been hitherto of no avail in emergencies like these, it would be at variance with the whole history of scientific research to suppose that effectual means may never be obtained for protecting life and property when thus endangered, or at least for diminishing the hazards to which they are exposed. The philosopher in his closet has already done something to protect as well as to forewarn. The electric conductor, when skillfully applied, has performed some function of mercy in guarding our houses and our ships; and the indications of the barometer and sympiesometer, have doubtless warned the mariner to reef his topsails, and prepare for the struggle of the elements. But, paltry as these auxiliaries are, they are almost the only ones which unaided science can supply. It belonged to the governments of Europe and America, and preëminently to ours, whose royal and commercial marine almost covers the ocean, to encourage, by suitable appointments and high rewards, every inquiry that could throw light upon the origin and nature of those dire catastrophes by which, in one day, hundreds of vessels have been wrecked, thousands of lives sacrificed, and millions of property consigned to the deep. But, alas! they have done nothing. Ours, at least, has no national institution to which they could intrust such an inquiry; and the cause of universal humanity, involving the interest of every existing people, and of every future generation, is left, as all such causes are, to the feeble and isolated exertions of individual zeal.

"It is fortunate, however, for our species, that the high interests of humanity and knowledge are not confided to the cares of ephemeral legislation. He who rides on the whirlwind has provided for the alleviation of the physical as well as the moral evils which are the instruments of his government; and in the last few years, two or three individuals have devoted themselves to the study of the gales and hurricanes that desolate the tropical seas, with a zeal and success which the most sanguine could never have anticipated. They have not, indeed, yet succeeded in discovering the origin of these scourges of the ocean; but they have determined their general nature and

character; and have thus been able to deduce infallible rules, if not to disarm their fury, at least to withdraw us from their power: And if so much has been done by the successive labors of two living individuals in the brief period of only *six* years, what may we not expect to achieve when meteorological inquiries shall be set on foot at suitable stations, and the science of Europe brought to bear on the observations which may be registered?

"Before the attention of philosophers was directed to the investigation of individual tempests and hurricanes, it was generally believed that a gale differed from a breeze only in the velocity of the air which was put in motion; and a hurricane was supposed to be well explained, when it was described as a wind moving in a rectilineal direction at the rate of 100 or 120 miles an hour. The first person who seems to have opposed himself to this vulgar error was the late colonel Capper of the East India Company's service, who published, in 1801, a work *On the winds and monsoons.* After studying all the circumstances of the hurricanes which occurred at Pondicherry and Madras in 1760 and 1773, this intelligent writer remarks, that these circumstances, when properly considered, positively prove that the hurricanes were whirlwinds, whose diameter could not be more than 120 miles. Colonel Capper was also aware of the remarkable fact, that these whirlwinds, had sometimes a progressive motion; and he not only states that ships might escape beyond their influence by taking advantage of the wind which blows from the land; but he refers to the practicability of ascertaining the situation of a ship in a whirlwind, from the strength and changes of the wind, with the view, no doubt, of enabling the vessel to resist its fury, and escape from its vortex.

"These observations, valuable though they be, seem to have excited no interest, either in this or in other countries; and the next philosopher who directed his attention to the subject, was led to it by independent observations, and in the course of more extensive meteorological inquiries. Mr. W. C. Redfield of New York, whose position on the Atlantic coast gave him the finest opportunities not only of observing the phenomena, but of collecting the details of individual storms, was led to the same conclusion as colonel Capper that the hurricanes of the West Indies, like those of the East, were great whirlwinds. He found also, what had been merely hinted at by colonel Capper, that the whole of the revolving mass of atmosphere advanced with a progressive motion from S. W. to N. E; and hence he draws the conclusion, *that the direction of the wind at a particular place forms no part of the essential character of the storm, and is in all cases compounded of both the rotative and progressive velocities of the storm in the mean ratio of these velocities.* Mr. Redfield was conducted to these generalizations by the study of the hurricane of September, 1821; but in order to corroborate his views, he has taken the more recent hurricane of the 17th August, 1830, and by the aid of a chart, he has exhibited its character, and traced its path along the Atlantic coast, as deduced from a diligent collation of accounts from more than *seventy* different localities." *pp.* 406, 409.

Without attempting to follow either Mr. Redfield or his reviewer, we will limit ourselves to a simple statement of the principal results. In his third Memoir, Mr Redfield directs our attention to the different points which he considers as established in reference to the principal movements of the atmosphere which constitute a hurricane. The following is a condensed summary of his observations, in the words of the reviewer.

"1. The severest hurricanes originate in tropical latitudes to the north of east of the West India islands. 2. They cover simultaneously an extent of surface from 100 to 500 miles in diameter, acting with diminished violence towards the exterior, and increased energy towards the interior, of that space. 3. South of the parallel of 30°, these storms pursue towards the west, a track inclined gradually to the north till it aproaches 30°, where their course changes abruptly to the north and eastward, the track continuing to incline gradually to the east, towards which point they advance with an accelerated velocity. 4. The duration of a storm depends on its extent and velocity, and storms of smaller extent even with greater rapidity than larger ones. 5. The direction and strength of the wind in a hurricane are found *not to be in the direction of its progress*. 6. In their *westward* course, the direction of the wind at the commencement is from a *northern* quarter, and during the latter part of the gale, from a *southern* quarter of the horizon. 7. In their *northward* and *eastward* course, the hurricane begins with the wind from an *eastern* or *southern* quarter, and terminates with the wind from a *western* quarter. 8. North of 30°, and on the portion of the track furthest from the American coast, the hurricane begins with a *southerly* wind, which, as the storm comes over, *veers gradually* to the westward, where it terminates. 6. Along *the central portion* of the track in the same latitude, the wind commences from a point near to *southeast*, but after a certain period *changes suddenly* to a point almost directly opposite to that from which it had been blowing; from which opposite quarter it blows with equal violence till the storm has passed. Under this central portion, the greatest fall of the barometer takes place, the mercury rising a short time previous to the change of wind. 10. On the portion of the track nearest the American coast, or furthest inland, if the storm reaches the land, the wind begins from a *more eastern* or *northeastern* point, and afterwards veers more or less gradually by *north* to a *northwestern* or *westerly* quarter, where it terminates. 11. From these facts, it follows that the great body of the storm whirls in a horizontal circuit round a vertical or somewhat inclined axis of rotation, which is carried onward with the storm, and that the direction of this rotation is from *right* to *left*. 12. The barometer in all latitudes sinks under the first half of the storm in every part of its track, except, perhaps, its extreme northern margin, and *thus affords the earliest* and nearest indication of the approaching tempest. The barometer again rises during the passage of the last portion of the gale." *pp.* 411, 412.

Some practical rules, by which the mariner may extricate himself, with the least hazard, from the destructive fury of the warring elements, have been deduced by Mr. Redfield. No doubt they are susceptible of improvement and extension; still even now they are worthy of careful attention.

"1. A vessel bound to the eastward, between the latitudes of 32° and 45°, in the western part of the Atlantic, on being overtaken by a gale which commences blowing from any point to the eastward of S. E. or E. S. E., may avoid some portion of its violence, by putting her head to the northward, and when the gale has veered sufficiently in the same direction, may safely resume her course. But by standing to the southward, under like circumstances, she will probably fall into the heart of the storm.

"2. In the same region, vessels, on taking a gale from S. E., or points near thereto, will probably soon find themselves in the heart of the storm, and after its first fury is spent, may expect its recurrence from the opposite quarter. The most promising mode of mitigating its violence, and at the same time shortening its duration, is to stand to the southward upon the wind, as long as may be necessary or possible; and if the movement succeeds, the wind will gradually head you off in the same direction. If it becomes necessary to heave to, put your head to the southward, and if the wind does not veer, be prepared for a blast from the northwest.

"3. In the same latitudes, a vessel scudding in a gale with the wind at east or northeast, shortens its duration. On the contrary, a vessel scudding before a southwesterly, or westerly gale, will thereby increase its duration.

"4. A vessel, which is pursuing her course to the westward or southwestward, in this part of the Atlantic, meets the storms in their course, and thereby shortens the periods of their occurrences; and will encounter more gales in an equal number of days than if stationary, or sailing in a different direction.

"5. On the other hand, vessels while sailing to the eastward, or northeastward, or in the course of the storms, will lengthen the periods between their occurrence, and consequently experience them less frequently than vessels sailing on a different course. The difference of exposure which results from these opposite courses, on the American coast, may in most cases be estimated as nearly two to one.

"6. The hazard from casualties, and of consequence the value of insurance, is enhanced or diminished by the direction of the passage, as shown under the last two heads.

"7. As the ordinary routine of the winds and weather in these latitudes often corresponds to the phases which are exhibited by the storms as before described, a correct opinion, founded upon this resemblance, can often be formed of the approaching changes of wind and weather, which may be highly useful to the observing navigator.

"8. A due consideration of the facts which have been stated will inspire

additional confidence in the indications of the *barometer*, and these ought not to be neglected, even should the fall of the mercury be unattended by any appearances of violence in the weather, as the other side of the gale will be pretty sure to take effect, and often in a manner so sudden and violent as to more than compensate for its previous forbearance. Not the least reliance, however, should be placed upon the prognostics which are usually attached to the scale of the barometer, such as *set-fair, fair, change, rain, &c.*, as in this region, at least, they serve no other purpose than to bring this valuable instrument into discredit. It is the mere rising and falling of the mercury which chiefly deserves attention, and not its conformity to a particular point in the scale of elevation.

"9. These practical inferences, apply in terms chiefly to storms which have passed to the northward of the 30th degree of latitude on the American coast, but with the necessary modification as to the point of the compass, which results from the westerly course pursued by the storm while in the lower latitudes, are for the most part equally applicable to the storms and hurricanes which occur in the West Indies, and south of the parallel of 30°. As the marked occurrence of tempestuous weather is here less frequent, it may be sufficient to notice that the point of direction in cases which are otherwise analogous, is, in the West Indian seas, about ten or twelve points of the compass *more to the left* than on the coast of the United States in the latitudes of New York." *pp.* 414, 416.

We have only space for a few more isolated particulars. Mr. Redfield thinks, that the great circuits of wind, of which the trade winds form an integral part, are nearly uniform in all the great oceanic basins, and that the course of these circuits, and of their stormy gyrations, is, in the *southern* hemisphere, in a *counter direction* to those in the *northern* one, producing a corresponding difference in the general phases of storms and winds in the two hemispheres: thus in the northern latitudes the storms revolve, in their rotative progress, from *right* to *left*: on the contrary, in the southern hemisphere they move from *left* to *right*. The track of many of these storms appears to form part of an elliptical or parabolic circuit, with the vertex of the curve near the 30th degree of latitude, which marks the external limits of the trade winds on both sides of the equator; "and perhaps it may not prove irrelevant to notice even further, that, by the parallel of 30°, the surface area, as well as the atmosphere, of each hemisphere, is equally divided,—the area between this latitude and the equator being about equal to that of the entire surface between the same latitude and pole." Mr. R. thinks the *gyral axis* of these storms is probably inclined in the direction of their progress, He ascribes the fall of the mercury in the barometer, at places to which the storms are approaching, or are more

immediately under their influence, to the *centrifugal tendency* of the immense revolving mass of atmosphere which constitutes a storm: by this tendency a stratum of atmosphere is expanded, and consequently flattened and depressed, so that the weight of the superincumbent column which presses on the mercury (in the barometer situated near the centre of rotation) is diminished. After a careful review of the facts adduced by colonel Reid and Mr. Redfield, the writer in the Edinburgh says, "the region of the Mauritius may be regarded as the focus of the hurricanes of the southern hemisphere, in the same manner as the West Indies and the Atlantic coast of North America is the *focus* of the northern storms." *See p.* 427. And may not the gulf of Tongking, and the Chinese and Japanese seas form another "focus," nearly opposite to that in the western hemisphere?

G. T. Taylor esquire, astronomer to the honorable East India Company, has published, in the 23d number of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, some remarks upon colonel Reid's book, dated Madras Observatory, 1st June, 1839. After giving what 'contains the spirit of pretty nearly all the subjects adverted to' in the work, he mentions one objection—'which, although not disproving the theory, that storms arise from rotatory and progressive whirlwinds, still renders necessary some explanation beyond that of rotation and progression.' While in England, for several years, he had invariably noticed—"*that the rate at which the barometer rose after gales had reached their climax, was always much more rapid than that it had observed in falling previous thereto.*" And, on consulting the observations made at Madras, and other places, he found the same circumstances *always* occurred. In illustration of the objection, he gives the particulars of time and motion of the mercury during five hurricanes; and then remarks, 'we should naturally expect, from a whirlwind, that its sectional outline would be circular, and that the time occupied between the commencement and middle, would correspond with that observed between the middle and termination, whereas we have just found them to stand in the proportion of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 1.'

ART. II. *Sketch of Spanish Colonial History in Eastern Asia; government of marques de Ovando, and Arandia; precis of the history from* 1759 *to the present time. Continued from page* 179.

THE new governor, don Francisco de Ovando, a field-marshal in the Spanish armies, was on service in New Spain, when he received his appointment over the Philippine colony. Like all his military predecessors, he began his course with inquiries into the state of the united service. The low rates of pay were all along the true cause of the evils attempted to be reformed, but it was found easier to introduce new systems, regulations, &c., than to meet increased drafts on the colonial treasury.*

The marques turned from the army to the navy, and found scarcely a single vessel fit for service; indeed only one was found worth repair, and it was resolved to build a ship of sixty guns immediately. The merchants came next in turn, and pressed for the early dispatch of an Acapulco ship, as the only possible alleviation of their miserable poverty. There was a new galleon then building at an outport, but rather than wait for it to be finished, it was decided in an evil hour to repair the old *Pilar*, the worn-out ship that had come too late to the relief of the Cobadonga. This worthless vessel was dispatched accordingly, and already leaking badly, cleared the last outport of the straits of St. Bernardino. Even then, her commander was entreated to put back, but his only answer was — to purgatory or Acapulco. Not long after, a heavy gale was felt in that quarter, and a quantity of bales, boxes, &c., drifting upon the coasts of Samar and Luzon, told the only tale ever heard of the fate of the Pilar galleon. This disaster was another blow upon the 'obras pias,' while it nearly completed the ruin of the mercantile classes.

The colonial commerce being in this lamentable state, Ovando imitated his predecessor, in allowing some fresh orders from court, for the expulsion of the Chinese residents, to lie unexecuted. Their number had already been limited to 6000 (unconverted Chinese), and they had been placed in a residence under the guns of the city. Ovando left them there, for he had already more interests to guard than his force or his ability could secure, and the rising of the Chinese under new oppressions, might at this critical period have decid-

* A company of foot cost $219 per month. Pay of a captain $16. Cornet $4. Sergeant $3. privates $2, with a ration of rice, &c.

ed the fate of the colony. Some portion of his time was also wasted on disputes of etiquette, between himself, and the archbishop, and the audiencia.

The remainder of his short and unfortunate government was almost wholly occupied with Súlúan wars, and the detail of these again recalls us to the story of the fugitive Alimudin. This prince was the son and successor of Malaúna, an able man, and for a Súlúan, a scholar too, whose death has been ascribed to his indignation at the seizure and execution of some friends, he had sent as envoys to the governor of Zamboangan. Alimudin seems not to have espoused his father's cause, and yet this can hardly be attributed to fear of the Spanish power, for it is said, he held on upon a Catholic father, who fell into his hands, at this time, as a slave, until his Order paid a liberal ransom. In June, 1744, a new cedula reached Manila, in which his majesty was pleased to approve the peace ratified with Súlú seven years before, and to offer an alliance offensive and defensive to the sultan. These papers reached Manila in 1746, and when duly forwarded to Súlú, Alimudin, in reply, conceded the requests of his majesty, and assigned a residence to the Catholic priests, who were permitted to preach the faith in his dominions. Two missionaries were accordingly sent, with the further title of envoys. They were especially instructed to teach the Spanish language to the sultan's sons, to ransom captives; &c. A little experience, however, convinced these fathers that Alimudin's heart was still Mohammedan, and his friendly concessions a *ruse* of policy. In fact, the sultan's brother Bantilan, was at the head of a strong party, and these concessions to Spanish interest, were so represented by him to his countrymen, as to revive their jealous attachment to islamism, and finally to drive the missionaries and their protector from the islands. The retirement of the fathers, and the flight of Alimudin in 1748, were followed by renewed hostilities between Súlú and Zamboangan. The fact no doubt was, that every Súlúan, Tiron, Bugís, &c., deemed it his natural right to play the pirate, whether his sultan pleased or not; and that the Spanish governors of Zamboangan found their account in prolonging and perpetuating hostilities. War gave them ships at the public expense, to use for commercial purposes, and a reason was seldom wanted for treating any native vessels, carrying valuable lading, as enemies.

When Alimudin reached Manila, and begged assistance to regain his dominions, the archbishop saw the opportunity it offered to make the Súlúan group a Spanish and Catholic colony. He induced the

hard-pressed fugitive to exchange his name for the baptismal appellation of Fernando, and was only waiting for the next subsidy, to enable him to prepare a sufficient force in order to restore the prince to his paternal authority. But when the remittances came after six years suspension, a new governor came also. The archbishop was set aside, and the care of the southern provinces devolved on Ovando.

At this time letters came to the governor from Bantilan, detailing the outrages perpetrated by the governor of Zamboangan, and declaring that it was impossible to restrain the Súlúans from ravaging, in revenge, the whole coasts of the Spanish colony. 'Although'—he added in a warning tone—'it be true, that we resemble the dog, and the Spaniards the elephant, yet, may be, the dog may one day mount upon the back of the elephant.' He concluded his spirited remonstrance, by stating that he had sent letters with his compliments to the Spanish monarch, viâ Jacatra and Constantinople, for he was persuaded the Philippine authorities had violated the wishes and commands of their sovereign. The governor of Zamboangan met these accusations, by detailing the piracies of the Súlúans, and by describing Bantilan as a usurper. Ovando decided to espouse the cause of the fugitive Fernando, but he had neither arms, nor ships, nor money to attempt conquests. He could only prepare a small armament to aid the sultan in his expedition to recover his throne, and which, in March, 1761, sailed from Manila for Zamboangan. The ill-luck of the sultan still followed him. His vessel sunk near Mindoro, and it was late in July before he reached the presidio. The Spanish commander of the squadron had meantime lost patience, and passed on to Súlú, where he soon found occasion to bring matters to a hostile issue. After a cannonade of several days, a landing was made and some damage done upon Bantilan's capital. A negotiation was then opened, and the usurper promising to receive the sultan on his arrival, to restore captives, &c., the Spaniards retired, taking care, however, to carry off two Chinese junks, they had seized, and which were declared good prizes.

The return of the squadron to the presidio, instead of leading to the relief and restoration of the sultan, was the signal for further outrage. He was charged by the governor with a treacherous correspondence in Arabic, while his letters in Spanish were friendly, arrested, and thrown,—with his followers amounting to nearly 200 men and women—into prison. Unhappily the representations of the local governor were listened to and the arrest approved by Ovando.

An investigation into the prisoner's conduct was ordered, and on

its conclusion, he was pronounced a breaker of the peace, a traitor, a hypocrite, &c., &c. It was decided that the condemned sultan and his suite should be remanded to Manila, and the war with Súlú continued. It was further stated that $90,000 had been expended between 1736 and 1750, in expeditions against Súlú, and now it was resolved — to destroy all the vessels of that people, to depopulate the islet between Súlú and Basilan, to put to death all natives found in arms, to dispatch the infirm and aged also, to sell as slaves all captives from twelve to sixty years of age, and to baptize all abandoned infants, and leave them to 'the care of divine Providence.'

To justify these cruel and impolitic measures, Ovando published a manifesto in 1752, giving a historical account of past connections with Súlú, disclaiming everything aggressive in the Spanish policy, but, as for mercy or pity, reserving it not for the Súlúans, but for their miserable captives.

A junta was held, which adopted this declaration, and ordered the exiled Fernando to be imprisoned during the pleasure of his majesty. His followers were also condemned to be branded and sold as slaves, but it does not appear that this sentence was executed. The citizens were called upon for a loan to carry on the war, but they appear not to have approved the governmental course, for they made only a trifling donation. To incite them to more active cooperation, the declaration of war gave them full license to kill, plunder, and take captive, and remitted the royal fifths on all spoil, except slaves of certain ages These licenses, which threw open the whole native trade from Mindanao southward to indiscrimate pillage, were carefully worded to prevent any insult to the ships of the Dutch Company. Thanks to the remostrance of 1735, and the three men-of-war that brought it!

The vail, Ovando endeavored to throw over his iniquitous measures, seems not to have covered them so well as to save him from the general charge of avarice and ambition. The first of these charges seems perfectly well established, by the indiscriminate pillage of their effects which followed their imprisonment. Some check might perhaps have been imposed on these harsh measures had Arrechedera lived, but they lost their friend in November, 1751.

In March, the following year, Ovando's armament collected at Zamboangan. It consisted of nearly 2000 men, and reaching Súlú in May, began its work with a three days' cannonade. Detachments were then landed; but far from effecting a conquest, the squadron soon withdrew to Zamboangan, its only results being to increase alike the distress of those islanders, and of the Manila treasury The

budget of the following year showed the colonial chest to have only $27,000, wherewith to meet demands of $184,000.

The Spanish policy towards the people of Súlú now began to produce its legitimate consequences. War on the one side was retaliated on the other, with fresh and still more extensive and cruel depredations. The whole Mohammedan portion of the Archipelago caught the hostile infection, and by turns, Leyte, Panay, Negros, Ylo Ylo, Siangao, &c., &c., felt its fury.

To restrain these new inroads, it was again proposed to form a strong presidio on Balabac, on the south point of Paragua. The old clerical resident on the latter island gave his testimony, that the natives were docile, averse to islamism, and that the removal of the force formerly stationed at Labo, was the main cause of the decline of the Catholic missions. The alcalde of Calamianes confirmed this account, which was still further supported by the petitions of the settlers of Spanish descent, still remaining in the villages of Paragua. The junta consented to renew the military station, and Ovando, to pave the way, determined to send an envoy to the sultan of Borneo, to obtain a cession of his territorial claims, to form an alliance against Súlú, &c., &c.. The envoy repaired to Borneo (Borneo city?), and in due time brought back accounts of a welcome reception, with treaty, cessions, &c.*

To carry out his plan of an establishment on Paragua, Ovando now proposed to lead the expedition to that island, in person. But the city interposed with its prayer that he would not leave the capital, where his presence was so necessary; the junta repeated the request, and the governor first suspended and afterwards relinquished his proposition.

To attract settlers to the new station, fugitives from justice, &c., were invited to repair to the expedition, on promise of pardon. The instructions prepared for the armament required it to proceed to Balabac, and next to the opposite shores of Paragua, taking formal possession, and selecting the site for the presidio. It was also ordered, that the natives should be treated mildly, collected into pueblos, encouraged to industry by grants of land, and brought cheerfully to render homage, and receive baptism. The fleet of eleven vessels which sailed under these instructions, reached Balabac safely, and

* It is scarcely worth while to examine the right by which the sultan of Borneo gave Balabac, &c., to Spain, or to compare it with the cession of Balambangan by Sulu to the English. It is rather matter of gratification to find an occasional homage thus paid to peace and ownership, and a form of cession preferred to conquest.

after taking possession, went on to Paragua. Sickness there overtook the crews, more than 100 died, and the suvivors returned disheartened to Manila. It would appear from the details given, that the ignorance of the leaders, the want of interpreters, &c., were the first causes that this expedition, which had cost $37,000, resulted in no permanent occupation.

While the disposable force of the colony was thus employed, the southern islands were suffering constant irruptions. The Calamianes group, the islands of Tablas, Mindoro, Ticao, the province of Caraga, &c., were by turns assailed, their pueblos ravaged, and the priest and his flock carried into captivity. The piratical prahús made descents an the southern shores of Luzon, and were seen to the northward of Manila. The vindictive feelings of the Spanish authorities, at the report of these reiterated outrages, turned upon the captive sultan, though innocent as themselves of any participation in them. To divert this indignation from the head of her father, his daughter Fatima sought permission to go to Súlú as the bearer of letters to her uncle. On her arrival there, she collected 50 captives, sent them back to their homes in the the Philippines, and before the close of 1753, returned herself to Manila, bringing an envoy from Bantijan with her. The envoy renewed proposals for peace on his master's part, and after conference with the sultan, made formal offers to restore captives, to renew an offensive and defensive alliance, &c., &c. Ovando received the articles favorably, but chose to withhold a final ratification, and keep his grasp on the imprisoned sultan and his suite, until actually in possession of the returned captives. Alarmed again by pressing calls for aid from the southern provinces, he hastened the preparation of a naval force of ten vessels, which sailed in February, 1754, but the movements of which were paralized by the dissentions or cowardice of its officers.

We refrain from transcribing the long detail of robbery, captivity, and butchery which now followed, making the year 1754 memorable in the colonial annals, as that of its greatest suffering by Moorish irruptions. The piratical fleets, sometimes of 50 or 100 sail, traversed the Archipelago, attacking the strongest posts, until but a few of the 21 provinces of the colony could boast immunity. Occasionally, a successful defense was made within the walls of the stronger churches or fortifications, but much more often, the cruel visitors sacked, and made captive at pleasure. At times, the same ill-fated spot was visited again and again, till the miserable remnant of its population, having lost their all, were scattered over the neighboring country.

One unhappy pueblo is named which was ravaged ten times in succession. This long train of successful irruption so emboldened the Moors, that they did not hesitate to besiege pueblos, defended by one or two companies of infantry, and were more than once successful. When the galleon of 1754 arrived, and the dispatches and unmanifested silver were landed at Ticao, the pirates pursued the boats, cut to pieces the Spanish guard, and carried off the treasure.

The appearance of this annual ship put an end to the government of Ovando. His unfortunate administration had laid him open to a process of inquiry, and the following year, declining the permission given him to return to Spain, viâ the Cape of Good Hope, he embarked for Acapulco. Under the anxieties of his situation, his health sunk apace, and he died before the passage was over. One of the causes of his sovereign's dissatisfaction with the marques was, that he had advised the abandonment of the Marianas, in order to centre the force of the colony on the southern frontiers. But the king declared in reply his pleasure that all the existing establishments should be maintained, in a tone not to be disputed or trifled with.

Don Pedro de Arandia, the new governor, a native of Ceuta, who had acquired some distinction in the military service, began his administration with inquiries more than usually searching, into the state of the colonial defenses. In the course of these, the amusing disclosures, already referred to, of the shirtless and barefoot condition of his majesty's forces, were made; and Arandia found in them sufficient reason for the failure of so many expeditions. In fact, he found the soldiery scattered over the suburbs, and entirely without discipline or military practice. It was now admitted on all hands, that the ardor which distinguished the early days of the colony, had died out, and that the annual supply of 100 or 200 recruits from Mexico, scarcely sufficed to keep up a nominal force, in character equally feeble and vicious. While this was the state of the soldiery, the officers, only half-supported by their low rates of pay, were looking after their private interests: the governor proceeded to reörganise a local force of 2000 men, divided into two battalions of twenty companies. The new rates of pay were fixed at $25 for a captain; $18 for a lieutenant; $14 for an ensign; $3 to $4½ for non-commissioned officers, and $2⅝ for the privates. For this last named consideration, the soldiery submitted reluctantly to the new discipline, 'abhorring — as they did — the broth of the mess-kettle,' and 'deserting continually, until restrained by dread of punishment.' A brigade of artillery was also formed, with a school for gunnery and field-practice. New regula-

tions were introduced for the care of the public stores, for the adjustment of the hours of labor in the arsenal, the public offices, &c.

At an early period of his government, the 'Provincia de Rosario' brought before Arandia its claim for arrears of sacramental wine, computed at 840 arrobas due the Order, on the old annual allowance from the crown, of one arroba per padre. Far from admitting this novel claim, the governor pronounced it wholly unjustifiable, and fined the civil officers who had lent their sanction to it.

Another, and less suspicious claim was put in at this time by the Franciscan order, for an allowance for the support of fifteen shipwrecked Japanese, who had been thrown on the coast in 1753, and had been ever since maintained in one of their convents. The fathers referred to cases in 1693 and 1706, when royal grants of maintenance had been made to wrecked Japanese, and which charity had happily inclined their hearts to Christianity. Their petition had been already laid before Ovando, who, in reply, had given the unfortunate men permission to go where they pleased, but had promised them aid, on their conversion to Catholicism. This condition they had complied with, and Arandia, admitting their claim, as strangers and converts, assigned them a support out of a small fund left for charitable uses, by the last martyr to Japanese exclusion, the abbé Sidotti.

A much more pressing appeal was again made upon Arádia's humanity, by the distresses of the people dwelling on the bank of the small lake of Taal, a few leagues southeast of Manila. This laguna had in its centre a small island, whose volcanic character was well known, but which had been long inactive, and had been made even a source of profit by the extraction of quantities of sulphur. In August, 1754, while the Moors were devastating the southern provinces, the volcano of Taal was first observed to have a light cloud resting on its summit. In September, some flame was seen, some light ashes fell, and slight shocks of earthquake disturbed the neighborhood. In November, the mingled smoke and ashes had increased to a darkening volume, and the roar of the subterranean combustion became like the report of the loudest artillery. The inhabitants of the shores fled through the overwhelming showers, by torch-light to more distant villages. From the 25th to the 27th, the volcano continued in fearful activity. On the 2d and 3d of December, a violent gale and storm concurred with the irruption, and their joint effect was, to bring down the volcanic showers, in the form of fetid mud, until the villages of Taal and Tanaran, with their churches and convents,

sunk under the enormous load deposited upon them. With great difficulty, the same fate was averted from other neighboring villages. By the 12th of that month, the activity of the crater declined, and the inhabitants slowly returned to the sites of their former habitations. It was long, however, before their deeply covered fields could again be made to put on their former livery of rich and verdant cultivation.

Local distresses and reforms did not long divert the governor's attention from the state of the southern frontier of the colony. To test the plan of collecting the natives into large pueblos, orders were issued for the inhabitants of Simala, Banton, and Tablas to concentrate upon Komblon; those of Masbate and Burias upon Mobo; the Ticoans upon St. Jacinto; the Macalayans upon Sorsogan, &c., &c. These commands seem, however, to have failed of any effect, from their very nature, and from the imperfect control held over the native population.

Arandia was more fortunate in his choice of a new commander for the southern squadron. He gave the flag to the padre Ducos, a friar who had distinguished himself on shore, in some gallant defenses of besieged forts and convents. The result showed that he could fight well on either element, on the attack as well as on the defensive. Under the command of the energetic padre, some sharp battles were had with the piratical fleets, and when a wound shattered his arm and put out his eyes, his successor followed his example and carried on the contest. In a few months, if our account be true, a severe chastisement was inflicted upon the Moors, for their previous irruptions. One hundred and fifty-nine of their prahús were taken; 2000 killed; and 500 of their kidnapped victims rescued from captivity. When, however, we find from the sequel of the report, that all this castigation was inflicted with the loss of 5 killed and 50 wounded on the Spanish side, we are led to doubt, whether the sufferers were the guilty parties, or whether so much weakness and cowardice on their part, are reconcilable with their previous history.

When the accounts of these successes reached the capital, early in 1755, a day of thanksgiving was kept, royal salutes were fired, and *te deum* sung in the church of Santa Potenciana, in the presence of all that Manila contained of rank and splendor. The padre Ducos was especially complimented, and it being determined to erect a new fortress on Misamis, he was named governor.*

* The plan now adopted of placing the southern forts under a separate command, instead of the orders of the provincial alcaldes, and of manning them with

This brightening of the colonial affairs in the south worked some slight change in favor of the captive sultan. Pulgar, who had seized him at Zamboangan, was dead; Ovando was also gone; and the archbishop, who had been for some time alienated from his convent, which had deprived him of the consolations of the church, now by Arandia's influence, was brought to a full reconciliation. The wife of the sultan now dying, he was permitted to renew his addresses to his favorite concubine, who had separated from him on his conversion, and had since figured as donna Rita Calderon, among the collegialas of Santa Potenciana. When the day for the espousals came, the palace was thrown open to the bridal party, and the governor and his suite condescended to grace the ceremony. The renewed friendship of the archbishop did not long avail the sultan. The prelate was now old and infirm, and a distressing difference arose between him and the governor, on a point of punctilio. This important point, whether the bells should chime or not on certain occasions, was duly referred to his Catholic majesty. Before the decision came, the bells had tolled their last chime over the archbishop's funeral obsequies. The real improvement in the sultan's case, does not seem to have been great, however, since we find him petitioning Arándia in vain for an increase of the allowance of $50, and six cavans of rice, made monthly to himself and family.

Among the orders, with which Arandia came charged, was a fresh one for the checking of Chinese immigration. When he proceeded to publish these commands, giving the Chinese residents the option of exile or baptism, 515 out of 3696 submitted, and 2070 preferred to leave the colony. These orders do not appear to have been applied to the Chinese in the provinces, nor to those on board the junks in the harbor. Indeed it was not the royal wish, that any check should be laid on the foreign commerce of Manila. To preserve to the natives the more lucrative occupations of the interior, and to keep the Chinese party under control, were the chief objects of the Spanish policy. One expedient now adopted to these ends, was to build for them the Alcayceria de San Fernando. This structure (which cost $48,000) was henceforth required to be the residence of the unconverted Chinese, connected with trade, and from which they were not to wander into the interior.

It may be well to mention here, in connection with the trade with China, an order Arandia received, to send samples of Chinese quick-

Spanish mestizos in place of natives of Bohol, who had hitherto figured as the chief fighters, is said to have worked favorably

silver to Mexico, in order to ascertain if the supply for the silver mines could be drawn from this quarter. The governor transmitted the orders to Amoy and Canton, but the agents brought back word, that the Chinese quicksilver was adulterated and inferior, and moreover that its export was prohibited under heavy penalties.*

The attention of the governor was again called to affairs on the southern frontier, by the receipt of reports from the naval officers commanding in that quarter. The first of these related to the eastern and southern coasts of Mindanao, and after describing its piratical communities as few and poor, it argued that to war on a people so contemptible, so defended by their local advantages, and able to flee at a moment's warning to the manglar, or the mountain, was to sacrifice life and labor on an object quite undeserving. The second report informed the governor, that its writer, Favean had visited Súlú, where the acting sultan Bantilan, had received him with a kind and showy hospitality. Favean fully confirmed the sultan's statement, that the late hostilities were the work of the governor of Zamboangan, whose avarice and cruelty incited the Súlúans to resistance and retaliation. Bantilan further declared that neither 'the east nor the west, nor the seven heavens should drive him from the fullfilment of the late treaties,' and with this assurance, he intreated again for the release of the captives. Favean further described Bantilan as mild and affable, and fully acquitted the captive sultan from the charges on which he had been imprisoned. He believed Fernando a sincere friend of Spain, and that the designs of his brother extended only to the exclusion of Catholicism. He reported the surrender of sixty-eight captives, by the Súlúan rájá, and pressed the request that the sultan, or at least his suite, be suffered to return to their country.

Unhappily the favorable feelings of Favean toward Súlú, became known at Zamboangan, on his return there, and no effort was spared to ruin his credit with Arandia. These efforts were so far successful as to procure his recall to Manila, whence he was remanded under arrest to Mexico.

These reports were considered at a junta held at Manila, April 9th, 1755, whereat it was determined, that the princes should be freely restored, don Fernando and his son only remaining, until the exchange of further ratifications. In accordance with this decision, four vessels were prepared, in which the released Súlúans, 134 in

* Spain has since furnished large quantities of quicksilver to China, and some small parcels have been received from Austria The rise in the European value has again checked this branch of trade, and within the last few years, the article might, at one time, have been exported profitably, to Mexico and S. America

number, sailed on the 28th of April. They, and the envoy who accompanied them, were kindly welcomed, and on the return of the latter, he was again made the bearer of a pressing appeal for the sultan's release, which can hardly have come from a usurper pleading in favor of his supplanted rival.

Our authority does not supply the remainder of the unfortunate Alimudin's history. It seems, however, that the crisis of piratical irruption passed with the year 1744, and though some districts continued to be the mark of these attacks, and one plundering crew ventured as far north as Lubat, yet on the whole, the colony never again suffered under so cruel a series of depredations. In the report on southern affairs made to his majesty in 1755, Arandia still distrusted the sincerity of Bantilan. Without justifying the seizure of Alimudin, he fails to pronounce upon the authors of that outrage, the condemnation they merited. He described Súlú as owing its chief importance to the valor of its people and their wealth, acquired in piracy. He believed them able, along with their allies, to ravage the southern islands, while expeditions of mere retaliatory incursion against them, or anything short of the overthrow of the whole Mohammedan power in the Archipelago, seemed ineffectual to overcome them. He concluded, (if we understand his obscure inferences,) that retaliation should be forborne, all possible defensive preparations made, and no efforts spared to draw out the rulers of Súlú, and detach them from the Mohammedan interest. Perhaps the negotiation now opened with Jampsa, rája of Mindanao, was a part of this policy, though it seems to have resulted chiefly in mutual recriminations. A truce was, however, agreed to, although it was the opinion of a strong party at Manila that these intervals were used in preparations for new hostilities; and that it was impolitic to grant them. Good use of the return of peace was made on the Spanish side, in recalling the disheartened and scattered natives to their homes, giving them the means of defense, relieving them for a time from tribute, and teaching them that a great part of their sufferings arose from their voluntary exposure, apart from the larger pueblos, for the sake of escaping the restraints of law and morality.

Two leading objects now remained, to engage Arandia's attention; the restoration of the fallen commerce, and the regulation of the disordered revenues of the colony. Before he left Spain, and even after his arrival in Mexico, he had heard extravagant accounts of the wealth of the merchants of Manila. He saw, however, before he left Acapulco, that the buyers of New Spain no longer paid excessive

prices. On reaching his government, he found the colonial traders 'in tears,' disheartened by a long succession of losses. Their arrears to the 'obras pias' dated as far back as 1724, when the respondentia premiums were at 40 per cent. and had now accumulated to $300,000. The capture of the Cobadonga, the long suspension which followed, the fate of the Pilar, &c., &c., had contributed to bring on a state of general insolvency. Even the last galleon, without the help of any disaster, had lost 20 per cent. on her investment, and the shippers were now reluctant to adventure more, at 20 per cent. premiums. It was true the galleons continued to bring back their million, but it was because they had carried out nearly as much in their outward investment. In proof of these facts, and to silence the arguments of the Spanish party, the Manila merchants engaged to ship $1,000,000 to Acapulco, consigned to the agents of Cadiz, on condition that 35 per cent. profits, ($350,000,) were returned to them. Arandia saw that there was much truth in these statements; that the Spaniard unfit for labor in the climate of the Philippines, looked to trade as his only resource, and that, in short a flourishing commerce was essential to the welfare of the colony. The result of these considerations, was a memorial to his majesty, recommending that the annual shipments be raised to $1,500,000 (without increase of the duties), and be made free to every body. The services of the colony, its critical state, &c., were pleaded anew in this memorial. Some of its many suggestions seem to have been adopted afterwards, but no material change came in to relieve and build up the colony.

While waiting permission to effect more important changes, the governor applied himself to such mercantile reforms as came within his own authority. Among the abuses he sought to check, were such as filling the water-casks, &c., of the galleon with goods, which of course, paid neither freight nor duties. The ship itself was every year so stripped of everything portable, that each new departure made a complete outfit necessary. These reforms were approved at home, but we are left free to presume, that the system which created such abuses, did not fail to reproduce them.

In some other of his plans for the regulation of trade, Arandia was not at all successful. The abuses or frauds which prevailed in the sorting and packing of goods for the Acapulco market, attracted his notice, and he sought to repress them, by fines and forfeitures. The new law became so onerous, however, in the hands of its ministers, that the governor was obliged to reprimand them and repeal it. The same fate attended an order for the more complete manifest-

ing of the cargoes of the Chinese junks on their arrival at Manila. The opposition of the Chinese owners and supercargoes soon reduced the command to a nullity.

But the favorite plan of Arandia at this time, was the formation of a company which should benefit the capital by transferring the profits of the retail trade of the colony from the Chinese to the Spaniards and mestizos. To gain this end, he instituted an association, whose funds were to be employed in furnishing shops, at wholesale prices, and whose sales, being made at a uniform advance of 30 per cent., would gave eight per cent. to the crown, 10 per cent. to the shareholders, and 12 per cent. for the payment of salaries, &c. The private capital of Manila being unequal to this new call, Arandia repaired to the "obras pias," and with a loan from them of $130,000, at 5 per cent., the shops of the company were soon tolerably furnished. The citizens were called on to patronize the shops, where warranted goods were to be had at uniform prices, and whereby twenty-one indigent, but deserving, families were to be supported. The company soon found itself embarrassed by the quantity of clipped coin then in circulation, and its difficulties increasing, as it went on, from other quarters, the governor was glad to wind up its affairs at the close of the just year, just saving the original capital.

While we are upon these commercial details, it may be worth while to notice the still more unfortunate result of a project for ship-building on the banks of the Meinam. The agent of the association formed for this purpose had sailed from Siam as early as 1725, carrying with him $30,000, a sum said to be sufficient to equip a galleon. He was kindly received by the Siamese king, and the vicar apostolic, having blessed the newly-laid keel, the work went on prosperously, under the shadow of the cross and the national colors. Before the ship was built, the agent's money ran short, and the king generously helped him out with a loan of $12,000, without interest. Once completed, at the cost of $44,000, the unfortunate vessel began to be the sport of disasters. Twice driven to Macao, and once to Batavia, and everywhere requiring expensive repairs, she at last came into the hands of her owners, at a total cost of $91,000; even then she was pronounced unseaworthy, and condemned and sold for $10,000. The unfortunate shareholders were of course called on to repay the loan taken from the king of Siam, and the Spanish government was so annoyed by the result of the experiment, that it decreed, that no galleons should be built, except within the dock-yards of the colony.

The second branch of Arandia's cares respected the disordered finances of the colony. From his reports on this subject, it appeared that the royal subsidy of $250,000 per annum had been assigned to the Philippines out of the Mexican revenues in 1665, and had been paid down to the time of governor Crusat of economic memory. By his recommendation, $170,000 had then been discounted, and these clippings had been repeated from time to time, until in Arandia's day, the amount actually received was only $74,000. He stated the ordinary revenues to be $606,000, and the expenses $696,000, leaving an annual deficit of $90,000. The heavy drafts on the treasury for southern operations, the losses entailed by the expulsion of the Chinese, by volcanic eruptions, &c., were represented, and the restoration of the annual subsidy to its original sum, intreated.

It only remains for us to add a few scattered anecdotes of Arandia's administration. One of these, respecting the mortality on board the Trinidad galleon, on her voyage to Acapulco in 1755, is honorable to the governor's humanity. It appeared from the inquiry instituted at Manila, that the crowded state of the ships, and the insufficient food and clothing of the Indian crews, usually resulted in many deaths, whenever, as in this case, the passage lasted six or seven months, and was made beyond 40° north latitude. Measures were immediately taken to run the courses on a more southern line, and prevent the recurrence of the same calamity.

In the course of these annals, repeated reference is made to efforts on the part of one order of Catholic missionaries, to effect exchanges or transfers of the districts assigned them with another order. Thus the Jesuits endeavored again and again to dispossess the Recollect fathers of the province of Caraga. When Arandia assumed the administration, he espoused the Jesuit side, and after a long negotiation, compelled the Recollects to cede the province in question to their covetous rivals. These forced transfers afterward came before the home government, and the king reverting to the old rule, that where one order had entered, another should not follow to molest or expel, annulled the transfer, and restored to the Recollects their vacated parishes.

In these contests between rival orders, the natives are represented as adhering generally to their spiritual teachers. An opposite instance of aversion occurs, however, in the case of the people of Bohol, who revolted to the number of several thousands on the refusal of a Catholic priest to inter their dead, except on payment of certain burial charges. For many years, the rebel Dagoboy remained un-

softened, at the head of his eighteen villages, and though some outward submission afterward took place, it scarcely affected their real independence.

A reference made at this time to the results of certain attempts to draw out the mineral wealth of Luzon, supplies an illustration of the difficulties under which the colonial enterprise still labored. Some veins of gold being found in the town of Paracale in the province of Camarines, permission to work them was asked and granted, under the usual formalities. The adventurers proceeded to work five veins, which were said to be tolerably productive, but the aversion of the natives to a new mode of labor, and other local difficulties intervening, the whole enterprise was abandoned.

A second adventurer, who had opened an iron mine in the town of Boso, obtained permission to import a number of workmen from China, and so placed himself above native prejudices. The Chinese were brought to the spot, and the ore found to yield 75 per cent. of pure metal. But the governor now discovered that the use of infidel Chinese in mining was contrary to law, and the adventurer was required to reconvey them to China. His mines too were then abandoned.

One other measure of Arandia's perhaps merits notice, as illustrating the low state of security in the colony, viz., the order forbidding the use of firearms to the Indians under severe penalties. It is further said that a commission for the apprehension of robbers was instituted under his authority, and that by these means, several bands of miscreants, fugitives from justice, &c., were broken up.

The closing pages of the fourteenth and last volume of our authority are filled with the details of expeditions for the reduction of the Ygorrotes, a wild tribe, inhabiting the sierras on the borders of Pangasinan and Ylocos. After summoning these poor villagers to homage and baptism, 2000 men were marched upon those who adhered to barbarism and infidelity. Some stand was made against the invasion by these simple men, but, if the destruction of their chief villages, and the driving back their frontier settlements to the higher ridges were the measure of success, the enterprise was successful.

The unfinished way, in which the 'Historia de Philippinas' here terminates, leaves us to infer, that its continuation was intended. Ample materials for the completion of the work undoubtedly exist in the monastic and other archives of Manila. We cannot but hope that the long abandoned task of the P. Juan de la Conception will erelong be resumed by some more compact and discriminating writer.

The 'Historia,' when thus completed and abridged, will form an appropriate introduction to a new work — much wanted by the student of Eastern Asia — on 'the present state of the Philippine Islands.'

For the sake of chronological satisfaction, we subjoin, at the close of this sketch, a few dates of principal importance in the subsequent annals of the colony.

The governor Arandia died in May 1759, leaving the administration in the hands of don Manuel Roxo, at that time archbishop of Manila. Three years after, war broke out between Spain and England, and before the Philippine authorities were aware of the declaration of hostilities, a British armament anchored before the city of Manila. The invading force landed on the 23d September (1762), and after several sharp actions, the city capitulated on the 6th Oct. This surrender did not, however, secure quiet submission of the islands to the representatives of the E. I. Company. A strong force was soon organized in the interior, under Spanish officers, and when the news of peace arrived, in June 1764, the British posts had already been driven in, and their authority circumscribed to the immediate vicinity of the capital. On the 31st March, 1764, the islands reverted to the Spanish crown, and the British force lessened by sickness and casualty to the extent of 1000 men, retired from Manila. 'While they were in possession — says the English narrator — they were cut off from every part of the country their army and navy did not overawe; it is melancholy to read the official papers and proclamations issued at the time; while the details of murder and desolation which took place in the interior from the moment the old administration was shaken, excite horror.'

The unfortunate archbishop having died during the occupation, a new governor succeeded till 1770, when Anda, the brave antagonist of the British, was rewarded with the administration of the colony. Under his government and that of his successor, Manila was made the comparatively strong capital we now see it, while various plans for colonial amelioration were zealously prosecuted.

The old system of royal government continued down to 1812, when the colonies of Spain were recognized under the constitution, as integral parts of the empire; and in the language of count Toreno, "the deputies from Peru were seated by the side of those from Estremadura, and near those from Catalonia, were seen the representatives of the Philippine islands." When the constitution was subverted in 1814, and again for a time restored in 1820, the Philippines followed

an easy accommodation, the fluctuating policy of the mother country. The native was, on both these occasions, too little while in possession of political rights, to learn their value. He wore with some bashful reluctance the honors thus thrust upon him, and at the first call of reviving royalism, cheerfully resigned them. It would be a wide deviation from the design of this sketch, to turn from the past to the future, or to make one effort to draw the veil which covers the destiny of this colony, which hides the part one day to be assigned in history to the empire of the Philippines.

ART. III. *A Budhistic Stratagem, communicated by a literary gentleman in Peking to his friends in Canton, July,* 1839.

[A friend has kindly handed us the following story for publication. Like thousands of others, often reported and believed here, it shows how much darkness rests on the minds of those, who by their rank and learning ought to be the patterns and guides of the people. The gentleman who relates the story is of the rank *keu jin*, corresponding to the degree of A. M.]

"ON the 23d of the 3d month (May 6th), of the present year, near Peking in the department of Shunteën, and upon Mt. Teënshow there was a dark fog some thousand feet in height, which ascended to the sky. From beneath the mountain, black and red waters simultaneously gushed forth; and upon it, were droves of foxes and flocks of birds, which pursued both man and beast. The officers and people quaked with fear. This whole district, in open air, with heads uncovered, performed their religious rites. The astronomers predict, that, although the crops may be abundant, it will be difficult to avoid the calamities of fire and flood, and the judgments of war and plague. Only those who work righteousness can escape. The workers of iniquity will with difficulty hide themselves. But observe the eighth, ninth, and tenth months, when this calamitous exhalation will assuredly arise again. Men will then die in countless numbers, and their corpses will promiscuously strew the ground. At midnight the cocks will crow and the dogs bark, and there will be malignant spirits, evil demons, who will call out men by name and they cannot answer. Now to be secured against these dire judgments, upon the first day of every month, with sincere heart, practice abstinence from animal food, wine, &c. Also to transcribe ten copies (of this prediction), and circulate it among men, will avert the calamity from one family. If unable to copy and circulate it thus, it will suffice to disseminate the intelligence orally. Neither copying nor circulating it, but on the contrary if you ridicule and vilify the subject, curses will inevitably

descend upon your person. It is proper also to write with red ink, and upon yellow paper, the following twelve characters, and reverently worshiping, to rest them upon the altar, and thus you will be able to avert the danger from one family. Or to write and bind them about your body, will suffice to avert the calamity from your own person. The goddess of mercy, as appears from casting the *kwa*, also affirms that during the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months, there will be distress among the people. Six or seven out of ten will die: winds and rain will be unseasonable, and judgments and calamities will flow in all directions. On the ninth, nineteenth, and twenty-ninth, of each of these months, at 12 o'clock A.M. you cannot kindle a fire, but the deity Hung Lŏting will descend from heaven, and cruise about among men, observing who is righteous and who is wicked. If able, fast as above directed upon the first day of the month; and you can secure tranquillity and peace, by selecting the twelve characters arranged below; viz. Chen, Chaou, Lae, Kwae, Foo, Kin, Muh, Shwuy, Ho, Too, *Ling*, *Foo*. The last two signify 'an efficacious charm.' The others are new coined characters and enigmatical."

N. B. On the preceding, our correspondent thus remarks: 'The translator, from the serious manner in which this intelligence was first communicated to him, queried if there had not been a volcanic eruption in the vicinity of the dragon's throne, as the phenomena described somewhat resembles one, and the explanations of the astronomers and goddess of mercy, were such as might be expected from an unscientific and idolatrous people. But showing it one day to a Confucianist, he immediately explained it to be one of the stratagems by which the Budhists impose upon the people and promote their tenets. It is a curious document, and illustrates the cunning of the Budhists. 'The moon story' was not more firmly believed by some in the west, than this is by many in the east. The present state and prospects of the country no doubt contributed to its credibility among the people.'

Art. IV. *Proclamation from the Chinese authorities, calling on the people to arm themselves, to resist parties of English landing on their coasts.*

Lin, high imperial commissioner, &c., and Tang, governor of the two Kwang, &c. A proclamation giving clear commands. Whereas the English foreigners, in their overbearing pride and unpracticabili-

ty, have withstood the prohibitory enactments; these depraved individuals who deal in opium, have continued to linger at Macao; the empty store-ships which had surrendered their opium have thus long remained anchored in the outer seas; and newly-arrived merchant vessels, neglecting to surrender what opium they have brought, have assembled at Hongkong and the neighborhood, neither entering Whampoa, nor yet sailing back again; whereby occasion was given in a drunken brawl to cause the death of Lin Weihe, one of the people of the empire: and whereas, we, the commissioner and the governor, having reiteratedly issued commands to the superintendent Elliot, justly to investigate and take proceeding therein, he has still withstood us, has not received our commands, and has sheltered and failed to deliver up the murderer (acts of contumacy, and of stiff-necked presumption that cannot be surpassed):—Therefore, we the commissioner and the governor have given strict commands to the local officers, civil and military, at every point, by land and by water, faithfully to intercept and wholly to cut off from the English all supplies, that they may be made to fear and to pay the tribute of fealty.

We now find that these English foreigners, though they have one and all left Macao, have yet gone to reside on board the foreign ships at Hongkong; and it is to be apprehended, that, in the extremity of their embarrassment, some may land at the outer villages and hamlets along the coast, forcibly to purchase provisions, or plunder the inhabitants. Against chances of this nature, it is most necessary to take all precautionary and preventive measures.

For this reason, we make proclamation to all the gentry and elders, the shopkeepers and inhabitants of the outer villages and hamlets, along the coast, for their full information. Pay you all immediate obedience hereto; assemble yourselves together for consultation; purchase arms and weapons; join together the stoutest of your villagers, and thus be prepared to defend yourselves. If any of the said foreigners be found going on shore to cause trouble, all and every of the people are permitted to fire upon them, to withstand and drive them back, or to make prisoners of them. They assuredly will never be able, few in number, to oppose the many. Even when they land to take water from the springs, stop their progress, and let them not have it in their power to drink. But so long as the said foreigners do not go on shore, you must not presume to go in boats near to their vessels, causing in other ways disturbance, which will surely draw on you severe investigations.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 7th month, 23d day (Aug. 31st, 1839.)

Art. V. *Memorial to the Rt. Hon. Viscount Lord Palmerston from the British merchants.*

"*My Lord*, We, the undersigned British merchants, lately resident in Canton, several of whom had the honor of addressing your lordship on the 24th May on the subject of the outrageous proceedings of the Chinese government in March last, are once more compelled respectfully but most earnestly to address your lordship, in consequence of having been again subjected to further acts of arbitrary violence from the same source.

2d. On completion of the delivery of the opium surrendered by her majesty's superintendent to the imperial commissioner, on behalf of her majesty's government, (particulars of which have been laid before your lordship,) your memorialists retired from Canton to Macao, in obedience to the injunctions of her majesty's superintendent, in the hope of being allowed to remain peaceably in that settlement, under protection of the Portuguese flag, until otherwise arranged by the authority of her majesty's government.

3d. After a residence of three months in Macao, your memorialists have been compelled suddenly to abandon that place, and seek refuge on board their ships, in consequence of menacing preparations of the imperial commissioner, and edicts ordering the departure of all British subjects on pain of severe punishment: at the same time holding us responsible with our lives for the surrender of an individual to suffer death, in satisfaction of the alleged murder of a native, in an accidental affray with some British and American seamen, a few weeks since at the anchorage of Hongkong.

4th. Her majesty's superintendent has been unable after a careful investigation, according to the forms of British law, to fix such charge of murder on any British subject.

5th. Without any charge whatever against your memorialists, individually or collectively, from the high commissioner, in connection with the ostensible cause of our actual expulsion from Macao, we were first deprived of our servants, and supplies of food; and then compelled to abandon our dwellings, without previous preparation, and in the possession of means barely adequate for the removal of our books, papers, and articles of immediate use and necessity; under circumstances involving much cruel privation to families and invalids.

6th. The governor of Macao was pleased to express his anxiety to afford all aid in his power to the British community; but his excellency did not attempt to conceal from your memorialists the fact of his real inability to give them efficient protection: and they quitted that settlement under a perfect conviction that such a course was imperatively necessary for the general safety.

7th. Your memorialists further beg leave to call to your lordship's serious notice, a case of aggravated outrage committed by some Chinese boats full of armed men, and bearing the flags of mandarins,

upon a British owned passage-boat, containing seven Lascars and an English trader (then in the act of removing with his personal effects from Macao to Hongkong), whom they cruelly mutilated: and after murdering five of the Lascars, and robbing the vessel of much valuable property, set on fire, and then abandoned it: an event, which, although your memorialists cannot consider it to have been committed with the knowledge of the imperial commissioner, yet they can entertain little doubt, that it is mainly attributable to the highly menacing character of some of his late edicts, and to his generally violent bearing towards foreigners, especially British, thus inducing the inferior officers to conceive that any acts of brutal outrage might be perpetrated with impunity.

8th. In the former memorial, an opinion was expressed, that after the violent acts of the high commissioner in March last, the return of British subjects to Canton would be alike dangerous to themselves, to the property of their constituents, and derogatory to the honor of their country; until such time as the power of the British government might convince the Chinese authorities that such outrages would not be endured.

9th. And it was further stated, that such powerful interference could alone prevent the recurrence of similar or more violent proceedings. Your memorialists may respectfully refer your lordship to the facts now detailed in illustration of the justice of that opinion.

10th. It appears unnecessary to add that the circumstance of the British being outside the port instead of in Canton, has merely changed the scene, not the nature, of the commissioner's persecutions: there being every reason to believe that, had we remained in Canton, the plan by which the commissioner succeeded in extorting property to the value of between 2 and 3 millions sterling, would again have been resorted to, for the purpose of endeavoring to enforce the surrender of an innocent men for capital punishment.

(Signed) Dent & Co. Bell & Co. D. & M. Rustomjee & Co. Fox, Rawson & Co. Lindsay & Co. Dirom & Co. Gribble, Hughes & Co. R. Wise, Holliday & Co. Macvicar & Co. Jardine, Matheson & Co. Bomanjee Maneckjee. Framjee Jamsetjee. Cowasjee Shapoorjee Tabac. Jamieson & How. Burjorjee Sorabjee. Hormasjee Framjee. Cowasjee Sapoorjee. Burjorjee Maneckjee. Nesserwanjee Bomanjee. Pestonjee Cowasjee. Cowasjee Pallunjee. Eglinton, Maclean & Co. W. & T. Gemmell & Co. Turner & Co. Cox & Anderson. A. & D. Furdonjee. Daniell & Co.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences. Visit of commissioner Lin to Macao; edict to the pilots; affair at Kowlung; the hoppo of Canton visits Macao; a visit to Chunhow; intention of blockading the port; British vessels in the opium trade required to leave Hongkong and the coast; a Spanish ship burnt by the Chinese; blockade suspended; captain Elliot holds an*

interview in Macao with the Chinese authorities; negotiations; shipping; hospitals.

EARLY in the morning of the 3d instant, a company of Portuguese troops, with a band of music, proceeded to the Barrier, the boundary of Portuguese jurisdiction on the northeast. Soon after sunrise, a long procession was seen moving from *Tseenshan;* it entered the Barrier at 8 o'clock; and, joined by the Portuguese escort, proceeded to the temple *Leenfung*, just north of the hill beyond the village of Mongha. The procession, as it proceeded from the Barrier and entered the spacious court-yard in front of the temple, presented an interesting spectacle. The morning was clear; and the place of rendezvous, under the brow of the hill, was cool. Crowds of spectators had assembled around the yard without, while within, the procurador, the sub-prefect, and the magistrate of Macao, with a deputy from the commissioner, were in waiting. Also some presents,—consisting of silver, silk, teas, pigs, and bullocks with their horns decorated with scarlet ribbands,—were arranged before the middle door of the temple. The procession, extending some eighty rods in length, consisted of about two hundred soldiers, all moving in double file. Very little order was apparent either in their line of march or manœuvers. An officer on horseback came first; then bearers of gongs and flags followed, with a division of Chinese troops, preceding the commissioner's sedan, borne by eight Chinese and attended by a Portuguese guard of honor. Next came a small division of native troops, preceding his excellency, governor Tang, who was followed by other officers and troops. Their excellencies, on arriving, were received by the officers in waiting, and conducted into the temple, where refreshments were provided, and a conference held with the procurador. The Chinese troops seem to have been selected, for the occasion, in small detatchments of twenty or thirty, from different regiments, each detachment having a different uniform and banner. All were armed; some with bows and arrows; some with spears and pikes; others with swords and halberds; and others with matchlocks and blunderbusses. Many of them were stout and ablebodied men; and their uniforms and accoutrements were not ill-looking, though they would match very well with those of Europeans in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese troops and band appeared to good advantage — the better perhaps for being viewed in contrast with the "celestials."

The interview with the procurador lasted nearly half an hour; he was seated a little to the left and almost in front of the commissioner, the interpreter (a Portuguese) standing between them. At nine o'clock, the procession again set forward; and, passing along close to the Praya Patanes, through the Chinese village of the same name, entered the gate near the church of S. Antonio, under a salute from the guns on the Monte. From S. Antonio, it proceeded to the long street near the inner harbor; thence, passing the tsotang's office, and the Chinese custom-house, it moved on near the church, of S. Joseph and S. Lawrence to the temple near the Bar fort; from thence, after a short halt, it returned, passing again near the S. Lawrence, down the lane, along the whole length of the Praya Grande, to the gate of S. Lazarus or Campo; thence entering the Rua de Hospital, it passed round close under the Monte, and moved out of town through the gate of S. Antonio, under a salute of twenty-one guns, the same as were given on entering. During this long march, the troops suffered much from the excessive heat, but seemed pleased with their service. The Chinese inhabitants had in several places erected triumphal arches, tastefully adorned with festoons of silk and laudatory scrolls; and when his excellency was about to pass the doors of their houses and shops, they set out tables decorated with vases of flowers, &c., "in order to manifest," in the words of a native spectator,

"their profound gratitude for his coming to save them from a deadly vice, and for removing from them a dire calamity, by the destruction and severe interdiction of opium."

The following edict to the Chinese pilots was issued by their excellencies, the commissioner and governor, immediately after the arrival of the Volage.

"It appears that whenever a foreign ship of war arrives in the waters of Kwangtung, the channels of the inner passages being very devious, the depths of the water not being uniform, and she not accustomed to navigate there, she durst not alone lightly sail in: but by means of traitorous pilots and fishermen and boatmen, who covetous of her large gifts and compensation secretly conduct her in, she covertly reaches the inner waters. Traitors like these are excessively wicked. Moreover, we have written to the sub-prefect of Macao, commanding him to give strict orders to all the pilots in accordance with this, that they do not conduct any in. To all the people of the fishing and every other kind of boats, that they may obey this strict interdict, it is published at every landing-place and harbor, that they may all fully understand it. If there are any who, under pretense of receiving wages on board of these ships, should secretly act as pilots, then at once the naval and military officers will closely examine and ascertain in all parts who they are, and taking these pilots will instantly decapitate them, and exhibit their heads at all the landing-places. Whoever shall sell provisions to them shall be most severaly dealt with, without any chance of compromising the sentence. Now let all you people of the boats be careful and preserve your lives by obedience, and implicitly observe these injunctions. A special edict." August 31st, 1839.

Of the affair at Kowlung, on the 4th instant, the reports are so contradictory, that we are unable to ascertain the real facts with any degree of certainty, beyond these, that the firing commenced about 2 o'clock and continued till night, two small boats engaging on one side, and three junks and a small fort on the other; it was occasioned immediately by the long denial of provisions. The following proclamation was addressed on the 6th, to the foreign merchant vessels concerning it.

"Lin, high imperial commissioner, &c., and Tang, governor of the two Kwang, &c., for the purpose of giving clear commands to the foreign merchant vessels, that they may seek to escape misfortune.

"The English foreigner Elliot having in repeated instances withstood and opposed the laws,—having concealed and failed to deliver up a murderer,—having prevented the merchant vessels from entering the port,—having ruled and directed extensive sales of opium,—the charge of crime against him is most clearly established, as by our reiterated proclamations and clear commands we have already shown.

"Now on the 27th day of the 7th month (4th September), he had the daring presumption to send a number of vessels of various sizes to Kowlung, and directed them to fire upon and attack the naval cruizers; from noon till night, they had several encounters, and wounds were inflicted on the governmental soldiery. In this, since he has come forward to seek a quarrel, we, the commissioner and the governor, cannot but command the assembling of the powerful companies of the army and navy from the various regiments and squadrons, that they may combine in an attack of extirpation, and place his life in our hands. Let it be asked, through the foreign soldiers be numerous, can they amount to one ten-thousandth part of ours? Though the foreign guns be allowed to be powerful and effective, can their ammunition be employed for any long period without being expended? If they venture to enter the port, there will be a moment's blaze, and they will be turned to cinders. If they dare to go on shore, it is permitted to all the people to seize and kill them. How can the said foreigners remain unawed?

"Do but consider, all you who have brought commodities hither, that the object of your coming is trade Already, by Elliot's hindrance of your entering the port, your goods must have suffered from mold and decay, and great must have been the loss upon the outlay. And now, if you attend to him and follow him in perverse resistance, the gems and the common pebbles [that is, good and the bad] will be consumed together. It will be impossible to turn aside to show indulgence. Let all then speedily separate themselves, and not incur cause for future repentance. A special proclamation."

The hoppo of Canton entered Macao, under a salute from the Monte, on the 5th, and left the town on the 8th, with the same public honors. His object, it is said, was to make an arrangement with the Portuguese authorities for the reöpening of the trade between Macao and the provincial city, which for several months has been interrupted. Six chop-boats have since arrived from Canton, for the transmission of cargo.

On the 10th, one of the foreign residents (Mr. Bridgman), by request from the imperial commissioner, attended by three linguists with a passport, proceeded in a native boat to Chunhow, where, on the following day, he had an interview with a *weiyuen*, a Chinese officer deputed for that purpose direct from his excellency. Chunhow,—memorable for the destruction of opium there last summer,—is situated a mile or two east of the Bogue. Besides the village on the creek, near where the opium was destroyed, there is a small town just inland, behind the hills, which is the residence of the admiral, and the temporary abode of the commissioner. A part of the town is walled, forming a strong castle. The interview was held in an academical hall, with closed doors,—and is generally understood to have had special and sole reference to the difficulties pending between the Chinese and English authorities. Mr. B. returned on the 12th.

Two public notices, of a highly interesting character, have appeared bearing date September 11th, 1839. To what consequences they will lead, time will show. They are subjoined.

OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE.

The high commissioner and the governor of these provinces having publicly forbidden the regular supplies of food to her majesty's subjects, having commanded the people to fire upon and seize them whenever they go on shore to purchase provisions: and certain of her majesty's subjects having been actually cut off: Notice is hereby given that it is my intention, at the requisition of the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, to establish a blockade of the river and port of Canton, and notice is hereby further given that none other than vessels actually within the port, or foreign vessels entering within six days from the date hereof, will be allowed free egress till the blockade be declared raised. Notice of the blockading force will be hereafter promulgated.

Given under my hand on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor in Hongkong bay, off the port of Canton, this 11th day of September, 1839.

(Signed) H. SMITH, Captain of her Britannic majesty's ship Volage.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

To commanders of all British vessels, and other her majesty's subjects.

Ship Fort William, Hongkong, 11th September, 1839.

Amongst the pretexts put forward by the commissioner for the vindication of his measures of dark and undistinguishing violence, against all her majesty's subjects in China, men, women and children, is the declaration that some of them are actually engaged in the illicit traffic of opium at this anchorage. The chief superintendent, on his part, considering it his duty to leave no just room for the inference that her majesty's flag is flying in countenance or protection of persons engaged in a trade declared to be lawless by the

government of this country, (to the great aggravation of the risks of the ships detained till the lawful trade can be conducted on a safe and honorable footing,) has now to require all commanders of ships, not having opium on board, to repair to this vessel within 48 hours, and make oath to that effect. And moved by the pressing public considerations herein before set forth, the chief superintendent has to require that all British vessels engaged in the traffic of opium, should immediately depart from this harbor and coast.

By order of the chief superintendent, (Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE.

Early in the morning of the 12th, a Spanish ship, the *Bilbaino* from Manila, was seen on fire in the Typa, off Macao. She is supposed to have been mistaken by the Chinese authorities for the opium ship *Tan-sze-no*, (the Virginia), from which opium was delivered to them at Chuenpe last spring. The Virginia sailed from this neighborhood months ago; and it is reported, on the best authority, that the Bilbaino had no connection with the illegal traffic. The captain was on shore; and the officer in command, at the time the Chinese boats came alongside and boarded her, made no resistance, but merely hoisted his colors. The officer and one or more of the men were carried off, and have not yet returned; the remainder of the crew were set on shore. The representations made to the Chinese authorities on this subject have, so far as we can learn, hitherto failed to gain reparation or even credit. We can scarcely doubt but that a case so clear and free from all suspicion, (as every foreigner believes this to be,) will have a reversal, and ample reparation be made. It exhibits, in a striking point of view, the great necessity of a free and better mode of intercourse with this government. With reference to this matter the Portuguese government have issued the following.

Edict.— "The lamentable occurrence having happened that the Chinese cruizes have, early on the morning of the 12th inst., unjustly burned the Spanish brig Bilbaino, then anchored in the Typa, on suspicion of the vessel having opium on board; the loyal Senate do consider it their duty to fit out an armed vessel to cruize in that anchorage as far as the Roads, and by this means to procure: 1st, That vessels of any nation whatsoever anchoring there with opium on board may be taken and confiscated;— 2d. That no other fatal mistake like that of the Spanish brig may happen. It is therefore published that all vessels of whatever nation that may anchor in the above named anchorages on or after the first day of October next with opium on board shall be confiscated." Dated Macao, 14th September, 1839.—Signed, Silveira Pinto, Braga, Silva, Barretto, Lemos, Lima.

A ship's boat, containing a number of English subjects, who were supposed to have been captured by the Chinese, and to whom captain Smith refers in his notice of blockade, being ascertained to have reached its destination safely, and also in consequence of proposed negatiations, captain Smith published a second notice, suspending the blockade. All the American ships had in the meanwhile entered the port. In order to save time, the American merchants petitioned the keunmin foo or sub-prefect for liberty to proceed directly up to the Bogue, and there to procure pilots. Their request was granted. The following is captain Smith's second

OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE.

The safety of certain of her Britannic majesty's subjects supposed to have been cut off by the officers of the Chinese government having been ascertained, and negociations being opened upon the basis of the withdrawal of the proclamations against the lives and liberty of her said majesty's subjects: It is hereby declared that till further notice be given (founded upon the result of such negociations), the blockade notified by me on the 11th instant will not be established, and vessels continuing to enter will be permitted to pass out unobstructed.

Given under my hand on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor in Hongkong bay, off the port of Canton, this sixteenth day of September, 1839.

(Signed) H. SMITH, captain of her Brittanic majesty's ship Volage.

L. S. Certified true copy. EDWARD ELMSLIE, Secretary, &c.

An interview took place, on the 24th, between the sub-prefect of Macao and captain Elliot, at the residence and in the presence of his excellency the Portuguese governor of Macao, captain Elliot having come on shore the preceding day, accompanied by captain Smith of the Volage, who was present at the interview. It is known that communications have passed between the Chinese and British authorities, having reference more or less direct to an amicable arrangement of pending difficulties.

These occurrences, and the allusion to *negotiations*, in captain Smith's second notice, afford reason to expect that the conflicting parties will pause for a while, and allow of the adoption of some measures, temporary no doubt, so that the business of the season may be transacted. Precisely what these measure will be, does not yet appear. It is held to be certain by most persons (though not by all, if a current rumor be not false), that no British ship will enter the Bogue, till after a final settlement. It is very generally believed, too, that the Chinese will not allow British merchants to carry on their trade through Macao—possibly this point may be ceded. It is more probable, however, if an arrangement is made for business, that the ships will have to discharge and take in their cargoes near the Bogue or in some of the adjacent anchorages. These points are, we hear, now under consideration, and have been referred, on the part of the commissioner, to the hoppo and the hong-merchants.

According to the shipping lists, given in the Canton Press of the 28th, the number of vessels in Whampoa is sixteen, viz.

American. Cynthia, Osage, Oneida, Providence, Canton Packet, Lintin, Oscar, Apthorpe. Morea, Talbot, Rose. *Danish.* L'Esperance, Mithras. *Bremen.* Wilhelm Ludwig, George Washington. *Spanish.* Gertrudes.

The number of those at Hongkong and other anchorages is sixty-six, viz:

British. Jane, Lord Amherst, Harrier, Psyche, Hercules, Austen, Jardine, Mermaid, Isabella, Anna, Mithras, Roza, Governor Findlay, Mavis, Pearl, Thistle, Lady Hayes, Syed Khan, Hannah, Carnatic, Mangalore, Copeland, Tory, Edmonstone, John Marsh, John Horton, Lama, Fort William, Cornwallis, Eucles, Cambridge, General Wood, Charlotte, Charles Forbes, Belhaven, Hannah, Slains Castle, Sir C. Malcolm, Vansittart, Sultana, Pekoe. Scaleby Castle. Heroine, Harlequin, Myaram Dyaram, Caledonia, Singapore Packet, Planter, Lambton, Shah Allum, Allalevie, Manly, Cordelia, H. M. S. Volage, Good Success, Castle Huntly, Earl Balcarras, Charles Grant, Lady Nugent, Frederick Huth, Black Joke, Ternate. *American.* Albion, Lion, Levant.

Though the *Hospital* at Canton has not been re-opened since the disturbances in March, the friends of the institution abroad will be glad to know that medical practice among the Chinese in the provincial city is still continued by Dr. Parker. The practice in the *Hospital* at Macao, commenced under the auspicies of the Medical Missionary Society, by Dr. Lockhart July 1st, was discontinued on the 21st ultimo, in consequence of the departure of the British residents from the settlement. In prospect of the protracted interruption of friendly intercourse, between the British and Chinese, Dr. Lockhart sailed on the 7th instant for Batavia, to sojourn and practice temporarily among the Chinese of that place. His return to China, and the resumption of his practice here, may be expected as soon as present disturbances are settled, and there is opened a fair prospect of a safe and unmolested residence. On his return he may expect to find, among the many who will give him a hearty welcome, a new associate, William Beck Diver, M. D., from Philadelphia, who arraived in China on the 27th instant. For the present, and probably for many months to come, Dr. Diver will give his whole attention to the study of the Chinese language.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII. — OCTOBER, 1839. — NO

ART. I. *Notice of an embassy sent from three Japanese princes to the pope at Rome in 1582.*

ONE of the most interesting incidents in the history of the Catholic missions to Japan, which has been handed down to us, is the embassy sent from three of the Catholic princes to the pope. The prime mover in this avowal of homage to the holy see was Valegnani, who in 1579 had arrived in Japan in the capacity of visitor-general to all the missions belonging to the company of Jesuits, and who is characterized as "one of the greatest men they had had in the east." Thirty-eight years had elapsed since Xavier first landed at Kagosima, and now, such had been the rapid extension of their spiritual conquests, that Valegnani in virtue of his office having ordered all the Europeans belonging to the Company to report themselves at Coshinotsu in Hiuga, fifty-nine religious, among whom were twenty-three priests, obeyed the summons, still leaving a few at Miako, who could not come. The objects he had in view were, — to examine into the conduct of the missionaries, to settle a few questions which had come up in the management of the missions, and to give the teachers of the new faith such instructions as the exigencies of their situation demanded. What the aggregate number of converts was at this time does not appear, but as an instance of the arduous duties of the missionaries, and a proof of the need of more laborers, it is stated that a single priest had in the course of two years baptized 70,000 persons. The principal counsel which the visitor urged upon their attention at this interview was, "never to forget that they had to deal with a nation, capable no doubt from their character of all that

was heroic in virtue, but from the nature of its government exposed to strange revolutions; that they could reckon only on the present, but still should not cease to labor for the future: it was particularly important that they should use great prudence and dexterity in their intercourse with those who were able to aid or to thwart their ministry, and by this means rather to give solidity to what had already been done, than hastily to lay open fallow ground which they were not yet able to cultivate." He told them "that their object was not to run into martyrdom, but to win souls to Jesus Christ; and that if they flattered themselves so powerful a nation were to be evangelized, it was only to be done by entire subordination, and by a perfect uniformity in the conduct of their ministry." It can hardly be doubted that the observance of advice and rules similar to this was one great secret of the apparent success of the Jesuits, not only in Japan, but in China also.

After concluding the affairs which demanded his attention at this meeting, Valegnani presented himself at the court of the prince of Arima, and by his persuasive arguments induced him to embrace Christianity, and to aid him in establishing a college within his dominions for the instruction of young noblemen in theology and polite literature. He then visited the court of the prince of Bungo, in order to propose the founding of a similar institution in his territories; and both these princes entered into the visitor's designs with much heartiness. "His desire was to multiply these institutions as much as possible, for he was firmly persuaded, that among all the means to glorify God, which had been suggested by the founder of the Company, the erection of seminaries for the instruction of youth was that of which the success was most durable." The opinions of this man on this point are worthy the attention of those who now endeavor to propagate Christianity, and the hold the Jesuits obtained in Japan is to be in a great measure ascribed to their colleges, in which natives were thoroughly instructed in their allegiance to the pope, in the principles of Catholicism, and in obedience to their superiors. After Valegnani had visited the court of the emperor at Miako, he returned to Bungo, with whose prince, joined by the princes of Arima and Omura, he planned an "embassy of obedience to the pope." At this time, (A. D. 1581,) "although there were then in Japan more than fifty Jesuits, each of whom employed many native catechists, they did not more than suffice to administer the sacraments and break the bread of the word to the converts; still less could they instruct the idolaters who were perishing in their sins." One object proposed

by the embassy was, by the éclat attending it, to draw more assistance from Europe; while at the same time it would still more firmly identify those princes who sent it with the cause they had espoused, and make them and their nobility throw the entire weight of their influence into the scale of Christianity. Civan the prince of Bungo had always been favorable to the new cause, having received Xavier with many marks of respect on his first arrival, and assured succeeding missionaries of toleration and safety in his territories. He cherished a great regard for his teacher's memory, after whom he had received the name of François at his baptism, and strictly enjoined it upon his envoy to Rome to procure the canonization of that zealous man. The prince of Arima had but recently received baptism, and both he and the petty prince of Omura were supposed not to be very hearty in their love to the faith, and the visitor procured this public manifestation of their principles, for the purpose of more fully identifying them with it. That a foreigner could, in this open manner, induce three subordinate princes of the country to send an embassy in their own name to the court of Rome indicates how slender was the tie of fealty which bound them to the dairi, and how partially his authority was exercised beyond his own territories. No reference whatever appears to have been made to Miako, nor did that court endeavor to interrupt its progress, or require any explanations from those who sent it.

The name of the envoy on the part of the prince of Bungo was Mancio Ito, a grand-nephew, who at the tender age of sixteen was dispatched on this long journey. An associate was found in Michel de Cingiya, a nephew of the prince of Omura, and cousin to the prince of Arima, who went as their joint representative; he was about the same age as the first, and "had a graciousness and an air of nobility which prepossessed in his favor, and inspired respect." They were accompanied by Julien de Nacaüra, and Martin de Fara, two youths of gentle blood allied to the house of Arima, and "who did honor to those who sent them." The mission was placed under the care of pere Mesquita, the visitor himself being unable to accompany it farther than Goa.

We here introduce the letters sent by the three princes to his holiness, which are extracted entire from Charlevoix, out of whose work we have derived this account; they will exhibit the feelings which actuated these converts in this expression of their homage.

Letter of the prince of Bungo.

"To him who ought to be adored, and who holds the place of the King of heaven, the great and very-holy pope;

"Full of confidence in the grace of the supreme and almighty God, I write to your holiness with all possible submission. The Lord, who governs heaven and earth, who holds under his empire the sun and all the celestial host, has made his brightness to shine upon me, who was plunged in ignorance and enveloped in profound darkness. It is now more than thirty-four years since the sovereign Master of nature, displaying all the treasures of his mercy in favor of the inhabitants of these lands, sent here the fathers of the Company of Jesus, who have sown the seed of the divine word in the kingdoms of Japan; and he has caused of his infinite goodness some to fall into my heart:—a singular favor, for which it becomes me to be beholden, holy father of all the faithful, to the prayers and merits of your holiness. If the wars which I have to sustain, and my age and infirmities had not withheld me, I should have myself visited the holy places where you reside, and rendered in person that obedience which belongs to me; I would have devotedly kissed the feet of your holiness, and put them on my head, and intreated you to make with your sacred hand the august sign of the cross upon my heart. Constrained by these reasons which deprive me of so sweet a consolation, I had designed sending in my place Jerome, my grandson, but as he is too far from my court, and the father-visitor cannot delay his departure, I have substituted his cousin Mancio. I shall be under infinite obligation to your holiness (who holds the place of God on earth), if he will continue to bestow his favor upon me, on all Christians, and on this little part of the flock committed to your care. I have received from the hands of the visitor the relic, which your holiness has honored me, and I have placed it upon my head with all respect. I am at a loss for expressions to convey to you the gratitude which fills me for so precious a gift. I will not lengthen this letter, because the visitor and my embassador will inform your holiness more fully of all that relates to myself and my kingdom. In truth I adore you, most holy father, and while writing this I am seized with a respectful awe.

"Francois, king of Bungo, prostrate at the feet of your holiness.

"January 12th, 1582."

Letter of the king of Arima.

"To the very great and holy lord, whom I adore because he holds on earth the place of God himself.

"Aided by the grace of God, I humbly present this letter to your holiness. For two years, and during lent, in which the pre-

cious passion of our Lord Jesus Christ is celebrated, I was embarrassed with a very troublesome war, and plunged in the darkness of idolatry, when the Father of mercies deigned to illumine me with the sun of justice and truth, and to put me in the path of safety by the ministration of the father-visitor, and others of the Company of Jesus, who, after having preached the word of God in my kingdom, have shed abroad in my heart, and in those of my subjects, divine grace as a heavenly dew, by the virtue of the holy baptism. I return thanks to the Author of all good for so many favors, which fill my soul with a joyfulness far beyond all my expressions; and as your holiness is the pastor of the whole church, I have desired with all the ardor of my soul to go myself and render that submission and humility suitable to the obedience which is due, to kiss your sacred feet and place them upon my head: but my pressing affairs not permitting, I send my cousin-german, Michel de Cingiva, to offer in my stead my filial homage; he will inform you of the sincerity of my intentions, and the designs which I have formed for the glory of God. Therefore I will add nothing more, and close by protesting to your holiness that I adore you with all the submission of a faithful heart, and the most profound veneration.

"Protais, king of Arima, bows below the feet of your holiness.

"January 18th, 1582."

Letter of the prince of Omura.

"With hands raised toward heaven, and sentiments of profound admiration, I adore the most holy pope, who holds the place of God on earth, and humbly present him this letter.

"I take a great liberty, most holy father, in writing to you, but I do so with confidence, assisted by the King of heaven, although my style is rude and unpolished. Since I know that you hold on earth the place of God himself, and that all Christians receive from your holiness those salutary lessons which are necessary to regulate faith and conduct, it was my desire to cross the ocean in order to render my homage in person, to put the sacred feet upon my head, after having respectfully kissed them; but I am unhappily deprived of this pleasure by important affairs which will not allow me to leave my estates. It is not long since the father-visitor of the Jesuits came into these kingdoms of Japan, and now having regulated all things for the good of this church, he returns towards you. I have thought this a favorable occasion, and have sent with him Michel de Cingiva, my nephew, who is ordered to render in my name the submission which

is my duty. A commission of this importance is much beyond his age and strength, but I hope you will do me the favor, most holy father, to receive him indulgently, and permit him to kiss the feet for me and for himself. I desire also, most earnestly, that your holiness would remember me and this little portion of the flock which the great Shepherd has intrusted to you. The visitor and my embassador will inform your holiness of all that concerns my estates and person. I close by offering to you my adorations with fear and respect.

"Barthelemi, prostrate at the feet of your holiness.

"January 20th, 1582."

Charged with these commissions of homage and obedience to the holy see, the party, consisting in all of seven persons, embarked the 20th of February, 1582, at Nagasaki, in a Portuguese ship on their long, and, at that time, perilous, journey. They reached Macao in seventeen days; but, because the season for sailing to the Indies had passed, they were constrained to wait in that port ten months, at the end of which time they reëmbarked in the same vessel that brought them from Japan, and safely reached Malacca on the 27th of January, 1583, after twenty-nine days' passage. The first sight which greeted their eyes was the wreck of a large ship that left Macao in their company, and in which the visitor had been urgently solicited to take passage. Tarrying at Malacca only eight days, they embarked for Goa, and narrowly escaped being shipwrecked in the straits between Ceylon and the mainland, from the pilot mistaking the coast, and after enduring other hardships from sickness and famine, they landed at Cochin the 7th of April, and made their way to Goa by the end of September. Here they were received by Mascaregnas the viceroy with high honors, who ordered the St. Jacques to be put in readiness to carry them to Lisbon; and in the meantime, entertained them as well as possible, until they embarked on the 20th of February, 1584, two years from the time of leaving Japan. They arrived in Lisbon the 10th of August, and were received by Albert, the viceroy of Portugal, with great respect; they remained there twenty-five days, and every day was marked by a fête.

In their progress towards Madrid, they passed through Evora, the residence of the archbishop, and Villaviciosa, where the duke of Braganza resided, in both of which places they were honorably saluted. At Madrid, Philip received them as embassadors from princes, gave them a public audience, and treated them with the same attentions as if they had been deputed solely to visit him. On the 26th of November, when they left for Alicant, on their way to Rome, he gave them

a letter to count de Olivarez, his minister at the Vatican, enjoining him to render them all the services and marks of honor in his power; "for I suspect," he adds, "that on their return into their own country they will laud the treatment which they have received, and this will induce their countrymen to become Christians." From Alicant they passed over to Tuscany, having narrowly escaped falling into the hands of Turkish cruizers, and went to Florence, Milan, and Pisa, in all of which places they were honored with the attention of the highest dignitaries and princes, escorted by troops, welcomed and dismissed by salutes of artillery, and invited to see whatever was curious and wonderful. When they left Florence to go to Sienne, all the nobility of the latter place mounted their horses and proceeded out of the gates to meet them, and two hundred arquebusiers were appointed to escort them into the territories of the holy see. As soon as their arrival in his states was known, the pope sent a troop of light-horse to bring them to Rome, and the nobility also came out of the city to greet them, so that from Viterbe to the capital, the way was filled with people. "More than a thousand gentlemen accompanied them, and all the road from the gate Del Popolo to the house of the Jesuits was crowded with people, who by their acclamations announced their arrival to the whole city." The next day, the 23d of March, was appointed for their entry into the eternal city, which took place from a country-seat belonging to the pope, and which was conducted on a magnificent scale; their escort from thence to the Vatican consisted of a troop of light-horse, the Swiss guard, the officers of the cardinals, the coaches of the French, Spanish, and Venetian ministers, all the Roman nobility on horseback, pages and chamberlains with musicians, and finally the two embassadors from the land of the Rising Sun, mounted and richly dressed in their native costume. "The prince of Fiunga went between two archbishops, the prince of Arima between two bishops, Martin de Fara came after between two titled persons, and pere Mesquita, as interpeter followed behind, as well as a great crowd of cavaliers richly dressed. When they reached the St. Ange bridge, all the cannon of the castle opened, which were answered by the artillery of the Vatican, and a band of all kinds of instruments struck up, and accompanied them to the hall of audience." Scarcely had the aged Gregory XIII. seated himself on his throne, "when the embassadors appeared, each one holding the letter of his prince in his hand, and prostrated themselves at his feet, declaring in their own tongue with a loud and distinct voice that they came from the ends of the world to pay that homage to the vicar of

Jesus Christ, in the name of the princes who sent them, and for themselves, which was their duty." Pere Mesquita translated what they said, and also the contents of the letters; after which the pere Gonzalez pronounced "an oration of obedience" on their behalf; to which M. Antoine Bocapadula replied on behalf of the pope. He stated the pleasure of his holiness to see this manifestation of their zeal, returned thanks to God for the success of the gospel in Japan, and expressed his ardent desire that all kings and princes who reigned, not only in their country but in all parts of the world, would follow their example.

As soon as this reply was finished, they again kissed the feet of the pope; after which the cardinals embraced them, and entered into conversation with them, in which their good sense and wisdom appeared. At last, the pope rising up, pronounced aloud the words of Simeon, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, &c., &c.*, and requested the two embassadors to assist in robing him, and then to lift up the skirts, and thus attend him out of the hall to his own apartments. They were then conducted to a banquet which had been prepared for them, and here their conversation and ready answers highly pleased the pope and all his cardinals. Julien de Nacaüra was so ill during their stay in Rome that he was unable to join in any of the ceremonies and fetes to which his associates were invited, which were so numerous that nearly every day was occupied. They were allowed to kiss all the relics that were stored up in the several churches in the city, while other visitors are hardly permitted to see them; they assisted in all the rites of the church during lent, holding a conspicuous place near his holiness, and conducting themselves so well that "all admired the gracious manner of these strangers from a country whose usages are so different, in taking part in such new ceremonies." The embassadors from all European powers residing at Rome honored them in the names of their masters, and they were introduced to whatever was worth seeing.

On the 10th of April, 1585, pope Gregory XIII. died, the joy of receiving these "children of the church," having probably hastened his death; but before his decease, he assigned to the seminary of Valegnani in Arima, a revenue of 40,000 crowns. His successor, Sixtus V. called the princes in to assist at his coronation, and afterwards confirmed the acts of his predecessor. He issued briefs in answer to each of the letters, containing much good advice, and accompanied them with pieces of the true cross, richly set in a cross of gold. He moreover knighted them all in public assembly, investing

them with the sword, spurs, and girdle of the "Chevaliers aux eperons dorez," by the hands of the French and Venetian ministers. At last, having received an audience of leave, they departed from Rome on the 3d of July, "leaving the whole city charmed with their modesty, graciousness, and wit, but especially with their piety, of which they gave such undoubted proofs that they were regarded as saints, and well sustained the reputation that had for a long time been conceived of the high-toned virtue of the Japanese Christians." Whatever may have been the ideas of the travelers, it is quite certain from the accounts given that nothing was left undone by the court of St. Peter to impress upon them the magnificence, power, and regard of the church they had adopted.

From Rome they went to Spoletto, where they were received by cardinal Spinola, uncle of Charles Spinola, who afterwards suffered martyrdom in Japan. At Loretto, Bologna, and Ferrara, the whole population turned out to meet them; at the last place, Nacaüra again fell sick. At Venice, the doge received them in full senate, and the princes gave him in return a full Japanese costume; at the festival of the apparition of St. Mark, among other curious things carried in procession, "the ambassadors were surprized to see themselves exhibited in the act of rendering homage to the pontiff." Orders were given to have their portraits taken and placed among those of the doges; and valuable presents were heaped upon them. At Mantua, the son of the duke came out of the city with an escort of fifty chariots, and a hundred pieces of cannon saluted them as they entered the gates. Among other ceremonies, the two embassadors were chosen to hold the font during the baptism of a Jewish rabbin; and a great bell in the abbey of St. Benedict sounded, which was only struck when kings came. Here also they left with the duke a rich Japanese suits and two swords, "very precious." At Milan, troops of light horse received them on the boundaries, and at the gate of the city, the governor waited for them, attended by more than five hundred chevaliers; the streets of the city were hung with tapestry in honor of their arrival.

From Milan, they went to Genoa, where they were received by four of the senators, and a number of the nobility at the distance of four miles from the city, who conducted them through the streets amid the acclamations of the people. The wind being favorable, they went on board the vessel prepared for them (having an opportunity only to pay their respects to the doge), which had been made ready at the expense of the senate. They reached Barcelona the 17th of

August, where they were obliged to remain a month on account of the repeated illness of Nacaiira. When he had sufficiently recovered, the party proceeded to Mongon to meet king Philip, who gave them a gracious audience, and soon after sent orders to Lisbon to equip the best vessel in port to convey them back to Goa. After remaining at court a short time, they took their departure for Lisbon, passing through Sarragossa, to visit its university, and through Evora to make a parting call upon the duke of Braganza; and reached the end of their European travels in the spring of 1586. They embarked on the 13th of April, in company with seventeen Jesuits, whom they had obtained from the pope and the king of Spain for the mission in Japan, and without meeting any important occurrences, except the long delays incident to voyages in those days, they happily reached Nagasaki the 21st of July, 1590, having been absent more than eight years. Pere Valegnani returned with them from India in the capacity of embassador to the emperor from the viceroy at Goa. During their long absence, many important events had taken place; the old king of Bungo and the prince of Omura were both dead, and their successors not so well disposed to Catholicism; and other changes had transpired, which the embassadors were as desirous to hear, as their friends were eager to listen to the recital of their reception in Europe, and all that had happened to them. When the visitor had his audience with the emperor, the embassadors were presented at the same time, dressed in the same velvet robes they wore when waiting on the pope; and the distinction with which they had been received by the pope, the king of Spain, and the viceroy at Goa, had great influence on his mind, and predisposed him to favor the cause of Catholicism. In truth, at no time, does the new faith appear to have been higher in the estimation of the Japanese rulers than soon after the return of the embassy, and while controled by the discreet Valegnani. The four young travelers and embassadors were soon after their return admitted into the Company of the Jesuits, after which we hear no more of them.

W.

ART. II. *Tour in Borneo, from Sambas through Montrado to Pontianak, and the adjacent settlements of Chinese and Dayaks, during the autumn of* 1838. By E. DOTY, and W. J. POHLMAN.

WE embarked at Singapore, Oct. 15th, on board the native schooner Anambas, bound to Sambas, were eleven days in reaching the mouth of the river, and four days more in arriving at the town, a distance of only thirty miles. The crew were Malays, besides whom were a motley mass of passengers, Chinese, Bugis, Javanese, natives of the Coromandel coast, &c., amounting in all to sixty-three individuals. All these lived upon deck, excepting a few of the more prominent characters, who occupied that part of the small cabin, about one half, not appropriated to our use. Among them were many nominal, and some six or eight Mohammedans of the strictest sect. These were intelligent men, and apparently honest and sincere followers of the false prophet, and very regular and devout in their daily prayers and prostrations. Their devotions were performed on the open deck in the midst of crowds, they speaking aloud in the Arabic language, and turning their faces towards Mecca at the setting sun. Could their conduct have been witnessed by many Christians, we fear they would have been put to the blush.

On arriving at the mouth of the Sambas river, the current was so strong against us that we were obliged to come to anchor. This gave us an opportunity of going on shore to visit the Chinese village of Pumangkat, which is situated on the south side of the river, nearly a mile up a small stream navigable for little boats. Between it and the sea is a towering, conical mountain, whose lofty peak seems almost to hang over the village, while all around, excepting here and there small portions of ground appropriated to agriculture, is an impenetrable jungle and marsh. Pumangkat is literally a *hidden* village. The approach to it is so completely concealed by dense jungle that the outlet of the narrow stream can scarcely be discovered until in it, and even then, unless forewarned of the fact, no person would suppose himself near any human habitations, much less in the vicinity of a large village. It consists of a single street, a quarter of a mile long, and extending from the little river, nearly to the base of the mountain, where is the residence of the *kungse*, or headman. There are also some cottages of respectable appearance scattered along the foot of the mountain, which we took to be the dwellings of the prin

cipal cultivators of the soil. The materials of the buildings are of the lightest and most unsubstantial kind, chiefly atap and kajang.

We paid our respects to the headman, who received us with politeness, though we thought we observed feelings of not the most perfect cordiality. He spoke Malay badly, and the Fuhkeën dialect of the Chinese not at all. One of his attendants spoke a little Fuhkeën. From him, and from another man whom we met in the street, and who spoke both better Malay and Fuhkeën, we gathered the following items of information, viz: that Pumangkat was founded about nine years since; that most of the inhabitants speak the Khĕh dialect; that many Hok-lo men are intermingled with them; that the number of the inhabitants somewhat exceeds 1000; that some attention is paid to the education of their children; that there are some readers among the adults; and that the principal article of produce is rice, which is consumed by the growers. The inhabitants have every appearance of being very poor.

The Sambas river is a noble stream, nearly a mile wide, sufficiently deep for vessels of large burden; its borders are skirted with an unbroken jungle and forest, without the appearance of a single habitation or trace of human culture to enliven the sombre scene. Occasionally there may be seen the outlet of a small tributary stream, which drains the extensive marsh of its superfluous waters. On some of these rivulets are groups of Malays, who have found an elevation of ground sufficiently dry to erect rude dwellings and cultivate fruit and rice, which are their only means of support. Several small boats from these villages visited us to sell their articles of produce. About twenty miles from the sea, the river divides into two branches, the southern of which is called Little Sambas river, and leads to the town.

On Tuesday, Oct. 30th, we arrived at Sambas, and were kindly received by the Dutch resident, Mr. Bloem. He not only showed himself favorable to our object, but seemed disposed to assist us by all the means in his power. At his invitation, we accompanied him to see the sultan, and were received in a friendly and social manner. We made known to him the object of our visit, and our future plans, requesting at the same time a guide to accompany us on our tour.

The situation of Sambas is low and marshy. The river on both sides is lined with a single tier of houses, which can be reached only by rowing from one to another in small boats. Direct intercourse among the inhabitants must therefore of necessity be attended with no little difficulty. The Chinese kampong is a single street on the south

side of the river. The population is about 150, most of whom speak the Khĕh dialect, and are petty shopkeepers. Among them we noticed many inveterate opium smokers. Most of the inhabitants are Malays. A small kampong of Bugis and a few Javanese comprise the remainder. The number of Malays, Bugis, &c., is variously estimated, at from 3000 to 5000; the former is probably nearest the truth. In consequence of information obtained from the resident and natives, as regards facilities for traveling, we concluded to perform the whole tour to Pontianak on foot. It had been our purpose to hire a boat to carry us to Siukawang, which is the sea-port nearest to Montrado, and thence to commence walking. The necessary arrangements, of obtaining coolies, provisions, &c., being made, we determined to leave Sambas on the 6th of Nov. The sultan sent us two guides, instead of one, and the resident kindly furnished us with letters of introduction to the various kungse, through whose jurisdictions we expected to pass.

We left Sambas at half past 7 o'clock, A. M. in a small boat, and proceeded down the river to Sa-batu, a distance of ten miles. Here we took a small river on our left, which winds its course through scenes of the wildest aspect. Here and there are scattered a few Malayan huts, but generally nothing is presented to the eye, but one vast marsh, covered with impenetrable jungle. At half-past eleven, we landed in a place newly cleared, and which is now for the first time planted with rice and corn. Here we ascertained that we were but a short distance from a village of Dayaks, and we soon had an opportunity of learning that the Dayaks are held in a state of servile subjection by the Malays. We had scarcely left the boat, before our guides and coolies began to consult about calling on the Dayaks to carry our luggage. To this we objected, as we had engaged a number of men for this express purpose. Our remonstrance, however, was in vain. We were told that such was the order of the sultan, and therefore *right*. In truth the Malays regard the Dayaks as an inferior race, ordering them about, and using them as long as they please. Besides this, a yearly tax of ten rupees, or nearly four dollars, is demanded from each family, by the sultan. This exaction often takes all the poor Dayak is worth, but as far as it is in their power, it is said to be cheerfully paid. The fact is, that the mild and peaceful character of the Dayaks makes them contented anywhere, and under any tribute, however oppressive and unjustly levied. After an impatient delay of more than two hours, a number of Dayaks came; and, cheerfully shouldering our baggage, led the way.

The path was a track used by the natives. It lay partly through a deep forest, and partly through cleared ground thickly covered with "lalang," or coarse jungle grass. About one hour's walk brought us to the village called Sabatong. The rain rendered it very muddy and difficult traveling. This, together with the slipping bogs and deep marshes of the way, made our first attempts at footing rather a "sorry experiment." Our matresses and other loose baggage became thoroughly soaked, but the trunks containing our clothing and Chinese books for distribution escaped. We were kindly received, and treated with such hospitality as the village afforded. Immediately on our arrival, the headman presented us with some sweet potatoes, eggs, and a fowl. We learned that there was no rice in the kampong, the crops having been cut off by the vermin, as is the case in all the region of Sambas. We therefore gave a small portion of our own stock to the headman, which was thankfully received. This kampong consists of about twenty families. Their houses are elevated upon posts, six or eight feet high, and are built so as to constitute one continuous range, being divided into apartments according to the number of families. In front of this series is a verandah, extending the whole length of the village, and about ten feet wide. This is inclosed in front, but has several doors, opening upon a rudely constructed platform. A log with niches cut into it, or a few poles tied together, serves for steps, by which to ascend and descend. The floors are slats or small poles lashed to cross pieces underneath. The roof is atap, and the sides are enclosed with kajang.

There are five human skulls suspended in the verandah, before the door of the headman. Some of these, he tells us, were cut off by himself, when a young man. At present, they do not cut off heads. The reason they assign is that the sultan does not like the custom, and will not permit it. They speak of the practice with perfect indifference, and say they only cut off the heads of other Dayaks who do the same to them. In disposition they certainly do not appear to be savage, but on the contrary, mild, affable, and disposed to do us any kindness in their power. During the evening, we made known our object, and asked the headman, whether the Dayaks, who live in this region, would send their children to us, provided we opened a school in Sambas to teach them. His reply was, "that he did not know, it must be just as the sultan said." There can be little doubt, should the sultan give his consent, missionary efforts might be carried on among the Dayaks to almost any extent, and under very encouraging circumstances.

Having breakfasted, and made some trifling presents of beads to our kind hosts, we left Sabatong at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 7th. Our path lay through a mountainous region of country,— course east of south. The scenery was exceedingly interesting, alternating from the rugged and apparently inaccessible peaks of a range of mountains lying on our right, to the gently rising hill and occasional extended vale — all a vast jungle or deep forest. Most of the land has been cleared, but now lies a waste. It appears to be a rich soil, and with proper cultivation would sustain an immense population. The Dayaks, however, are no cultivators, but only clearers of the soil. They usually cut down and clear off the timber, plant their rice and corn; and having gathered the crop, they leave one, and seek another place to go through the same routine of labor. The richness of the soil immediately produces a luxurious growth of the useless "lalang," which gives indeed a beautiful appearance to these cultivated hills and vales, but which henceforth become of no service to the original tillers. Hence it is that the Dayaks seldom remain longer than five or six years stationary. After they have thus cleared up all the land for several miles around, they forsake their village, and build again in a newly selected location. To-day we passed several remains of kampongs, which had been thus forsaken. It is said the Chinese sometimes avail themselves of these forsaken lands, and by their superior skill in agriculture, turn them to good profit. In our course we also passed several exhausted gold mines, and three or four now in operation. These mines are generally situated on the declivity of a hill, having the convenience of a stream of water for washing the earth. The soil in which the gold dust is found is a loose yellow loam, near the surface of the earth, the depth varying from two to ten or twelve feet. One company of miners was Dayaks, the rest were Chinese. We have met with only six or eight inhabited dwellings, and these erected for the accommodation of the miners. As soon as a mine is exhausted, they remove to another place.

There are two Chinese villages situated to the right of our way today. The first is Sabawi, which can be reached from Sambas in four or five hours' rowing. The village is said to contain 80 families, and has one school. The second is Seminis, three hours' walk from Sabawi. The population is reckoned at 140 families, and has likewise only one school. The Chinese in these villages are almost wholly engaged in mining.

After a fatiguing walk of about five hours, and crossing several streams, we arrived at our second lodging-place, a Dayak village,

named Medong. This is much larger than the one we have left this morning. It consists of four ranges of dwellings built in a style similar to those at Sabatong. As the village has recently been located here, all the buildings are not yet completed. The inhabitants, however, have cleared a large tract of land, which is now producing a fine crop of rice and Indian corn. The village contains forty or fifty families, and can muster, they say, one hundred good warriors. It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of all,—men, women, and children, as the headman, either is, or feigns to be ignorant on this subject.

The Dayaks of this village still continue the barbarous practice of cutting off heads. They boast of bringing two or three fresh ones every year. In the verandah where we have our lodgings, there are fifteen or twenty, and some suspended immediately over the place assigned us to sleep. How many heads are now in their possession, we cannot learn, but we are told they are numerous, or to use their own language "many tens." The Dayaks in general appear to know nothing of numbers above ten, and hence they always give us their reckonings in this way, saying one ten, or "two, three, four," or "many tens," as the case may be. The warriors of this kampong sally forth every year on a beheading expedition. We learn from them that this takes place, when their rice is so far grown as to require no more weeding and attention until ripe. This reprieve from their ordinary toil is embraced by them for an excursion against some neighboring tribe, which being a rival, or having given offense, must be made to suffer the consequence by the loss of some of their heads. It seems that either distance from Sambas, or something else, renders the sultan's prohibition, if there be any, of no avail. The Dayaks seems not to have the least compunction of conscience on this subject. They laugh at us when we express our astonishment at the practice, and ridicule us when we attempt to teach them its cruelty and wickedness.

It really appears that the Dayak character is made up of extremes. As we see them at their homes, they are mild, gentle, "and given to hospitality;" but when they exchange their domestic habits for those of the warrior, their greatest delight seems to be, to revel in human blood, and their greatest honor to ornament their dwellings with *human* heads, which are the trophies of their *inhuman* barbarity. Shocking as it may appear, they carry about with them tokens of the number of persons they have killed. This they effect, by inserting locks of human hair, corresponding to the number of persons decapi-

tated, in the sheath of their war-knife, which is always attached to their persons, when from home. We fell in with a man this evening just returned from his labor, with a basket in which he had carried out the necessaries for the day, and to which was fastened a lock of human hair. The lock was ten inches, or a foot long. He informed us that it was a token of his having cut off a head during the past year. Oh, how true it is, that these "dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty!"

Nov. 8th. Left Medong at half past 7 o'clock, but not until we had opened our box of beads, and satisfied, in some measure, the strong desire of our Dayak friends for these children's toys. Immediately on leaving the village, we ascended a lofty peak, and on arriving at the summit were gratified with one of the most beautiful sights we had yet seen. Below was the valley with its carpet of green; beyond and all around us were lofty peaks and rugged cliffs, "mountain on mountain piled"—all blooming in rich and perennial verdure. As we were clambering up this peak by means of steps digged in the earth, we observed several Dayak women engaged in weeding their paddy, while the men stood near with shield and spear, ready to act as their gallant protectors, in case of attack by savage beasts, or still more savage men. This brought to our minds the remark of some writer, that the Dayaks are very careful to guard and defend their females. Hence it is that in their system of head-cutting, the heads of females are more highly valued than those of the men, inasmuch as it requires more artifice and bravery to obtain them.

About two hours' walking brought us to the small Chinese village of Tabran, containing forty inhabitants. Including those scattered in the surrounding region, and who are under the headman of the village, the number will amount to about one hundred. This village belongs to the kungseship of Sepang. The inhabitants are all miners, except a few engaged in gardening and raising vegetables for the general use. The process of mining is very simple. The place usually selected for digging is so situated, that the waters of some neighboring stream can be conveyed by opening a ditch directly through it. Into this artificial channel, the earth, containing the ore, is thrown. A brisk current carries off all the useless matter, while the gold-dust from its weight sinks to the bottom, and is afterwards collected. An incident occurred just before reaching this village, which affords a specimen of Chinese superstition. As we were passing a mine, and approaching the spot where the men were at work, our guide requested us to close our umbrellas. This we did, asking

no questions at the time. Afterwards upon inquiry, we learned that the Chinese think, if the shadow of an umbrella comes over the place of working, the precious ore will be carrried away with the stream.

Having rested an hour, and distributed a few tracts and gospels, we pursued our journey. We had now to pass over a very steep and high mountain, still covered with a dense forest. The path was with difficulty recognized by our guides, and the only way of ascent, was by pulling from one tree to another. By the time we had arrived at the highest point we were quite exhausted. After waiting for our baggage to come up, we began to descend the opposite side and soon found that we had met with only a small specimen of the difficulties of the route. In the descent, we had to wind our way along steep declivities, where a false step would have precipitated us headlong, hundreds of feet below. Our only security was the strength of the saplings on which we held. Added to this, our way was beset with several almost impassable ravines, which with their tumbling rivulets, gave us no little difficulty in crossing. Two hours were consumed on this mountain, when we issued into a newly cleared region, containing thousands of acres, that was still several miles from the kampong, and separated from it by a mountainous peak, very steep, but not so high as the one we had just passed. A few dwellings were scattered over this extensive paddy plantation. At these, we inquired the way and distance to the settlement, and each successive reply was only, the not at all consoling one of "far, far," while they pointed to the mountain before us. To add to our other troubles, a storm which had been for some time collecting, now burst upon us. In ascending the mountain, the water rushed down upon us, which, together with a slippery path would have stopped our further progress, had it not been for a flight of steps digged in the earth, and rendered firm by poles placed across the way. Though almost exhausted with fatigue, the Lord shielded us from the bolts of heaven, and we arrived at the village with our baggage, drenching wet.

This village is called Bering-Aiyo, and contains from sixty to seventy-five families. Their buildings, similar to those before described, comprising two rows of houses, fronting each other, form a street about twenty feet wide, which is an elevated platform, having poles and slats, as usual for a floor. We were received most kindly, and the hospitality of the people was shown, in rendering our situation comfortable, and by furnishing rice for our men, and a fine fowl for ourselves. Here we discovered the first indication of any religion among the Dayaks. Upon our arrival, the first thing that

attracted our attention were several small wooden images placed under a shelter. On inquiry, we were told that these images are mementoes of their old men, who had distinguished themselves by daring exploits, by the number of heads obtained, and other acts of bravery. When such persons die, they make a wooden image, crude indeed, yet in the form of a man, varying in length from twenty inches to three feet Around this they all gather, and hold a sacred feast, after which it is placed among those which have been similarly consecrated. These are their patron gods, whose peculiar province it is to watch over and prosper the cultivation of rice. At the time of planting rice, they are removed to the field, or placed, as in this case, near the kampong under a rude covering, with their faces in that direction. Here they are left until the crop is gathered, when they are again brought into their dwellings. As far as we could learn, the only act of worship paid to these images is that of offering them food once a month, such as rice, pork, eggs, fowls, &c. Human heads were hanging all round, and we made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain one. The bare expression of the wish was met by a prompt and decisive "no; we cannot part with them." The same is the case with the wooden images. On no condition whatever, will they consent to give up either, and the only reason assigned is, that sickness will be the inevitable consequence. The heads are considered as so many charms, to ward off evils and procure blessings, and therefore it is no matter of surprise that they are loth to part with them.

The Dayaks are decidedly a more muscular and better built race than the Malays. Their hair is lank and black, and being suffered to grow quite long, and to hang loose upon their shoulders, gives them a wild appearance. The men go nearly naked; a single piece of cloth, or a narrow strip of bark, is bound closely round their loins. As an ornament, some wear a string of cowrie shells around their heads. Their war or agricultural knife, tied to their waist by a strong cord, completes the dress of the men. The dress of the females consists of a cloth around their loins, and extending nearly to the knees. On the head, they constantly wear a cap made of rattan. Most of them have a profusion of ornaments. Their ears are usually perforated with a piece of bamboo from five eighths of an inch to an inch in diameter. Great quantities of beads adorn their necks. Their arms are ornamented with many rings, chiefly brazen, but they had some, of Chinese workmanship, of a beautiful stone. Above the cloth around their bodies are rings made of small rattans, dyed a bril-

liant red and jet black color, and fastened in front by means of a bead clasp. Some few also wear a bandage made of various colored beads, six or eight inches in width, which is exceedingly beautiful. Their breast and arms are entirely naked, except occasionally a loose cloth thrown over their shoulders. The male children under seven or eight years are destitute of any covering; the female children wear cloth in the manner of the men, and are generally loaded with trinkets of various kinds.

Nov. 9th. Left Bering-Aiyo at 8 o'clock A. M. Our path lay through a beautiful undulating country, with high mountainous peaks in the distance, rendering the scenery equally picturesque with that of previous days. After a fatiguing walk of four hours, we arrived at Sepang, a Chinese settlement, and the first of any extent yet visited. Some of the coolies had preceded us, and announced our coming. This appeared to create quite an excitement, and hasty preparations were made for our reception. A large number collected in the house of the *kungse*, and as soon as we were seated, a salute of three guns was fired in honor of our arrival. A table was spread for us, loaded with grateful refreshments of tea, oranges, and cake. Eggs, fowl, and pork were provided for our use. In addition to this, some of the chief men cheerfully vacated their own sleeping apartments for our special accommodation. After dinner, we opened our box of Chinese books, and found a welcome reception for all we could furnish. We distributed about 150 tracts and portions of the Scriptures. To the kungse, we gave a complete copy of the New Testament. Very soon we heard some whispering among themselves, "that these were the books that told of *Ya-soo*, or Jesus." Among all the tracts, none produced a greater sensation, and excited more attention than one on the *use of opium*. Several persons immediately applied to us to cure them of opium smoking, which, however, we had neither medicine, nor skill to do.

The population of this village we cannot learn with much exactness. On this point the most contradictory statements are made. While some state the inhabitants to be only a few over one hundred, others swell the number to 15,000. Taking into account the number of dwellings, and relying somewhat on the statement of one of the chief men, we think the population may safely be calculated at 800 or 1000. There is one school containing sixteen boys. There appears to be a goodly number of readers among the adults. Budok, another Chinese village, is about half a day's journey westward of Sepang. It is a kungseship, and said to contain as many inhabitants as this place.

The situation of Sepang is delightful. It has on the north, the lofty range of the Bawang mountains. In front, for miles around is a beautiful undulating region, while towering peaks are visible in the distance. The village is arranged differently from what is usual among the Chinese. Instead of being compact, having a street or series of streets, their dwellings are scattered over considerable space, with now and then a single house; and in other places, clusters of some half a dozen houses. The establishment of the headman is extensive and commodious. He has connected with his own mining operations about one hundred men. Here is an ingenious contrivance to force the water out of the mine, which otherwise would greatly retard the progress of the workmen.* The mines of Sepang are noted for their productiveness, and for the finest specimens of gold the island produces.—Our general course from Sambas to this place has been a little west of south.

Saturday, Nov. 10th. On our departure from Sepang this morning, we were honored with another salute of three guns. We were attended with Dayak coolies from a neighboring kampong of twelve families. Over the Bawang mountain near by, is another village of twenty or thirty families, and several small settlements are said to be situated between Sepang and Budok. On our way, we passed other Dayak kampongs, and the remains of some former ones. Our course has been nearly east, and the path more open and plain than on any preceding day. The journey has, however, been very laborious, lying directly across a continuous series of mountainous ravines, situated at the foot and along the north side of the Bawang range. In some places, these ravines are exceedingly precipitous and deep, and through most of them run rivulets of the purest water. The Bawang mountain consists of a succession of lofty peaks, stretching from west to east. To-day we passed one of the highest peaks we have yet seen. It towers far above the rest, and presents a bold and prominent appearance, terminating in a perpendicular table rock, two or three hundred feet high, on the summit of which is a beautiful cluster of trees.

A fatiguing walk of five hours, under the most oppressive heat we have yet experienced, brought us to the establishment of the kungse of Lumar. In his absence, we were received in a friendly manner by his secretary, and a convenient room was furnished us,

* A description, with a plate of this pump, may be seen in Davis' Chinese, vol. II. page 300. Instead of buffaloes, the machine is propelled by water power on Borneo.

separated from the bustle of the business office. This circumstance is peculiarly acceptable, as the morrow is the Sabbath, which we purpose to spend here. Our kind friends, however, seem determined that we shall not be alone. Since our arrival, we have been constantly surrounded by a number of inquisitive Chinese, who puzzle us not a little with various questions. These Chinese are Khĕli men; but speak a mongrel Fuhkeën, in order that we may be able to understand them. As we are probably the first "red-haired men" they have seen, their curiosity is excited to the utmost. This by the way is the title the Chinese here give to the English, Americans, and to all Europeans, excepting Hollanders. During this evening, almost everything we have with us has been undergoing a thorough scrutiny. Their inquisitiveness is far more annoying than that of the ruder and more ignorant Dayaks. Although the curiosity of the latter, at times, appeared most intense, showing itself in examining our baggage, and narrowly watching all our movements, yet they always maintained a respectful distance, and conducted with the greatest propriety. Being exhausted, and desiring rest and repose, we were obliged to send away our Chinese friends, who willingly departed after receiving a few tracts.

At Lumar we rested and kept holy day; and never before had we such an experimental conviction of the necessity and importance of the Sabbath—simply as a day of rest. We have not, however, enjoyed the quiet retirement we hoped to find here. Our apartment has been the constant resort of various individuals, who have left us scarcely a moment of uninterrupted retirement. In front of our door, also, a cooper has had his benches, prosecuting his work.

The village of Lumar is nearly a mile from the house of the kungse where we are staying. About noon, we went there to distribute what tracts we could spare for this place. These were received with such eagerness, that at times it was difficult to retain the prerogative of giving away. One and another would lay hold of the books, and insist upon helping themselves. Such frowardness was generally checked by a single word, or the raising of the hand, and we continued to distribute deliberately, and with as much discretion as we could exercise. Only a few minutes were required to dispose of all we had. It should be remarked, that this anxiety of the people to obtain our books does not arise from a knowledge of their contents, or any desire to know the truth; it is doubtless owing to the novelty of a gratuitous distribution of works in a Chinese dress, and to the great scarcity of books among them; novels or infidel publications, we

presume, would be as eagerly sought after, as those we are distributing. Here also the tract on the use of opium excites peculiar attention. We had not been in Lumar an hour, before application was made for medicine to cure this pernicious practice.

The village is beautifully located in a valley, with mountains all around. It is compactly built with two streets running at right angles in the form of the letter T. The plain is filled with gardens, or covered with paddy. For a great distance over the valley, scattered dwellings are seen, which adds life to the natural beauties of the scene. It is difficult to ascertain the number of inhabitants, as there does not appear to be any one who knows it. We think much of this ignorance is feigned. There are said to be 300 men working in the mines. We should think there are a thousand in the village, and two or three hundred scattered over the plain. So that the whole number of Chinese in, and about Lumar, is not far from 1500. Notwithstanding the bustle around us, we found it delightful this afternoon to engage in our usual mental exercises of singing, prayer, and reading. We read one of Flavel's sermons, and rejoiced together in the goodness of God, committing all our concerns entirely into his hands.

Nov. 12th. About 8 o'clock we left Lumar, and at 12 o'clock, arrived at the establishment of the kungse of Lara. We came too unexpectedly upon the people at Lumar to afford them the opportunity to receive us, as appears to be their custom, in military style, but this expression of their feelings was not wanting at our departure this morning. They gave us a salute of three heavy guns.

On every side around Lumar, are numerous Dayak villages. Some of them are said to be large, containing several hundreds. Our guides inform us that six or eight settlements of this interesting people would be embraced in a radius of one and a half hour's walk, with Lumar as a centre. The headman of one of these kampongs visited us. He was dressed in superior style, and is one of the best looking Dayaks yet seen by us. During our walk to-day, we saw three or four Dayak villages, built as usual on the mountain side. Their distance prevented our making any calculation of the number of inhabitants. The Dayak population in this region appears to be more dense, than in the vicinity of Sambas. The steeps and cliffs of the mountains seem to be their delight and choice, and here their desire in this respect can be fully gratified.

Most of the way to-day, our path has been good, and far less mountainous than heretofore. The kungse resides some distance from the village of Lara, to which we expect to go to-morrow. We have met

here a cordial reception. In consequence of the previous arrival of some Chinese from Lumar, information of our approach had been communicated, and the kungse received us with a salute. Refreshments of tea, cakes, &c., were set before us, and a duck, eggs, and pork furnished for our dinner. Immediately around the dwelling of the kungse are about fifteen houses, and probably over one hundred inhabitants. This establishment is situated at the foot of what appears to be a continuation of the Bawang range of mountains, but which here are not so high or precipitous, as around Sepang and Lumar. Still on almost every side of us, lofty and rugged peaks of mountains are towering among the clouds, while the intermediate regions are undulated with numerous gentle elevations, among which frequent rivulets wind their course. Viewed from a point, advantageous for observation, the whole presents a scene most grand and beautiful. In the language of bishop Heber, while surrounded with these beauties of nature, and looking upon the wretched heathen, we are often led to exclaim —

"Every prospect pleases,
"And only man is vile."

Nov. 13th. At half past 9 o'clock, we proceeded to the village, or as the Chinese say, the "city of Lara." The distance is about four miles. We received a hearty though noisy welcome, and were conducted to the house of the chief man, at whose special invitation we had come. The whole village was in commotion, to see who had come thus to disturb their quiet, and turn their little "world upside down." We had scarcely taken seats in the house, before the room was literally crammed with a multitude, who manifested much curiosity and wonder. One would think from their continued and piercing gaze, they would never become satisfied with looking at us. Our host had the kindness, whether designedly or not, to relieve us from this annoying scrutiny, by inviting us into his own private room, where we partook of tea and refreshments. After a pleasant interview, we were shown into an apartment, assigned us for the night. The entrance is from the main street, and the door is the only admission of air and light. From these, however, we derive little benefit, as every passer-by must stop and see us. Our room is constantly thronged. Had we the ability, we could preach the blessed gospel to the whole village, without leaving our apartment. What little we know of their language has proved of great service. Still the dialect spoken by all the Chinese of this region is so different from the Fuhkeën, as to preclude the possibility of a continued conversation.

Lara is situated in a valley with mountains all around, whose towering peaks, like so many spires of nature's glorious temple, point to the power, and majesty of the great Architect, and bid us "look through nature up to nature's God." But their voice and monition are not heeded by the dwellers of this vale. The god of this world has so blinded their naturally darkened minds, that they are content to worship the creature more than the Creator, and rejoice more in the work of their own hands, then in the knowledge and service of *him*, who alone is God over all, blessed for evermore. The village is large and compactly built. It lies about twenty miles east of south from Lumar, and if our map is correct, about 50 miles due east from Batublat, a noted point on the sea-coast. We are informed that it is seventy years since the Chinese first located here, and there are many evident marks of its being an old settlement. The population is dense, amounting, we are told, to two thousand or more. From all we can see and learn, we are inclined to believe this statement is not an exaggeration. Quite a number of the men read, as we have had the opportunity of learning from our own observation. The portion of tracts we had assigned for this place were distributed in a few moments. Afterwards in passing along the street, we observed several engaged in reading, some of whom had a company of listeners around them.

We find in the chief man of the village a kind and hospitable host. He is one of the finest looking Chinese, we have anywhere met with, possessing a countenance beaming with intelligence, as well as great symmetry of body. His generosity has been manifested not only in providing abundantly for us, and our men to-day, but also in furnishing us with a sufficient quantity of rice, for our three days' journey to Montrado, and refusing to receive any compensation, at the same time expressing gratification at the pleasure of giving.

Nov. 14th. Detained at Lara until 10 A.M. for want of men to carry our baggage. We then walked leisurely forward, our course being west half south. Soon after setting out we passed the outskirt of "Salamat," or mountain of peace. After this, our path for a long distance was through a beautiful valley, with the Bawang mountains on the north, and the Pandang range on the south. The former terminate here in a series of lofty and rocky summits, equal in height to any other part of the range. Then the Pandang mountains open to view, with equal majesty and grandeur. The valley is enlivened, in some degree, by the presence of man and the hand of cultivation. It is inhabited by Chinese, who are wholly devoted to agriculture,

and seem contented to receive the treasures of the soil, without tearing up the bowels of the earth in search of golden ore. Their gardens, affording a rich supply of vegetables of the most luxuriant growth, and their beautifully arranged and well tilled fields of rice, present a pleasing contrast to the utter wildness of nature all around. Their dwellings are usually located in clusters, forming villas or small neighborhoods. This settlement is called Durial, and probably comprises 200 inhabitants.

After winding our way through the plain, we left the main path, in order to find the Dayak kampong, where we were to rest. Soon we came to some fine upland paddy, a sure indication of being in the vicinity of Dayaks. It seems to be a mutual understanding between the Chinese and Dayaks, that the former shall occupy the valleys, while the more hardy and adventurous Dayaks scale the mountains, there to labor and toil to obtain their miserable pittance of rice. A walk of three quarters of a mile from the direct road brought us to the village of Sabutut, in which are ten or twelve families. From thence in an hour and a half, we arrived at Pesuni, which also lies about a mile from the main path. This settlement comprises thirty families, about half of which are now scattered over their rice fields. We were received in a very friendly manner, by the headman, and presented with two fowls, and some rice. At Sabutut, and in this village, a species of ornament is worn by several of the men, which we have not before seen. It is a necklace of tiger's teeth, fastened by their roots to a brass wire, in such a manner that the sharp points stand outward, and present a formidable defense for the breast. Beads and cowrie shells are inlaid among the teeth in a neat manner.

Excepting the annoyance of smoke, noise, &c., we generally find ourselves quite comfortable among the Dayaks. Our lodging is always the great verandah, in which are fire-places for the accommodation of the whole village, while the construction of the houses is such that their domestic animals, consisting of dogs and swine have the benefit of the same roof. The whole space under their range of buildings is a vast pigsty, and it can easily be imagined, that our dormitory is not the more desirable, on this account. So far as our observation goes, there is no disposition to pilfer among the Dayaks. We hang up our clothes in the most exposed places in their village, and hand little articles to them to be taken care of, with feelings of perfect security. If they desire anything, they beg for it, but we do not think they would steal, unless the temptation should be very powerful.

At 8 o'clock, on the 15th, we left Pesuni, and soon reached the main road, which is most of the way a good footpath. Our course was little south of west, and led over a rugged peak of Punaring mountain. Upon this summit, our guide informs us, there was a bloody battle fought about ten years since, between the rival settlements of Lumar and Montrado. The contest continued for a day and night, and many were killed on both sides. The cause of the war we could not learn, but it was terminated by the interference of the Chinese of Lara. Soon after descending this mountain, we passed a small agricultural settlement of Chinese. We proceeded on our way for two hours, when the guide without any previous notice of his intention left the main path, and one hour more brought us to Barangan or Gajing, a large Dayak village, which ends our day's journey. This kampong contains thirty families present, and about as many more, who have taken up a temporary abode in the rice fields. The buildings are better than usual, and the verandah is very large and commodious, being twenty-two feet wide. This is used as the manufacturing shop of the village. Nearly in the centre is a blacksmith's forge and anvil. The smith is busily engaged in making edge tools, such as are in demand among the Dayaks.

The instruments in use among them are the *kamping*, or large war-knife for decapitation, said to possess a temper and edge, superior to any other edge-tool known; the *tempuling*, or spear, which is similar to a fishing spear; the *jabang*, or small knife, attached to the sheath of the *kamping*, which answers the purposes of our pocket-knife; and the *parang*, a knife larger and heavier than the *kamping*, being two feet long. This last instrument is the only one employed in their agricultural pursuits. It serves as an ax for clearing off the forests, and is a kind of substitute for our hoe and harrow, inasmuch as it is their sole instrument for digging, planting, weeding, &c. So far as we can learn, no other instruments of iron are in use. For their water and drinking vessels, the Dayaks depend upon the simple provision nature has made in the bamboo. A joint of this useful tree, with an aperture cut near the end, answers every purpose. Each family has fifteen or twenty of such vessels. Whenever they are empty, the women attend to refilling them. The Dayaks of this village appear to be a step further advanced, than their neighbors. They make use of plates instead of leaves for eating. Some few of the men wear more clothing than is common, and the women are better covered. They have also lights at night, borrowed doubtless from the Chinese. We noticed some very neat wicker-work wrought

from the rattan. It is a species of basket, used in carrying articles on the back, which indeed is the only way they raise any burden.

Human heads are suspended over us as we write. As usual, they are ornamented with various figures, carved in the bone with a knife, and with bunches of leaves of the rattan. Among the heads is a small bowl, carefully tied up with cord. On inquiring its use and meaning, we are told that it is a challenge from a rival Dayak kampong of the *Mempawa* region. This seems to be an emblem chosen by common consent, as a warning for any village receiving it, to look out for their heads.

Nov. 16th. This day's travel has afforded more variety, and presented more exciting scenes, than any since we left Sambas. In consequence of the great fall of rain yesterday, we found our path exceedingly wet and muddy. In half an hour's walk, we arrived at Sakayh, a village of Dayaks containing twenty or twenty-five families. About half a mile further we passed Kaiyu, another Dayak village of fifteen families. Near this we encountered a rapid stream of water, now swollen by the abundant rain into a large river. This we had to ford, the water being waist deep, and the current very strong. All hands, however, succeeded in crossing with the baggage, without any accident. A short distance from this river, we passed a third Dayak kampong, containing eighteen families. This is called Tampiong. All these, and other villages in this region, belong to one great tribe, called Salakau, and appear to be under some general law of government. The nature of this band of union we could not learn, further than that there is a very old man, residing at Sakayh, who exercises a general chieftainship over them.

As we proceeded, we found all the low lands flooded, and the mud very deep, so that often the water and mire reached our knees. We were therefore rejoiced, after a laborious effort of two hours and a half, to exchange the crooked, devious, and marshy path of the Dayaks, for that of the Chinese, and once more to pursue our journey in the main path, which we left yesterday to go to the Dayak kampong. Here the contrast was striking, and the variety agreeable. We took the direct road in the midst of an agricultural settlement of Chinese called Tatap. It embraces twenty-five dwellings, scattered over a beautiful valley, surrounded with a low range of hills. Our path now became comparatively dry and good, and the weather being cool, we prosecuted the journey before us with vigor. About one and a half miles from Tatap is Semalah, another valley of similar beauty, in which ten families of Chinese are residing. Our road

next lay through a dense forest, broken only by two or three clearings. In one of these is a Chinese eating and lodging house, the only dwelling to be met with. About 1 P. M., our weary spirits were cheered, by beholding, far in the distance, the lofty peaks of the Sinkawang mountains which presented a beautiful appearance. The six miles forest being passed, a walk of two miles brought us to Kajimantan, another agricultural settlement of twenty five families, also scattered over a plain, waiving with rice, or covered with a luxuriant growth of garden vegetables. Here we stopped to rest, and give our men an opportunity "to eat rice."

Two hours' fast walking from this place, introduced us to Montrado, the end of our day's journey, and the place of all others, we have desired to visit. About 5 o'clock, we entered the house of the headman of the Chinese, and were received with every mark of friendly respect and hospitality. Our arrival was announced by three guns, and we were refreshed with tea and cakes, while a room was making ready for our accommodation. As this residence is removed a short distance from the village, we hope to be free from the noise and bustle, and what will be truly grateful to us at this time, from the annoyance of a multitude, thronging us. The usual tokens of Chinese hospitality have already not been wanting. The servant has just entered our room with a supply of eggs, and informs us that three ducks have been presented, while rice, tea, and other necessaries have also been provided for our use, and for all with us.

Nov. 17th. After breakfast this morning, the headman of the Chinese with whom we lodge, accompanied us to visit the other official characters. Three guns were fired as we left the house. A few minutes' walk brought us amidst the bustle of the market, and throngs of people. Pressing our way through them, we repaired first to the residence of the kungse of the village. We were invited to seats on the floor, the usual manner of the Chinese here, and partook of refreshments. A short social interview ended the visit, and we proceeded to the house of the kungse of the gold mines. He came out of the audience-room into the yard to receive and welcome us to his abode. A variegated carpet-rug was spread on the floor for us, and tea furnished. This, however, was only a prelude to something more genteel. We were soon summoned to the great hall, where a table was spread in European style. The repast consisted as usual of tea, candy, cake, and fruit. While partaking of this fare, the question was asked—"who we were, and what was our business?" To the best of our ability we made known our object and designs, with which they

seemed pleased. On leaving, a small quantity of tea, some candles, eggs, and two ducks, were handed to our men for us. In returning, our host called on several of his friends in the village, where similar respect and kindness were shown us. He also requested us to visit a sick woman. The case proved to be a pitiable one indeed. It was a middle aged mother, whose breasts were ulcerated in a shocking manner. About 12 A. M., we arrived at our lodgings.

This afternoon, we again visited the village, and took with us some medicine, and the few tracts allotted to this place; having previously presented to the headman of the Chinese and the two kungse, an entire New Testament, the gospel of John, two copies of Luke, two of Gutzlaff's tract on Redemption, and one volume of the monthly Magazine. In our way, we called on the sick woman, and did what we could for her relief and cure. The headman was present, and manifested a deep interest in the case. We have reason to think the woman was poor and pitied by our host, who sought advice and relief from us. We walked through the market and examined the village in all its parts. The eagerness to obtain our books was more intense than we have ever before witnessed. Only a few instances of rudeness occurred, though at times some twenty hands were extended, and as many voices raised, begging for a book. It was the work of only a few minutes to give away the 80 or 100 tracts we had, a very meagre supply for the multitude around us, perishing for the bread of life. Montrado contains a great number of children, for whom there are but four schools. We noticed several boys of the ages of ten, twelve, and fourteen who read pretty well, and whom we supplied with books. This we consider as an indication that some attention is paid to education, although the number of schools is very inadequate for the population.

It is probable that Christian books have never been distributed among this people. Such is the anxiety to receive our tracts, that we exceedingly regret our inability to supply the demand. We were obliged to travel with as little luggage of this kind as possible. As we gave out several of the tracts on opium, we heard frequent expressions of approbation. Many addicted to its use here also applied for medicine to break up the habit. We tell them nothing more is needed than to abstain, but the subject of "total abstinence" is so new or strange to them, that they cannot, or will not be persuaded of its efficacy. From the constant inquiries of all classes of Chinese for medicine to cure opium-smoking, we suppose they are convinced of its bad effects, but have not the moral courage to refrain from it.

Montrado is more delightfully situated than any village through which we have passed. Its location is on high ground in the midst of a valley, and skirted all around by a range of low mountains which present a most beautiful and variegated appearance. This arises from the fact that some parts have been once cleared of the forest, and are now grown over with grass; while other parts are still in the wildest state of nature. On every side there is sufficient variety of scenery to awaken emotions of pleasure, but nothing to impress or overpower the mind of the beholder with feelings of grandeur and awe. All is charming, nothing sublime, if we except the towering peaks of the Sinkawang mountains, which are visible though distant.

The central part of this valley has been selected for the chief settlement. So far, however, as our observation extends, the whole region is thickly populated. The village itself consists of one principal street, about one quarter of a mile in length, intersected with several shorter streets at right angles. The streets are very narrow, being not more than ten or twelve feet wide. Every part of the village seems to be thronged with inhabitants, and new houses are erecting. The shops are well furnished with the usual articles of Chinese manufacture, as cotton cloth, silks, teas, tobacco, shoes, &c. Blacksmiths, tailors, coopers, and other workers, as well as artisans in wood and leather find employment. The market affords a good supply of fruit, vegetables, fresh pork, beef, venison, and salted fish. The whole scene is one of bustle and activity, calculated to impress the mere looker on, that he is in some commercial mart. The villas, or clusters of houses around the place of traffic, are numerous. Much attention is paid to gardening, and judging from the luxuriance all around, the laborer is well repaid for his toil. The cultivation of rice in the immediate vicinity appears to be superseded by the quantity raised in the surrounding country. Montrado is a great mining district. The gold found here is of the finest touch. Several extensive mines are now in operation, and the number that have been exhausted, indicate the length of time devoted to, and the profit realized from, this branch of industry.

It is very difficult to ascertain, or even to conjecture, what is the population of this region; that it is large, cannot be questioned; that it has been greatly exaggerated by writers, who have relied on hearsay or upon first impressions, is equally certain. The number of inhabitants at present is doubtless less than it was some years since. This diminution has been caused by feuds, fomented, as the resident of Sambas informed us, by the Malay sultan and court, among the Chi-

nese themselves. As a consequence, one and another branch have, at different times, broken off and removed to other places. An old fort and some ruins designate the spot, where a portion of those now at Lumar, formerly resided. Little more than a year since, owing to a civil war, another small colony withdrew and settled near Sambas. These have since been scattered to one place and another, so that at present few remain together. Very few of the inhabitants of the region through which we have traveled appear to be in a state of extreme indigence. As a general thing, these Chinese are in better circumstances, and in other respects superior, to the Chinese as a body, which we have seen in other places. This is in a remarkable degree the happy condition of Montrado. This is a point in our route towards which we have looked with no little anxiety, as we were told it would be dangerous to proceed here, owing to a lawless banditti of Malays on the borders of the two residencies of Sambas and Pontianak. On arriving here, our fears are dissipated by learning there is a good road, well traveled, and perfectly safe. The dominions of the sultan of Sambas extend but little south of this place, and consequently he could not afford us guides any further than Montrado. Our coolies were engaged to proceed with us to Pontianak, but they desire to leave here, and return home. Their request is cheerfully granted, as they have proved of very little service to us. Had it not been for the faithful and willing Dayaks, we cannot conceive how we could have prosecuted our tour. Our future course from this lies through a region where there are few Dayaks. We have therefore been obliged to make other arrangements, and have succeeded in engaging a set of Chinese coolies to convey our luggage to Ka-mandor. Our principal trouble and difficulty thus far have arisen from the deceitfulness, and double dealing of our Malayan guides and coolies.

Sabbath, Nov. 18th. About nine o'clock, the dignitaries of Montrado called to see us. We found it difficult to communicate with them. Scarcely an individual here speaks or understands any Fuhkeën. The dialect employed is the Khĕk, which bears some analogy to that of Canton. One of the train present spoke a little Malay, and acted as interpreter. He requested, in the name of the kungse, to know our business and designs in traveling through the country. His knowledge of Malay being inadequate to comprehend our answer, we wrote down in Chinese that "we are teachers of the doctrine and religion of Jesus." This was at once comprehended by all. We further informed them, that the doctrines we teach are contained in

the books we have presented, and inquired whether it would be pleasing to them, to have us come and reside among them, to assist in instructing their children, and to furnish medicine. They answered that they would be glad to have us reside with them, and aid them with medicine, but that in the matter of instruction, they themselves were skilled, and would not need our assistance.

During the interview, an English magazine published in London, a volume of French mathematics, a small gold seal, and a Roman Catholic cross, were produced for our inspection. On a blank leaf of the magazine was written with a lead pencil as follows: "Commodore Sayes gave this book to his esteemed friend (name illegible), the chief commander of Montrado, on Borneo, September, 1815." These mementos are carefully preserved to show to any Europeans who may visit the place. As a token of our visit, we left a small volume of the Psalms. On the part of the kungse, we each received a present, consisting of three gold rings, valued at $23, as an expression of his friendly feelings. In the afternoon, the kungse also sent us some excellent fruit. Our host and several of his friends have been the whole day engaged in playing at cards. The constant firing of guns, and sounds of music have indicated some cause of joy among the people. The Chinese appear remarkably fond of salutes; no less than fifteen guns were fired yesterday, during our calls upon the chief among [illegible]

As far as we can ascertain, the Chinese themselves reckon 20,000 inhabitants under the kungse of Montrado. This kungseship is large; being bounded on the east by that of Lara, on the north by Budok; on the west by the ocean, on the south by Mempawa and Ka-mandor. Hence, they include all the Chinese scattered over this extensive region. We suppose that Montrado, with its environs, may contain 10,000 inhabitants; possibly a few more, but we are inclined to the contrary opinion. These probably are the Chinese referred to, as "the independent colony of Borneo." All the Chinese in the western coast are under the jurisdiction of, and pay an annual tribute to, the government of Netherlands India. They are also subject in some manner to the Malays, but the nature of this subjection we have not been able to learn. It is nevertheless true, that the *internal* polity, and the administration of justice, are under their *own* regulations. Hence persons residing among them, ought to have the protection of both the Dutch and Malay authorities, as well as the goodwill and friendly feelings of the colonists themselves.

Nov. 10th. Our departure from Montrado, this morning, was

attended by every expression of kindness and goodwill. Intercourse between this place and the surrounding settlements is frequent, and missionaries here might extend their influence to Lara, Ledo, Lumar, Sepang, Budok, Seminis, &c. We hope the experiment will be made at once.

Our course to-day has been almost due south. A walk of half an hour brought us to a gold mine just being opened, in which there are one hundred men at work; and two hours more introduced us to an extensive mine in full operation. Here is a small village of fifteen or twenty families About 1 o'clock, we reached the residence of the kungse of Sung-keaou-lew-le, who is an under officer of the kungse of Montrado. Here is a mine in operation, employing 100 men.

Nov. 20th. Resumed our journey this morning at 7 o'clock, course a little east of south. For three hours, our path was through a deep forest, and all the way was marshy ground. Over this, the Chinese have placed planks upon benches made for the purpose, thus forming a narrow, but otherwise good raised walk. This passed, we soon reached Seängkeng, a small Chinese village of fifteen or twenty families. Here we stopped at a Chinese victualing-house, and procured dinner. In the village, we met several Dayaks from a kampong, which they said was distant half a day's walk, called Abang. They said it contained thirty families, and that many other kampongs are in this region. Their chief employment is gathering sago, which is their principal food. The sago-palm abounds in this vicinity.

Nov. 21st. This day's travel has completed our tour on foot, and we have now reached the point, whence we purpose to proceed by water to Pontianak. Our path most of the way was very good, lying through successive and beautiful vallies, in each of which is a settlement of industrious cultivators of the soil. The first is Taoukwo, comprising about forty dwellings. This place has one school. The second is Minvong, having thirty-five houses. Here we noticed what we have not seen before, a species of cow, said to have been introduced from Singapore. The third settlement, and one of great beauty, is Boolem. In this we counted forty-one houses. There is more rice growing in this region of Chinese cultivation, than through our previous routes. We reached Ka-mandor at 4 P. M., having walked during the last three days, about sixty miles. As we were favored with a letter of introduction from the kungse of Montrado, we met with the most cordial reception from the kap-tai or headman of this place. Having learned that an open boat was to proceed to Pontianak on the morrow, we concluded to embrace this opportunity of going. On

hearing of our determination, the headman interfered, and said we must remain a day with him to see the village and the mines; he also gave orders, that the boat should wait until the following day.

Nov. 22d. After breakfast, we were furnished with two guides, who conducted us through the village, and to two mines now in operation; one of them is very large, employing 150 men. Ka-mandor lies on a branch of the Pontianak river, about seventy miles from the sea. It is situated in a less mountainous region than any place we have seen, excepting Sambas, and everything around us presents a different aspect. There is one principal street, about a quarter of a mile in length, with others running parallel and some at right angles. The houses are in good order, and well built. Most of them are constructed of wood, and covered with shingles. The streets are unusually wide for a Chinese village, and remarkably neat and clean. We are somewhat surprised at the small number of inhabitants. Compared with Montrado, we were reminded of the deserted towns in America, during the prevalence of the cholera. Instead of being literally crammed, as is generally the case, so that one can scarcely move without treading on his neighbor, the dwellings are larger than usual, and few, if any, inhabit each. A satisfactory explanation of this is given us in the fact, that most of the mines are exhausted, and the people are resorting to other places where their toil will meet with a surer reward. It is now about sixty years since Ka-mandor was founded. The kap-tai informed us that there are 2000 persons in the village, and about 4000 residing within his jurisdiction. Three village schools are sustained. The demand for books on our route has been so urgent that we have retained only a few for this place. As we find several Chinese tracts lying around, there seems to be less need for an abundant supply at this time. Among a parcel of books and Chinese writings in our room, we have found a copy of Milne's Sermons and a portion of the Scriptures, which are much marked up, and appear to have been studied as well as read. The Chinese here are the same with those at other places. They call themselves Canton men, but speak the Khĕh dialect. This afternoon the kap-tai put into our hands a small parcel, nicely done up, observing "it is of no value." On opening it, we found two gold rings, in themselves of little value, but as a token of kind feeling on the part of our good host, we attach importance to the gift.

Nov. 23d. Arose at an early hour, but our host would not suffer us to leave till after breakfast, which he insisted on our taking with him and other dignitaries. All things being ready, the boat was

loosened from her fastenings at 9 o'clock, and we departed with many good wishes from our friends. The current of the river is rapid, and rendered more so by recent and abundant rains. The mere force of the stream carried us along with great rapidity for about twenty miles. At first the river was so narrow that the branches of the trees met together over our heads, forming a natural screen from the rays of the sun. All the skill and strength of the men were required in order to avoid contact with trees, branches, and other obstructions, and especially to accommodate the boat to the numerous short windings of the stream. We have been astonished to witness the agility and precision of the men, in the use of their forked and spiked poles, by which they at the same time both guide and give additional impulse to the boat. Four and a half hours' progress down the river in this manner brought us to an establisment belonging to the kap-tai of Ka-mandor, which is a custom-house. Here we stopped for a short time to obtain certain requisite documents. From this place, the river became wider, the current less rapid, and the poles have been exchanged for oars.

Nov. 24th. We had a refreshing night's rest, being shielded from musquitoes and insects by curtains, and sheltered from the rain by a thatched covering, forming a good roof on the boat. About 6 A. M., we were again on our way. The accommodation in our boat was good, and the quietness of our situation very agreeable. At 1 o'clock, we reached a second custom-house, which is situated at the junction of the Ka-mandor and Sapatah rivers. The latter is a small stream. From this point to the third and last custom-house, the river is 100 yards wide. This is at the junction of Landak river, with that of Ka-mandor. The Landak is of itself a large stream, and the union of the two forms a river almost equal in width to the Sambas. The name "Landak" is given to it till it reaches Pontianak. About 10 P. M., we arrived at Pontianak. It being too late to call on the Dutch resident, the boat stopped at the house of the headman of the Khĕh men. The whole distance, of about seventy miles from Ka-mandor to Pontianak, is a vast forest and jungle, with no traces of man, except the three or four Chinese houses referred to.

Nov. 26th. We learned that a vessel now at the bar of the river, was about to sail for Singapore, and that this would probably be the only one for months to come. The Chinese supercargo informed us that he should proceed to the vessel in the afternoon, and that she would then sail; also that there were good accommodations, and without doubt, we could obtain a passage. Our intercourse with the

resident, Mr. Humme was pleasing. We stated our object in visiting the island, and our expectation to return and engage in missionary labors. He promised to do everything he could to assist us, should we come, and especially as regards a house, which we would need, upon arriving with our families. After being on the ground, he said we could select a location without any restriction as to place, and build for ourselves. The expense of building is said not to be very great. He also offered his own boat to convey us and our luggage to the vessel, which lies about eight miles from the mouth of the river, and twenty from Pontianak. But just as we were leaving the office to proceed down the river, we met the headman of the Fuhkeën Chinese, who, on learning our plan, proposed that we should accompany him to-night in his own boat, as he had business with the ship before she sailed. We gladly accepted this kind offer, as it afforded us several hours of further inquiry and observation. Our friend then conducted us to the Chinese kampong, and introduced us to several individuals. After this we accompanied him to his own residence, where we enjoyed a long and pleasant interview.

The situation of Pontianak is in many respects similar to that of Sambas. It is located at the junction of the Landak and the Sangaur or Kapuas river, forming the Pontianak river. The establishment of the sultan is at the point of junction. The Dutch residences and the fort are on the south side of the river, about half a mile below the sultan's. On the same side and next above the Dutch is the principal Chinese kampong, extending to the junction of the river. Here commences the chief settlement of the Malays on both sides, reaching some distance up the Kapuas river. From the sultan's palace upward, on the south side of the Landak river, the Bugis are located. Immediately opposite the sultan's; and across the Landak river, is another small Chinese kampong of Khĕh men. This is of a recent origin, and but few dwellings have yet been erected. Pontianak is low ground, and subject to floodings during high tide and heavy rains. It is dryer, however, than Sambas, especially in the vicinity of the Dutch residences, and the Chinese kampong. It is said to be a healthy place. In reference to a permanent location, we cannot but regard Pontianak as decidedly preferable to Sambas.

From our friend and others, we gathered the following information concerning the number of inhabitants. Malays 6000, Bugis 5000, Fuhkeën and other Chinese 100 families, Hok-lo 1000 families, Khĕh 500 families. The whole number of Chinese is reckoned at from 3000 to 4000. The entire population of Pontianak is put down

at about 15,000. The Fuhkeën and Hok-lo dialects are so similar that communication is free and unembarrassed. In the vicinity of Pontianak, there is said to be a number of Chinese engaged in the cultivation of rice. The Bugis and Malays are supposed to be on the increase. The resident informed us that the nearest Dayaks are distant about two days' journey. The headman of the Fuhkeën people and others, to whom we made known our design of returning and settling at Pontianak, seemed much pleased. In Pontianak, there are only two Chinese schools, one of the Khĕh, the other of the Fuhkeën men. The Hok-lo class have no school.

Nov. 27th. At 11 o'clock, last evening, we left Pontianak with our kind Chinese friend, for the ship, and arrived this morning at half past six. The vessel is the Algerine, owned in Singapore, a fine brig, James Young, commander, who received us kindly, and readily granted us accommodations with himself. Here again, as often before during our tour, we were called on to recognize the hand of our heavenly Father. At 11 A. M., weighed anchor, and for a season bade adieu to this land of spiritual darkness and death.

ART. III. *The iniquities of the opium trade with China; being a development of the main causes which exclude the merchants of Great Britain from the advantages of an unrestricted commercial intercourse with that vast empire. With extracts from authentic documents. By the Rev. A. S. Thelwall,* M. A., *of Trinity College, Cambridge. Drawn up at the request of several gentlemen connected with the East-India trade.* London: W. H. Allen & Co., Leadenhall street, 1839. *pp.* 178.

The iniquities of the opium trade! Why, "I never heard before that we carried on any such traffic, much less that any iniquities were connected with it." Thus Mr. Thelwall thinks he hears his countrymen exclaim, on reading the title of his book; and ingenuously adds, that "till very recently" he himself was "equally ignorant." But "some weeks ago," his attention having been called to circumstances connected with the traffic, the result was, that it appeared to him a subject of such moment, "that the attention of all

ranks and orders ought to be called to it without delay." Accordingly he proceeds at once to state the *facts of the case*, under four heads; 1st, the effects of opium; 2d, the vast extent to which opium is introduced into China; 3d, the manner in which it is introduced; and 4th, the light in which the Chinese government and people look upon this traffic, and upon us, as people engaged in it. For this part of his work, many facts and documents were drawn from the Chinese Repository, the author having "taken pains to verify and correct them."

With regard to the first point, he admits that opium, used as a medicine, in skillful hands, "is one of the greatest alleviations of bodily suffering and anguish that a merciful Providence has vouchsafed us." Yet he adds, "every physician knows that it needs to be used with skill and caution. In some painful diseases, which might seem at first sight to demand its use, the effects would be highly injurious, or even fatal; and there are many constitutions to which a very moderate dose of opium, even under the circumstances which would commonly call for its exhibition, would be fearfully deleterious. Perhaps there are few persons, who (looking round among the range of their acquaintance,) cannot find one or two who know, by experience, that they must not venture upon the use of opium at all: the most moderate dose would cause them severe suffering. What then must be said to the use of this potent drug as a *mere luxury*, at the will and pleasure of the ignorant individual who takes a fancy to indulge in it? I put the question plainly to one of the most eminent physicians in London, and his unhesitating answer was, that *no one could thus use it without shortening his life.*" He shows that "there is something peculiarly ensnaring in the use of opium," and that "thus the habit grows upon the wretched victim till he becomes entirely enslaved to it." "The plainest proofs, however, of the baneful effects of opium-smoking in China are, perhaps, to be drawn from the fact, that the subject engages the most serious attention of the Chinese government; and persons of the highest rank, and in the most responsible stations, see and feel the increase of this habit among the people to be an evil of such vast and fearful importance, that all their faculties are tasked to devise a remedy, or the means of effectually putting a stop to its progress." He notices, under this head, the pictures of Sunqua, as "they give the impression of the baneful effects of opium-smoking which facts and observation have made, not upon an individual alone, but upon multitudes of Chinese: for such pictures are commonly the result, not of a single notion in the mind of

an isolated individual, but of a feeling that widely prevails. They are indications of the general sense of a class at least of the community."

On the second point, namely, "the extent to which this pernicious drug is introduced into China," Mr. Thelwall brings forward a variety of statistics, which are already familiar to all our readers, and then gives us the following calculation.

"If a mace weight would fill twelve pipes (which may be allowed to be 'a tolerably good allowance' for each day), and if it be further observed that (according to some accounts) the mace weight which has served the luxurious smoker to-day will supply the pipe of a more wretched slave to this habit to-morrow; then will 34,000 chests (the amount imported during the last year to which my information extends,) be abundantly sufficient to ruin the health and shorten the days of not less than 2,980,000 individuals. And, if he who begins to use this baneful drug at twenty years of age can never expect to reach his fortieth year, then what must be the average number *per annum*, of those who are cut off prematurely by the use of opium! The ordinary calculation is, unless my memory fails me, that of sixty persons living and in health at the age of twenty, one may be expected to die every year. That is to say, the above-mentioned 2,980,000 persons who are living and in health at the age of twenty, would not, in the ordinary course of nature, be all dead in less than sixty years. If, on the contrary, in consequence of the use of opium, they all die in twenty years, the rate of mortality is tripled! And thus within the space of twenty years, not less than 1,996,000 are MURDERED by the use of this pernicious drug; or 99,300 every year! I confine myself, in this calculation, to the effects of *imported* opium. At whose hands will the blood of all these victims to opium-smoking be required? . . . . . This calculation (adds Mr. T. in a note) may seem extreme, or even exaggerated: nor is it easy to make any calculation, in cases of this nature, which can be depended upon. If the destruction of life by means of opium-smoking amounts to only *one tenth* of this number, it is sufficiently awful." *pp.* 29, 40.

On the third point, the manner in which the opium is introduced, he commences by stating the notorious fact that it is all smuggled "in defiance of the laws and regulations of the Chinese government;" he then gives the process in detail; and observes that "all the iniquities of bribery, fraud, duplicity, perjury, and violence, which are inseparably connected with smuggling are continually going on! And . . . . . (&c., &c.) . . . Is it needful, in this enlightened age, to enlarge upon the evils, which are inseparably connected with such a system of smuggling? . . . . . I know not what those who consider themselves as enlightened Britons will think or say upon this subject. I know not what judgment they will pronounce upon *the practice of*

opium-smoking, or *the system of determined smuggling*, by means of which this pernicious drug is introduced in such quantities into China. This little book is but an appeal to my countrymen on the question. We shall see, in due time, what kind of response it meets with. But this I know, that the Chinese government and people, absurd, unenlightened, prejudiced, ignorant, and semibarbarous, as perhaps we imagine them to be, have formed their judgment, deliberately and decidedly, both with regard to the conduct and character of those who are engaged in smuggling opium into China."

This brings Mr. Thelwall to his fourth topic, which is to ascertain in what light the Chinese government looks upon this traffic, and upon foreigners engaged in it, "which is perhaps, to any one who is jealous for the honor of this country, the most humiliating part of the inquiry." There is no blenching here, no asperity, no show of party feeling. "Facts must be known. It will not do, in such an age as this, to shut our eyes or our ears against them." And after a few appropriate remarks, he introduces to his readers Choo Tsun, "taking a calm and deliberate view of a question in which the welfare of the Chinese empire and people is concerned; reasoning thereon like a politician, a philosopher, and a philanthropist; defending indeed the present system and deprecating a change; but doing this with a soundness of reasoning and weight of argument, which might well put to shame very many of our European statesmen." He quotes the memorial of Choo Tsun entire, adduces other official documents with a few remarks, chiefly explanatory; and then thus concludes this part of his book.

"I have now laid before my readers the whole of the evidence which has come before me upon this subject, and endeavored to put it in the most intelligible form. It is not to my own opinions and remarks, but to this evidence, that I desire to call attention: and I put it to their judgment and conscience,—as if they were a jury appointed to try the question, and to give a true verdict according to the evidence laid before them,—whether the documents I have produced do not distinctly prove the following points. That opium, used as a stimulant or luxury, is a deleterious drug which ruins those who indulge in it, body and estate—which depraves and enervates them, physically, and intellectually, and morally, and finally brings them to an untimely grave: that it is introduced into China in such immense quantities, as to effect the ruin of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the inhabitants: that thousands of acres of *the most rich and fertile land*, which might supply abundance of wholesome food for the support of many thousands of our fellow-creatures, in health and comfort, are *worse than wasted* in the production of this poison, of which the tendency and effect is to ruin and

destroy: that this baneful drug is *smuggled* into China by our countrymen [chiefly, but in part also by other foreigners] in the East-Indies, in direct and systematic violation and defiance of all laws both human and divine, and in a manner calculated to justify the Chinese government in excluding us from all the benefits of comfortable and unrestricted commercial intercourse with their immense population: and, finally, that the baneful effects of opium-smoking, and the whole system of iniquity by which so much opium is smuggled into the country, are perfectly laid open, and familiarly known to the Chinese authorities, both provincial and supreme; and the inevitable consequence is, that both the government and the people feel themselves justified in looking upon us with mingled hatred, suspicion, and contempt,—in treating us with studied insolence and indignity,—and, therefore, in rejecting even our best endeavors to do them good—(for how should they be able to imagine that any real good or true kindness can come from a nation and people whom they look upon as smugglers and dealers in poison, for their ruin and destruction?)—that they also feel themselves justified in increasing, instead of removing, the hindrances and difficulties which deprive both nations of benefits, commercial, intellectual, moral, and religious, that might be expected, in the course of time, and under the blessing of the Almighty, from reciprocations of free and friendly intercourse between the two mightiest empires in the world;—whereof one, professing and calling itself Christian and enlightened with wisdom from on high, has benefits and blessings of incalculable value to bestow, and would itself be *doubly blest* in bestowing them;—for with regard to the honor and blessing which accompanies the communication of the knowledge of salvation, must not a Christian people, with humble thankfulness, 'remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give than to receive?'

"Thus far then, reader, my sole concern has been to lay before you *facts*. If now you choose to close the book, and make your own reflections, and form your own judgment, and decide for yourself, what common humanity, what real concern for the honor and welfare of your country, and what the fear of God and Christian principle demand of you, I am well content. To bring the facts of the case fairly before you, has been my main object in writing. But this I intreat you to remember, that (these facts being once laid before you), you are called on both to think and to act. You may, perhaps, truly say that, thus far, you have been altogether innocent in this matter—that you have had no part in these iniquities: that you never knew—that you never suspected—that such a traffic was carried on by your fellow-countrymen, and under the British flag. But this you can no longer say. The case is altered *now*. From this time forth, if you do not protest against these iniquities—if you do not endeavor, according to your ability, to put them down—you become, in your measure, a partaker of them, and (by careless connivance) a tacit accomplice in the crime of your fellow-countrymen. He who stands by unconcerned while murder is committed, and (still more) he who shelters the murderer and facilitates his escape, according to

all law, divine and human, is justly deemed an accomplice in the crime. What, then, shall be said of you — what will you in your conscience judge concerning yourself — if you (now knowing the fact, that the opium trade is every year destroying thousands and tens of thousands of the people of China,) shall go on unconcerned and reckless, without lifting up either your voice or your hand, to protest against or prevent such wholesale murder?" *pp.* 129, 133.

The second part of the volume consists of "Remarks and Practical Appeals," containing a "letter from a gentleman who had long resided in India," with "returns to be moved for in parliament." Here Mr. Thelwall says, with evident and very just feelings of exultation — "ruling an empire upon which the sun never sets — possessed of an extent of dominion, such as Rome in her greatest glory never saw — and containing a population, with which no empire upon earth but that of China can compare, — Great Britain, in regard to all the elements of earthly glory, — in regard to power, dominion, and wealth, — seems indeed to be lifted up as an object of admiration and envy [?] to the whole world." And then adds: "great in proportion to the glory and exaltation of our country, must be her responsibility in the sight of Him, before whom all nations are accounted as the drop in the bucket, and as the small dust of the balance." He says, it has been calculated that the Mohammedan and pagan subjects of queen Victoria are not less in number than 130,000,000; and that if to these be added the allied and tributary states of India, "it seems probable that 230,000,000 would be much nearer the mark." After animadverting somewhat on the conduct towards these, he asks, "What but the special help and blessing of Almighty God can possibly uphold and preserve us? and, under this, that moral strength which is founded on the deep respect, if not the affectionate gratitude of those with whom we have to do; and, more especially, of the nations subjected to our sway, and dependent on our protection?" He further asks, whether the conduct in the generations past, or even now, is such as is calculated to secure either of those desirable ends; and without attempting an answer, turns to the facts of the opium trade with China, and says, "Let each put home to his own conscience the plain question, is this traffic calculated to bring upon us, as a nation [or upon any people who are engaged in it], the blessing of the Most High? or to gain for us [or for them] the respect and affection of the inhabitants of Eastern Asia, to whom those facts are known?"

Again: "If the facts regarding the opium trade with China be as I have stated, and if upon these facts, which they know, the Chinese

government and people found their judgment of us as a nation, have they not much to plead in justification of all the restrictions they have imposed? Must we not conceive it a very possible thing, yea, highly probable, that Chinese statesmen and patriots will say, respecting us—'Shall we open our ports to wholesale smugglers, and to wholesale dealers in opium? Shall we put these foreign smugglers and murderers upon an equal footing with our own peaceable and injured subjects? Shall we deal with them, or communicate with them, as if they were honest men, or worthy of any respect? Have they not reason to be well content, that we suffer them to live? And to marvel at our forbearance, that we have not long since expelled them from our boundaries, never to return, or put them to death without mercy?' The very thought of their using such language respecting us may be very humiliating — very galling to our national pride: but is it not *natural* that they should use it? Let us put ourselves in their place, and think with ourselves, how *we* should judge concerning a people, whose very name we could not dissociate in our minds from the constant, determined practice of smuggling poison into our country, that was ruining and destroying thousands of our population every year?"

And again; "While these things are so, must not our present commerce stand upon a most precarious and humiliating footing?" Other similar interrogations follow. Mr. Thelwall, like a writer over the signature P., in one of the Calcutta newspapers, seems to have anticipated the present crisis, and that not only the property but the lives of his countrymen here, would be placed, erelong, in most imminent peril. We intended to quote a part of the letter, above alluded to, pointing out some of the evils connected with the production of opium in India — evils which seem to us incredible — but our limits forbid this, and allow us space for only one more extract. In view of the facts and considerations adduced Mr. Thelwall inquires —

"May it not be safely affirmed, that regard to national honor and national prosperity, as well as the word of God and Christian principle, and regard to the far more important and sacred interests of religion and humanity,— all combine to demand, on the part of the legislature and people of this country, these two things:—

"1. A thorough investigation before parliament of all the facts connected with the opium trade with China?

"2. A steadfast determination, and the most vigorous exertions, if these things be so, to put down this abominable traffic; and a most friendly, cordial co-operation with the Chinese government and local authorities, in every measure that can be devised for delivering their country from this poisonous pest?

"The first of these is what I am mainly concerned with *now*. I call for public investigation. I have examined myself, and laid before my readers, the best evidence I could obtain; but what can be done by a private and obscure individual is not enough. It is for parliament to investigate a question, in which the honor and welfare of Great Britain is concerned. I would, therefore, suggest, that government be requested to lay before both Houses of Parliament, annual returns, for the last ten or fifteen years, upon the following points.

"1. The quantity of opium cleared at the custom-houses of Calcutta, Bombay, and all other places in the East-India Company's dominions, for China, or for Singapore, or any other port, for the purpose of being eventually conveyed to China.

"2. The number of vessels under the British flag which have been moored at Lintin, or immediately in the vicinity of the ports of China, as depots for opium.

"3. The number, tonnage, and particular character of the vessels which have been, and are employed, in carrying opium, from our different presidencies in India to China.

"4. The treaty of commerce [!!] between the East-India Company and the Chinese government, or the Chinese authorities at Canton.

"5. The orders of the East-India Company to their commanders and officers, prohibiting them from conveying opium in their ships,—when the East-India Company had the monopoly of the trade between England and China.

"6. Copies of the decrees and manifestoes issued by the government of China, whether supreme or provincial, for the prohibiting of opium, and the suppression of the trade.

"7. The quantity of land employed in the cultivation of the poppy, within the territories of the East-India Company; and the number of persons engaged in that cultivation, and the preparation of opium.

"8. Copies of any other Chinese decrees or documents complaining of, or denouncing, any other circumstances of the conduct and transactions of British merchants and residents at Canton,—that all their grounds of complaint and reproach against us may be fully known and investigated." *pp.* 169, 171.

This account of what Mr. Thelwall's book is we submit to our readers without further note or comment. There can now be no more doubt that the subject will come before the parliament; and we doubt not every Briton and every subject of queen Victoria will feel assured that there it will receive all due consideration with a just and honorable adjudication.

ART. IV. *A letter of a Chinese youth addressed to an English gentleman.* From the Canton Press No. 212, Oct. 26th, 1839.

I AM a mere rustic, like grass obey the winds that chance to blow. I have seen but little of the world, so that meeting a gentleman I scarcely know how to make my respects. As to Cap. E., I have never met him face to face; but, Mr.——— I am extremely obliged to for his kindness. Amid a hundred cares he can speak to me, an obscure man. It is like striking a bell which cannot but return a sound. This sound perhaps is a prolonged and melancholy tone, or abrupt and loud, like the alarm bell's note, which if heard at midnight cannot fail to alarm the human spirit.

The superintendent's name is *E Lut.* Is this, truly, a just law? Opium injures the soul and body. This he has been able to surrender to be thrown into the flowing ocean. Both the scholars and nobility of my country, in mutual conversation, have said, in reference to it, truly a heart of fellow-feeling all men possess; and I myself have secretly extolled the superintendent's appropriate name. But since I have heard the foreigners have widely disseminated the poison, resisting and opposing the laws of the land, I pause to ask where is the "*lut?*" Suppose an inhabitant of the central kingdom were to go to England and with some stupifying drug should intoxicate the people, while he robbed them of their property; accidentally waking up from their stupor, would they not immediately and absolutely seize him? For should they not arrest this man, how could they exterminate the evil? The stupifying drug being taken from him, and through favor he should not be prosecuted to the utmost of the law, would you stop to consider, if you take from him this means of attaining his purpose of spoliation and not pay him for it, *and not pay him for it*, how great may be his loss? The robber's nature, is not to know your extensive favor, but instead, he turns himself against what is right, and giving himself up to unreasonableness he rails at you. Would the managers of affairs give him a present? With paternal excellence the statesman seeks to bless when as yet he has no opportunity; and embraces the first occasion to make him a present, (as in the case of his excellency) and admonishes him to reform himself. It cannot he helped if the robber is not satisfied. It would be exceedingly difficult to assign a reason why he should have more. Perhaps he might say, I am a subject of the central kingdom. How can

they thus disgrace me and insult my nation! I will return and raise an army directly. Do the public officers sincerely think the central kingdom would grant him the army?

The sages of the inner land legislate for all the empire. Although they do not like the disobedient man's heart, they wish every man to follow his own inclination, as far as possible. But when the public good requires, they must oppose his private wishes. Therefore the empire delights to follow them in that which they enact. Yet the pique of an individual cannot obtain sympathy throughout the empire, and that which is opposite to the general wish cannot be granted, and his application for soldiers would therefore be useless. For the sage's acting for the empire cannot bring all cordially to acquiesce in his will. In the origin of the human race, men were born susceptible to hunger and cold, and the ills peculiar to men and women, with desires for food and drink, and possessing the passions of the sexes. All below the sky were alike; the sages did not seek to change their nature, but immediately instituted laws and taught them the various arts of cookery, to marry and to give in marriage, beget children and nourish and educate them; and all this was according to their mind, and was peace and satisfaction.

Oh! you foreigners, profit and lust inflame your hearts. In performing their duty, the statesman and instructor, although they would please the people, they cannot do it to the annulling of the laws. Now the foreigner ———, on his own responsibility absolutely has desired injuriously to involve the royal family's public business. Her sovereign highness cherishes self-respect, and in numerous countries wins favor, and extends her fame and with all mankind does that which is pleasant and delightful. Even a young lady has been eligible to the British throne. Heaven must truly furnish that which her throne requires. Now a single officer cannot cause the national family to sustain this dissatisfaction and bear this grief. On the contrary, it is nonsense so to advise her majesty, seeking to produce an occasion of war, in order to screen himself from error, plotting for an unjust advantage. No matter for the decisions of parliament, whether they are according to his idea or not. The superintendent is the ruler of all the people as regards this affair, and the destroyer of his beloved countrymen. Having lost credit with another nation he would sweep to oblivion the soldiery, and destroy his nation together. Such an offense it is absolutely impossible lightly to punish. I proceed sincerely to explain the case according to facts, selecting a few prominent points.

Foreigners have fearlessly bolted out into the villages, played with women; annoying people. They have destroyed public edicts, burnt a custom-house, and seized mandarins in the discharge of their duty, and cut off their queues. This is anarchy and a public nuisance. This is anarchy, this is a capital offense; but fortunately they have escaped. The merchant from birth and onward never reads half a page, and therefore does not understand propriety. It is understood that your scholars and nobility are not the same. But I drop this subject observing: that we have officers, who, looking up to the emperor's favor, leniently pardon you. For illustration; the commissioner sent his high officers who condescended to speak to a foreign merchant, desiring to see him face to face, to admonish him, and like a parent to explain his duty, because the emperor, his indignation being roused against opium, that overflowing poison's bitterness, had commanded him, his great statesman, to examine the ports and regulate the maritime affairs, forgiving foreign merchants, loving them as children, alway desiring their reformation.

"If the water is too clear, there will be no fish; men too clear, then none will follow them." The emperor's crown has a brim behind to screen the light, and two tassels of disheveled silk overhanging his ears to obstruct the noise. Manfestly he sees what he seems not to notice, and hears that which he does not appear to regard. He promotes great virtue and overlooks small offenses. A man's righteousness he does not annul. The crooked he straightens, and permits you foreigners to enjoy the commerce of China, you yourselves begging for, and scheming to obtain it; he is lenient to excess. Such is the emperor's example, who desires all men to be happy. The emperor's virtue is overflowing, like a zone surrounds the four seas, while at home he receives the strength of eighteen provinces. When he speaks from the imperial abode, the four corners of the empire respond. He can accomplish his purposes as easily as revolve his hand. It is a true saying, soldiers when not used are like a rat, but exercised they are like a tiger. A ten thousands catty cannon cannot of itself kill a man, but man the piece, and it can destroy men, especially if you have soldiers skilled in military tactics. Besides, even the imperial ladies can teach the superintendence of the army; and a flock of sheep, or a herd of buffaloes, may be employed to break your ranks. The evolutions of our military tactics are innumerable. Heaven's time, earth's advantage and men's harmony, we possess; i. e. a fruitful season, advantageous position of country, and domestic harmony, we at present possess. Do you think we are ignorant of

your aims, and are not awake to your devices? Alas! alas! you foreigners who wound and poison so many souls, you thus provoke and anger supreme heaven, and therefore heaven will exterminate your souls, and complete outright the number of your days: at least perhaps so, I cannot say. But I deplore the youth of your sovereign, and that parliament should send power, disorderly to exercise the lance and spear, and by so doing, weaken her royal family. Confucius said, the emoluments of office exhaust the public treasury, and to commit the public service to the nobility, are dangerous and destructive means. I can but draw a long and most audible sigh; and concluding ask, does not the poet justly say: the drum and gong are within the royal palace, but their sound is heard without. The stork on high utters her notes, and her music is heard in the heavens. If possessed of intrinsic virtue, sooner or later it will be manifest, there need be no fear of disgrace. The bell unstruck emits no sound, but stricken, the sound, like the blow, will be light or heavy; and applying the figure to myself, the sound is brief, for I have but incidentally mentioned my ideas, yet, if not long, you can bear to hear it. Then with it clean your heart, or it will fire your brain. I can but speak that which I know.

ART. IV. *Memoranda of correspondence between her Britannic majesty's superintendent captain Elliot, and his celestial majesty's high commissioner Lin and Tăng governor of Canton.*

FROM the Canton Register, extra, of the 23d instant, we copy some memoranda of negotiations and correspondence between captain Elliot and British merchants on the one side, and commissioner Lin, governor Tăng, and the hong merchants on the other. We copy them as they stand in the Register, which contains only an "abstract" of the original documents.

No. 1. *Four propositions or conditions of amicable arrangement forwarded to captain Elliot in the name of the commissioner and governor of Canton.*

1st. Captain Elliot is accused of keeping the vessels outside for the purpose of smuggling; but now appearing desirous of establishing a permanent and honorable trade, he must collect all the opium and deliver it up. If it be still retained on board the ships, it will only remain to set fire to the whole.

2dly. It is asked if captain Elliot is unable to detect the murderer of Lin Weihe, among the persons found guilty of riot and assault in the late affray? What is to prevent their being sent for trial by the Chinese officers, one only to be kept to answer for the crime?

3dly. The immediate departure of the store-ships, and the rest of the

proscribed, is required; and in the event of disobedience, the ships are to be burnt, and the proscribed seized and brought to trial.

4thly. To the assemblage of British ships at Hongkong is attributed the renewal of the opium traffic, and the homicide of Lin Weihe; and to captain Elliot, the attack and defeat at Kowloong. Captain Elliot has stated that he must wait his sovereign's commands. It is inquired when the dispatch left, and when a reply may be expected? And then a modified arrangement will not be difficult to determine upon, if captain Elliot act obediently upon each of the propositions.

No. 2. *Captain Elliot's reply to the above.*

Having already taken severe measures, there ought not to be one catty of opium in the fleet, nor does her majesty's flag fly in the protection of a traffic declared illegal by the emperor, and, therefore, whenever a vessel is suspected of having opium on board, captain Elliot will take care that the officers of his establishment shall accompany the Chinese officers in their search, and that, if, after strict investigation, opium shall be found, he will offer no objection to the seizure and confiscation of the cargo. Again, if the consignee of a vessel profit by opium on board of her and does not declare the same to him, that it may be reported, he will offer no appeal if the firm be expelled from the empire. He proposes that to separate the lawful from the unlawful trade, no firm shall be allowed to reside or trade in China, until he, captain Elliot, shall have forwarded to the high officers a declaration signed by each member of it, solemnly declaring they have no concern, direct or indirect, with opium; neither will they permit any one under their control to have anything to do with the drug, and that they be made aware that detection will cause their immediate expulsion: and he further proposes that unless the commander and consignee of every vessel, on the day of arrival, hand in to him a solemn declaration, in Chinese and English, that she has brought no opium to China, has none on board, neither will receive any, she shall not be allowed to trade. Captain Elliot believes that this would effectually separate the lawful from the lawless trade here. With reference to the murder of Lin Weihe, captain Elliot assures the commissioner that every investigation was made to detect the murder, but there having been many American and English sailors on shore, it was impossible to detect him. Hereafter he proposes that a joint investigation be determined on, congenial with the customs of both nations. The most severe search shall be continued after the murderer of Lin Weihe, and a reward offered for him; and if found, he shall be placed on his trial according to the laws of his own country, before the honorable (Chinese) officers. Captain Elliot thinks it right his excellency's wishes should be complied with as regards the receiving ships, and the proscribed, as soon as the first northerly wind sets in, which will be in a few days; he appeals, however, in favor of Mr. Donald Matheson and Mr. Henry, they not having been concerned in the drug. Captain Elliot expects the commands of his sovereign in four months, and until their receipt it will be impossible for ships to proceed to Whampoa. He suggests it may be necessary to sell some of the receiving ships, several being old

and unfit for sea, and requests six days' residence at Macao for the proscribed, previous to their departure. Regarding the man found drowned at Hongkong, he did belong to a British ship. There were no marks of violence upon him, nor can captain Elliot say he was concerned in the death of Lin Weihe. Captain Elliot appeals to his past intercourse with the Canton authorities as affording grounds for their reposing confidence in him.

No. 3. *Rejoinder from the commissioner and governor.*

1st. Proof has been given that there is opium in the fleet, and captain Elliot is ordered to collect and make immediate delivery of it. Should any be stealthily removed and hereafter seized, all parties concerned shall suffer death according to the new law. If opium be taken on the coast, the vessel shall be taken and destroyed, and her crew put to death. So soon as the opium now in the fleet has been delivered up, officers shall be sent to examine the ships. A modified arrangement for carrying on British trade outside the Bogue may then be made, but not through Macao. Captain Elliot is required to make known that all vessels must obey the new law against opium, and that its violation is death.

2dly. The murderer of Lin Weihe must be delivered up in ten days. Delay may draw down measures of extermination.

3dly. The opium ships must leave immediately; leave is granted to the proscribed to return to Macao for six days, previous to their departure, but other foreigners must wait pending arrangements before returning to Macao.

4th. All the Chinese in the fleet are commanded to be given up. Captain Elliot's reply is to be sent throught the keunmin foo.

No. 4. *Captain Elliot's public Notice to H. B. M. subjects.*

In promulgating the following arrangement, the chief superintendent considers it right to say a few words explanatory of his views for rejecting any conditions involving the signing of a bond of consent to the trial and capital punishment of the queen's subjects by Chinese officers. He never pretends to deny the right of this government to make what laws it sees fit; but no share of the responsibility either of their principle or administration should be cast upon the queen's officers and subjects, not parties, to the one or the other. The liability of the Chinese officers to irreparable error, attended with sacrifice of innocent life, has recently been manifested in the violence committed upon the Spanish brig Bilbaino, under the impression that she was the British vessel Virginia. This declaration has been repeated over and over again by the government; so that the high officers of the empire are deliberately sustaining shameful blunder by shameless falsehood, or the truth cannot reach them even upon subjects of this momentous nature. Either alternative furnishes irrefragable reasons, for resisting a bond of consent to the infliction of capital punishment by their forms of trial. But again if the principle be admitted in the case of one description of offense, how can it be rejected for crimes of a graver character, and notably

for homicide? The dangerous doctrine of Chinese law, however, upon that point, or at least of the practice in respect to foreigners, can never be sanctioned. For example, in the very instance which has pressed so cruelly and so unjustly for the last two months on the whole British community, the governor and commissioner still demand a man: in other words they require the chief superintendent to be guilty of the crime of murder by delivering up a man for execution in compensation for a murder committed by a person or persons wholly unknown to him. The pertinacity with which the Chinese press for this bond is peculiarly significant, and seems to be ascribable to a mixture of motives.

In some degree, probably to the sense of their own unfitness to judge foreigners (without their own consent), arising from utter difference of genius, language, and customs, and it may be from the feeling that the full protection of their own laws is not extended over us, to the same degree as it is over the native population. A stronger cause would of course be the apprehension of consequences from foreign governments; and they are certainly right in the belief that the chance of urgent appeal for redress would be slight indeed, if it were to be answered by the presentation of bonds of consent to sentences against ourselves, or by the simple declaration that we had delivered the man. In this last case, there could be nothing to say: in the other, the Chinese would produce the records of a trial, insist that they had examined faithfully, and decided justly; and hand forth the bond of consent. The chief superintendent is sure it will be felt by his own government and country that there can be neither safe nor honorable intercourse with this empire, if British officers and people concede such points as these. By order of the chief superintendent.

EDWARD ELMSLIE, Secretary and treasurer, &c.

No. 5. *Second public Notice to H. B. M. subjects.*

It has been agreed between their excellencies the high commissioner and governor upon the one side, and the chief superintendent upon the other, that under existing circumstances:

1st. The British trade may be carried on outside the Bocca Tigris without any necessity of signing the bond of consent to Chinese legislation (to be handed to Chinese officers), upon the condition that the ships be subjected to examination.

2d. That the place of resort shall be the anchorage between Anunghoy and Chuenpe.

3d. It is fully understood, that the vessels, while discharging their cargoes outside the Bogue, shall pay the measurement charge in the same manner as if they went up to Whampoa. The pilot's charges shall also be paid as usual. The linguists fees shall be paid in like manner.

4th. The vessels proceeding to Anunghoy will transport their cargoes by means of chop-boats, and will undergo search by officers. By order of the chief superintendent. EDWARD ELMSLIE, Sec. &c.

No. 6. *Minute of the committee of British merchants.*

The committee of British merchants, deputed from Hongkong,

have this day attended a meeting of the hong merchants, at the residence of her majesty's chief superintendent, to discuss the details of a proposed plan for renewal of commercial intercourse.

The committee have been informed by her majesty's chief superintendent, that the principles of such proposed trade, as agreed on between himself and the Chinese authorities, are comprised in the accompanying paper, bearing his signature, and that their opinion is desired merely as to the best mode of carrying the system into operation. They understand it to be the general wish of the British community, in concurrence with the views of her majesty's chief superintendent, that, if possible, a temporary settlement should be made for a trade outside the Bogue, and that it is highly desirable to prevent the return of the ships to Whampoa, and the British community to Canton, until the pleasure of her majesty's government be known.

The committee deeply regret to say, from the tenor of their communications with the hong merchants, they are apprehensive that the circumstance of one English ship, the Thomas Coutts, captain Warner, having actually proceeded inside the Bogue, in violation of the injunction of her majesty's chief superintendent, and the fact of the captain having signed the bond required by the Chinese government, may occasion delays and difficulties in the proposed trade outside, which would never have arisen, had all the English remained firm, as they have hitherto done, in resisting the attempt made to force them into a written acquiescence in the new laws, involving the trial of foreigners by Chinese officers, and their capital punishment for dealing in opium. With these preliminary remarks; and referring again to the terms agreed on by her majesty's chief superintendent, the committee subjoin the following memoranda of details, suggested by themselves and the hong merchants, for the conduct of the proposed outside trade.

1st. Chuenpe has been proposed as the port of discharge and loading: but the committee think it probable some other place outside the Bogue may be found less liable to objection on the ground of the strength of winds and tide, and difficulty as to the dispatch of cargo by chop-boats.

2d. It is agreed that the cargoes be discharged and loaded by means of China chop-boats.

Note. It is mentioned that only about twelve chops daily can be considered available for the outside trade.

3d. The hong merchants propose to charge for boat hire, 50 taels for 240 bales Bengal cotton, and 50 taels for 210 bales of Bombay cotton, and in proportion for other goods according to the old tariff for cargo from the Second Bar.

Note. This scal eof charge would be as follows, compared with the old rate. Charge for one boat $15.22; or say three boats carrying 240 bales Bengal cotton $45.66; present charge, at 50 taels is $69,43; increased charge $23.77.

4th. The hong merchants agree that the produce in boats from Canton to the ships shall be at their risk, as formerly the case with the Whampoa trade, and the goods from the ship to Canton at the risk of the foreigners.

5th. The weight of goods to be taken from the ship's side as at Whampoa.

6th. Goods in Canton, when unsold in the hongs, to be at the risk of the owners in case of accident by fire; and the government duty in such case to be paid by the owners.

7th. If goods remain unsold in the hongs two and a half months after arrival, the duty must then be paid by the owners.

8th. One hong will disembark the whole cargo of a vessel; but after the goods are brought to Canton and examined, the owners will be at liberty to send them at once to whatever hong they please.

Additional memoranda.

1st. It was stated by the hong merchants that temporary warehouses, or store-ships, at Chuenpe, or other port of discharge, could not be allowed.

2d. It was stated that the mandarins would object to vessels, when discharged, taking stone ballast at Chuenpe; but this, it has been represented, would prevent the ships fully unloading; which fact the hong merchants promise to represent to the mandarins.

3d. The hong merchants state that no unnecessary difficulties will be made in the examination of cargo; and it was further stated that no objection will arise to the continued stay of any ship or ships, while their business is unfinished.

Note. It is understood that her majesty's chief superintendent has agreed with the Chinese authorities as to the right of examination of ship's cargo at Chuenpe; but the hong merchants explain that this examination shall take place only on delivery to the boats. The committee consider that any other mode of examination would be very objectionable to the British merchants.

4th. It was mentioned by the hong merchants, that the arrangement for a temporary trade outside is intended to apply only to the ships now actually here; not to those which may hereafter arrive; but the committee conceive that the principle should apply to any vessels arriving prior to the receipt of instructions from the British government; at the same time, they do not consider it expedient to embarrass the question by agitating it at the present moment; leaving the matter for after negotiation, should the proposed plan be found to operate satisfactorily.

The committee further understood, from her majesty's chief superintendent, that on the arrangement for a recognized outside trade being completed, the injunctions against sending British property to Canton (not ships) will be withdrawn; and that property so sent will be considered as under the protection of the British government.

The committee have represented to her majesty's chief superintendent and the hong merchants, that in their opinion a trade under the proposed new plan cannot be commenced until the British community have returned to Macao. Oct. 22d, 1839.

(Signed) Henry Wright, George T. Braine, William Wallace, Wilkinson Dent.

ART. V. *Journal of Occurrences. New bond required; the Thomas Coutts enters the port; progress of the negotiations and their interruption; provisions and servants forbidden to English subjects and they required to leave Macao; military operations; British ships ordered to Tungkoo; the Volage and Hyacinth, proceed to the Bogue; opium traffic vigorously prosecuted; robberies; the Bilbaino; the triennial examination.*

NEARLY eight months have elapsed since the high commissioner arrived in Canton; and the prospects of immediately suppressing the traffic in opium, and of placing the legitimate trade on a secure basis, are now darker than ever; nor are we able to conceive how either the one or the other of these desirable objects can be attained until this government consents to enter into free and friendly intercourse with foreign powers by treaty. Several important edicts have just appeared, which for want of space we defer to our next number. The following is the form of the new bond, signed by the parties controling the Thomas Coutts — which ship entered the port about the middle of the present month. For all ships, hereafter entering the port, the new bond is required. The *English* of the bond is done by a Chinese.

A truly and willing bond.

THE foreigner commander of ship belong to under consignment, present this to His Excellency the Great Government of Heavenly Dynesty, and certificate that the said ship carry goods come and trade in Canton; I, with my officer, and the whole crew are all dreadfully obey the new laws of the Chinese Majesty, that they dare not bring any opium; if one little bit of opium was found out in any part of my ship by examination, I am willingly deliver up the transgressor, and he shall be punish to death according to the correctness law of the Government of Heavenly Dynesty; both my ship and goods are to be confiscate to Chinese Officer; but if there found no opium on my ship by examination, then I beg Your Excellency's favor permit my ship enter to Wampoa and trade as usual; so if there are distinguish between good and bad, then I am willingly submit to Your Excellency: and I now give this bond as a true certificate of the same,

Heavenly Dynesty, Taou-Kwang year moon day,
Name of Captain
" " Ship " " Officer " " Crew

The preceding article containing correspondence, &c., shows the progress made towards a temporary resumption of trade. The conditions for it having been acceded to on both sides, the hong merchants left Macao for Canton, and the English families were at the same time returning to their residences, with what prospects the three following papers will show.

No. 1. " *Public notice.* The high commissioner and the governor of these provinces having this day violated their engagements, made under their signets, to conduct the trade outside of the port of Canton; having peremptorily demanded the murderer of Lin Weihe, and the entrance of the ships within the port of Canton, with the signature of a bond of consent by the commanders to trial by Chinese officers for offenses declared to be capital, or the departure of the ships from these coasts in three days; the whole under menaces of destruction: the chief superintendent has now to require all commanders of British ships to read this paper to their crews, and forthwith

to prepare for sea and proceed to Tungkoo bay; the anchorage at Hongkong being liable to surprize by fire-ships and war boats.

Given under my hand at Macao, this 26th day of Oct. in the year 1839.

(Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent."

No. 2. "To capt. Smith, H. M. S. Volage. Macao, 26th Oct, 1839.

Sir,—I have the honor to acquaint you that I have this day received a communication from the weiyuen and keunmin foo, containing the violation of the agreement to conduct the trade outside of the port of Canton, lately submitted directly to me under the signets of the high commissioner and governor. Their excellencies now peremptorily require the delivery of the murderer of Lin Weihe, and the entrance of the ships at Whampoa, with the signature of the bond of consent; or their departure from these coasts in three days, under menaces of destruction. This shameless proceeding of the government is obviously attributable to the entrance of the ship Thomas Coutts, and the belief of the mandarins that their possession of hostages will enable them to constrain us into the acceptance of conditions incompatible with the honor of the British crown, and the safety of the queen's subjects. Under these circumstances, sir, I anxiously conjure you to take such immediate steps as may seem to you to be best calculated to prevent the future entrance of British shipping within the grasp of the government, to the incalculably serious aggravation of all these dangers and difficulties. Having reference to our conversation of this morning, upon the necessity of the immediate removal of the ships to Tungkoo, I take the liberty to inclose a memorandum which I request you will be pleased to circulate on your arrival at Hongkong. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent."

No. 3. "The undersigned coincides in opinion with the chief superintendent, and as H. M.'s naval officer in command in China, he warns all captains, officers, and crews of British ships against the danger of entering the Bogue and putting themselves and property in the power of the Chinese authorities. Dated on board H. M. S. Volage, Hongkong, 27th Oct. 1839.

(Signed) H. SMITH, Captain of H. M. S. Volage."

Edicts have just appeared in Macao forbidding under heavy penalties any intercourse between the Chinese and English; native servants are withdrawn, and all manner of provisions withholden; all British subjects required to leave Macao; at the same time military forces have been ordered out, and some four or five hundred have pitched their tents and quartered themselves just without the Barrier—in terrorem.

For better security all the British ships, engaged in the lawful trade, have been ordered to Tungkoo bay; and the vessels of her Britannic majesty proceeded, with captain Elliot, on the 29th to the Bogue—to seek, it is supposed, some more explicit declaration from the commissioner, touching the security of British life and property.

On good authority we have recently heard it stated that the number of vessels now engaged in the opium traffic is not less than twenty, and that the drug ranges from $1000 to $1600 per chest!

Robberies during the month have been very numerous, and the great number of vagabonds seems to be a source of some solicitude with the local magistrates, who have just issued a special edict for their full information.

We regret exceedingly to perceive, by recent edicts, that the case of the Spanish vessel Bilbaino remains without reversal, she having been declared to be the *Tan-she-na*, alias, the Virginia. This is a "most luminous example" of the fearful errors into which, the want of a free channel and better means of communication is constantly liable to plunge the Chinese.

The triennial examination in Canton this year has gone off with little interest or eclat. The number of candidates was about 3000 less than usual. This has been occasioned by the new measures respecting opium.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Catholic Missions in Tongking. Translated and abridged from the Nouvelles Lettres Edifiantes.*

THE first preachers were Jesuits, who were afterwards driven out by the king. During this interval, French missionaries from the *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères*, came to continue the work which the Jesuits had been obliged to break off. Deydier, the first missionary of this body, arrived in 1666, four years after the expulsion of the Jesuits. He labored with great success in propagating the faith, and in taking care of the numerous converts. His attention was particularly turned to the instruction of the most zealous of the catechists, with a view to preparing them for the priesthood. The first French missionaries, being few in number and having abundance of work, invited the Spanish Dominicans of Manila to come to their help. The Jesuits also returned in 1669.

The kingdom was divided into two apostolic vicarships, the western extending from the great river to Cochinchina and Laos; the eastern, from the same river to China. The Spanish Dominicans had the care of the eastern vicarship, where they had many European missionaries and native priests. The French occupied the western vicarship. The Jesuits continued to labor in the districts which they had already formed on both sides of the river, under the jurisdiction of their own apostolic vicars.

In 1776, the number of Christians was estimated at three hundred thousand. The population of the kingdom at the same period was supposed to be six millions. The western vicarship contained, in

1820, nearly two hundred thousand Christians; of the number in the eastern division we find no estimate given. The French had at this time a bishop who was apostolic vicar, another bishop his coadjutor, two missionaries from France, and more than eighty native priests. The number of French missionaries has at no time exceeded ten, including bishops. The western vicarship is divided into thirty-eight districts or parishes. The smaller ones are three or four leagues in extent, but most of them are much larger, and several are fifty or sixty leagues in length. Of these districts, some have three or four thousand Christians, many have from five to six thousand, and others have more than eight thousand. The European missionaries on account of their small number cannot confine themselves to a single district. Some are occupied in teaching the Latin language and theology to those natives who are intended for the priesthood; others go from place to place, visiting the different districts intrusted to native priests in order to direct them in the exercise of the sacred ministry, to maintain good order in their residences, and to inspire the youth who are in training for the service of the mission with the love of piety and virtue. They also visit the principal congregations of each district, where they preach and administer the sacraments. Although the people have much confidence in the native priests, they have far greater in European priests: consequently, they come together in crowds from all quarters to apply for the sacraments, and wherever Europeans go they find themselves burdened with labors greater than they can sustain. Each district is in the charge of priests of the country. Most of the districts have two of these priests, one discharging the duties of a rector, the other those of a vicar, who are changed from time to time, and removed to other districts, for the purpose of maintaining among them that spirit of poverty, and that freedom from worldly attachments, so necessary for missionaries. In order that they may devote themselves wholly to their ministry, without anxiety for the future, it is a rule that when a priest can no longer work he may live in his old district with his successor, who is to take care of him. The priests not being sufficient for so large a number of Christians and districts so extended, have catechists to assist them. There are about four hundred of them. Their duties are, to wait upon the priest in the administration of the sacraments, to visit the districts and instruct the converts, to preach Christianity to the pagans, and to prepare them for baptism when they are willing to embrace the religion of Christ. No one can become a catechist till he has passed the age of twenty-five. Besides good morals and zeal,

they must, before being received, recite to the bishop or one of his vicars, the book containing the instructions necessary to qualify them to teach the Christians, and to publish the gospel to unbelievers. Those catechists who distinguish themselves by their piety and their good behavior, their talents and their zeal, are promoted to the priesthood, and form a part of the company called "the family of the Lord,"—a name given to all attached to the service of the mission. There are in this number, eleven or twelve hundred, who are supported and provided for with paternal care. They are required to remain unmarried, but without taking a vow of celibacy, and whoever wishes to marry leaves the mission. Some of them belong to the households of European priests, others live with the native priests, who have the charge of the districts. Each of the priests has ordinarily twenty-five or thirty of these young persons under his care, and some have the training of a large number. They first learn to read their own language and also the Latin, after which they learn by heart the book of homilies. They are then employed in the service of the mission, each one according to his talents. Those who appear to learn the Latin easily are sent to a college, while the others become catechists. None are admitted to college till they are at least eighteen years of age. There are two colleges in which the Latin is taught; the principal one is in the southern province, the other is situated on the confines of Cochinchina; a European has charge of the former, a priest of Tongking is at the head of the latter; both having for their coadjutors several catechists acquainted with the Latin. There are sometimes as many as eighty students in the larger college, and fifty, in the other; at the present time [1820] the latter has but fifty and the former forty. Want of funds has occasioned this diminution of the number of students.

Besides these two colleges for the Latin language, there is a seminary for instructing in theology the catechists who are considered worthy to be raised to the sacerdotal office; this sometimes contains forty candidates; at present there are but twenty-five, all well recommended for their morality, piety, and zeal. No one is admitted here commonly before the age of thirty or thirty-two years, because the Indians are educated slowly and need a large trial. A European missionary has charge of this institution, and for several years past the same man has had the care of the seminary and of the larger college, which have been brought together into the same place and united.

Convinced that Christianity cannot be established in heathen countries on a solid basis without a native clergy, the first apostolic vicars

and the French missionaries have directed their efforts to this important point. Several popes, to encourage them, have declared that they would rather hear of the ordination of one Indian priest, than of the conversion of thousands of pagans. It is in accordance with these principles and purposes that efforts have always been made in Tongking, and are now making, to raise up a clergy in the country; but European missionaries are wanting, and not half as much is accomplished as might be if the number were greater. May the Lord send worthy laborers to coöperate in a work so blessed and so important. There are, besides these priests and catechists, in Tongking six or seven hundred nuns, living in thirty-eight or forty nunneries, where they support themselves by the labor of their hands and by trading in a small way. They take vows for a single year only, after which they renew them if they please.

Having spoken of the order established in the mission, we proceed to give some account of the manner of visiting the different congregations. The priest, in making his visits, brings with him several catechists and two young persons to assist him. Having arrived and received the welcome of the people, he ascertains what abuses have crept in, in order that he may correct them. Then commences the ordinary routine of duty. The priest spends the first day in prayer, in spiritual exercises, in receiving the Christians who come to consult him in regard to their troubles, in settling difficulties, in administering baptism, in receiving confessions, and in visiting the sick. A catechist, with one of the youths, spends the day in visiting the houses of the Christians, exhorting them to come and be instructed and to prepare themselves for the reception of the sacraments. At seven or eight o'clock in the evening the people assemble in the church. The catechist instructs those who are about to confess in regard to the state of mind necessary to the faithful performance of this act, and gives an enumeration of sins in order to facilitate the examination of the conscience. This instruction finished, the priest goes to the confessional, where he remains till eleven or twelve o'clock and sometimes later. The catechist, in the meantime, attends prayers with the whole assembly, and then instructs the adults while the two young men teach the children the prayers and the catechism. At eleven or twelve o'clock all retire, and at four in the morning the exercises commence again. Prayer is attended as in the evening, and then follows an exhortation from the priest, who afterwards celebrates the mass; after which all return home. Such is the method observed in visiting the Christian communities. The priest passes from one to

another, and all receive a visit from him at least once a year. To avoid scandal and all suspicion, the strictest precautions are used with reference to females. The rules of the mission expressly prohibit the entrance of women into the houses of the missionaries and priests under any pretext whatever. For this reason, there is attached to each of the residences of the priests an exterior apartment, where females are received, a catechist, or some other person belonging to the mission, being present as a witness. When private conversation is desired, the priest attends them at the confessional in the church. When the priest is obliged to lodge at the houses of any of the Christians, he has an apartment for himself and his attendants quite separate from the family, and he always has some one present when he converses with females. Catechists and other persons of the mission always go out two by two that they may serve as witnesses to each other.

And how are all the persons connected with the mission supported? The funds are derived chiefly from the fees of masses and from donations presented by the Christians of Tongking or sent from abroad. In this way some twelve hundred persons are maintained. The French missionaries receive from the *Séminaire des Missions Estrangères* five hundred francs each per annum. The missionaries expend as little as possible, and by their economy manage to sustain the mission. The Lord is pleased with this self denial and bestows his blessing. Since the establishment of the mission, a considerable number of worthy priests and excellent catechists have been trained up, who have rendered great services to Christianity.

The Christians of Tongking have been persecuted often and severely. Of the persecution in 1773, we here present some brief notices. Father Hyacinth Castaneda, a Spanish Dominican, had been six years connected with the mission. He had first preached the gospel in the province of Fuhkeën in China, on which account he was imprisoned and sent back to Macao, from which place he came to Tongking in February, 1770. Vincent Liem, a native priest, was also of the order of St. Dominic, having been educated at the monastery of the Dominicans in Manila. Castaneda was apprehended by an officer, and enclosed in a cage so small that he could scarcely move, and in this condition he was exposed for several days to the scorching rays of the sun. The officer designed by this severity to excite the commiseration of the Christians, and to obtain from them a sum of money for his release. But all things considered, it was not thought best to purchase his release, as it would only feed the cupidity of the

persecutors and furnish occasion for new exactions, thus subjecting all the missionaries to the danger of arrest. The officer, provoked at seeing his hopes frustrated, sent soldiers to seize other priests. The men succeeded in apprehending one other missionary, Vincent Liem a Tongkingese, who was likewise imprisoned in a cage. The officer, angry because he could not extort money from the Christians for the deliverance of the two missionaries, laid a complaint before the king, accusing them of being the leaders of rebellion, and of having projected a general revolt throughout the kingdom. The king, who was young and open to suspicion; was enraged and ordered the supposed rebel chiefs to be brought before him under double guards. The two prisoners were consequently brought to the capital, still shut up in their cages. On their arrival, they were taken out and led to the palace. The king interrogated the Spanish missionary thus: "Why have you come into my kingdom?" "I have come," replied Castaneda modestly, "to preach the gospel which teaches men the way of happiness and eternal life." "But why," said the king "do you not teach the people of your own country?" "My countrymen," answered the prisoner, "are instructed in Christianity, and know what they must do to secure eternal life." Nothing was said during the examination of revolt or of any plot against the government. But after a few frivolous questions, the two confessors were conducted to the presence of the queen-mother, who inquired of the Tongkingese father, among other matters, what would be the condition in the future life of those who should not believe the doctrine which he taught. Vincent replied, with the boldness of the gospel, that such could not escape the sufferings of an eternal hell. The queen, who was strongly attached to her idols, was irritated by this answer, and immediately gave orders that the two men should be again inclosed in their cages, and have their feet put in fetters. They were taken back to prison, where they continued to preach the gospel with still more zeal than before. The king, forthwith pronounced the sentence of death upon them, wrote it with his own hand, and sent it to his council, with orders to have it signed and instantly executed. Three high officers, two of whom were Christians, perceiving that the condemnation of the men was built only upon the pretended crime of rebellion, of which there was no proof, refused to give their signatures. This courageous act occasioned in the council a discussion which continued three days. If this did not save the lives of the accused, it established their innocence of the crime of rebellion, and furnished proof that they were preachers of the Christian religion as they had themselves declared.

"On the 7th of November, the officers and soldiers, with bared arms, followed by an immense crowd composed of both Christians and pagans, repaired to the prison. They took the two cages and transported them to a large open space outside of the city. The judge was seated upon his chair of office, which was placed upon an elephant, while the soldiers were ranged around to keep back the multitude. The missionaries are taken out of their cages and seated upon the ground. Their knees are bound to two stakes. Their clothes are taken off even to the girdle. Their hair is cut. Men hold them by the head and by the right shoulder. The sentence is read, and at a signal given the executioners strike off their heads. At this instant, the Christians throwing aside all fear and breaking through the crowd, take up the heads of the two martyrs, dip things in their blood, bathe the bodies with their tears, and carry these precious relics to a distant village, where the funeral was celebrated by the vicar general and two Tongkingese priests with the solemnity appropriate to so mournful an event.

"The officer who presided at the execution had retired, but perceiving that the number of his followers was greatly diminished, he returned to the place of punishment, and observed attentively what was passing there. He noticed among the Christians, who were pressing forward to pay their respects to the relics of the martyrs, rich men, soldiers, and men of rank, three of whom were umbrella bearers to the king. On his return to the palace he reported to the king in detail all he had seen. The king was transported with rage, and issued commands to apprehend all who had manifested such eagerness to pay honor to the bodies of those whom he regarded as the enemies of his throne, and to put them in chains and confiscate their estates. He also published a new edict against the Christian religion, requiring that search should be made for all priests, whether Tongkingese or European, and expressing the desire that every one of them should be put to death within the space of two months. He also enjoined it upon all Christians to abjure their faith, to pull down their churches, to deliver up the furniture of the mass, and promised rewards to those who should discover and surrender to the officers, the missionaries and the Christians. On the publication of this edict, the missionaries were obliged to fly and hide themselves. The churches were demolished. The colleges and schools were deserted. The officers seized upon everything they could find. Those who were arrested were not executed, but were degraded in rank and required to pay fines."

"Thus you see," says the bishop in closing his letter, "that our lives are in danger. Poor in every way, we need to be sustained by the prayers of the good and by the special protection of our God. He will not forsake us."*

As supplementary to the preceding, the following extract from a letter, dated Upper Cochinchina, 3d January 1839, is subjoined. We copy it from the Friend of India for May 9th.

"This year, 1838, has been for us a year of calamity and desolation; and for Tongking and Upper Cochinchina, one of misery and tribulation. The sword of persecution has made great havoc in the vineyard of the Lord; heaven has been peopled with holy martyrs, but there have been likewise some apostates, and all together places the Christian religion in these regions in serious danger. Two Dominican bishops were arrested and beheaded for their faith last July; three Spanish clergymen of the same order have been also arrested and beheaded; seven indigenous priests (four of the Dominican mission, and three of the French,) have been likewise arrested and beheaded for the faith. All these generous confessors and martyrs have decorated the church of God, and done honor to the mission, by the courage, firmness, and constancy they exhibited in the midst of their tortures, and by the noble-mindedness and resignation with which they shed their blood, and gave up their life for the Christian religion, and the faith of Jesus Christ. Monsieur Havard, of the diocese of Rennes, bishop of Castoria, and vicar apostolic of Western Tongking, died last July of sickness, brought on by excess of misery and fatigue; his lordship was only three days ill. I have been told that monsieur Simonin expired during his flight in the mountains, but I have not received anofficial relation of his death. We also have had a furious attack here in Upper Cochinchina, on account of the dispersion of a small college we had founded. Monsieur Candal was at the head of the little establishment, but the people of the district, not having taken sufficient precautions, nor acted with sufficient prudence, the pagans came to know the whole, and in order to obtain money, threatened immediately to give information to the mandarins; but having no hopes of gaining any, they effectually denounced that this district contained a European priest, an indigenous one, a college, &c., whereupon a mandarin proceeded thither with 300 soldiers, and the next morning by daybreak blockaded the village. M. Candal and the indigenous priest were enabled to flee, and make their escape: and the chiefs of the place were arrested; were put to the cangue; were conducted to the head quarters of the province; underwent the interrogatory, but being overcome by dint of the torments inflicted on them, they had the weakness and misfortune to apostatize. A young eléve of M. Candal's, named Dominic Thien, a lad of eighteen years, was the only one among them that confessed the

* In the year 1798, there was a persecution in Tongking and a part of Cochinchina, and two native priests Emmanuel Trieu and John Dat suffered martyrdom. In 1811, the number of Christians was supposed to be as great as it had been at any period. Tr.

faith; he suffered every sort of torment, and strenuously submitted to martyrdom. M. Candal having had to undergo a great deal, in order to avoid the pursuit of the soldiers and pagans, worn out at length with misery and langor, as well as exhausted with hunger, expired on the mountains of Upper Cochinchina, on the 26th of last July. Monsieur Jaccard was involved in this business, through the odium and malevolence of a mandarin, and especially of the king, who has been this long time seeking for a pretext to do away with him; so that this noble-minded confessor was strangled on the 21st of last September (St. Matthew's day), with the lad, Dominic Thien. Monsieur Borio and two Tongkingese priests have been arrested, and have suffered martyrdom; the former having been beheaded, and the two latter strangled for the faith, on the 24th November last. Upper Cochinchina is by no means in peace; all there is disturbance and confusion; all the clergy are dispersed and concealed; all the nunneries broken up. I have lately heard a melancholy piece of news. A Chinese vessel was lost in the beginning of December, to the north of Upper Cochinchina; some persons saw the ship at sea without her sails, and making no way in any direction; she appeared a complete wreck, and all hands seemed to have perished. There floated on shore staves, planks, boxes containing European articles, viz., books, pictures, mitres, episcopal sandals, wine, money, &c. The heathens have seized a number of the effects, and drank all the wine: the Christians have had very little of anything. I have sent orders to purchase whatever they can.

"I subjoin a synopsis of the number that fell victims to this awful persecution.

2 Dominican (Italian) bishops,		
3 Dominican priests,		
4 Indigenous Dominican priests,	In July last.	
3 Indigenous French priests,		
1 French priest strangled in Cochinchina,		Sept. 21st.
1 French beheaded in Tongking,		Nov. 24th.
1 Cochinchinese student strangled.		Sept. 21st.
2 Tongkingese priests strangled,		Nov. 24th.

Total 17 martyrs. 1 French bishop died of misery. 1 French bishop starved on the mountains. Well, then, may we exclaim: 'But ye are come unto Mount Sion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, ... and to the general assembly and church of the first-born, who are written in heaven.' (Heb. xii. 22, 23.)"

ART. II. *Remarks on the study of the Chinese language, with the outline of a course proposed for those about commencing the study.* By PHILO.

ALTHOUGH the writer of the following article is a junior among those who are studying this language, still he is encouraged to present his thoughts on the subject by the consideration suggested in the Repository of August 1838, that even a beginner may suggest some hints, which may be useful to others. The task is difficult; and the importance of its being accomplished by many persons, and with as little expense of time and study as practicable, is so great, that he is unwilling to withhold any aid, which he is capable of giving to those who are commencing the study. There are various ways in which the language may be studied; and some will find one way more advantageous; and some, another. The writer will state the course which he would pursue himself, if he could commence it again.

If about to commence the study of the Chinese language, I would, in the first place, inquire *what use* I wished to make of it: or, what would be practically the same thing, what language I wanted to acquire; the language of business and common parlance, or the language of some profession, as the medical or clerical; or the language of books, alias, the written language. Having determined as definitely as possible, what I would attempt to do by means of the language, I would keep my eye upon this ultimate object, through the whole course of my studies. I know of nothing in which the advantages of division of labor would be greater, than in acquiring a knowledge of the Chinese language, and the application of that knowledge to the purposes for which it is sought. We, foreigners, commence the study at an age too advanced to allow us to hope that many of us will ever become masters of the whole language, and of both the spoken and written forms of it. But if one directs his energies to the acquisition of that part of the language which is most needed by the physician and surgeon, and another to that which he would have need to use in conveying religious instruction, and another to the acquisition of ability to *read* the language, and another still to learning to write it; then we may hope that each will be able to do something useful in his own department. But to return. If my object were to acquire the spoken language, to whatever purpose I might design to apply it, my mode of study would be essentially the

same. The only variation would be, that I should give more attention to such words and phrases as belong peculiarly to the profession or employment, in which I expected to be engaged. I proceed, therefore, in general terms to point out the course I would pursue.

1. *To acquire the spoken language.* I would, if practicable, procure the assistance of some person, who could speak my own language and the Chinese, for two or three weeks. If I could not find one who could speak them well, I would employ the best I could find, even though he might be able to make himself understood in one or both languages only to a very limited extent. I would sit down with him, pen in hand, and ask him, how I should say "What is this?" in Chinese; and on his pronouncing the Chinese words, I would repeat them after him, and bid him pronounce them again and again, till I could pronounce them well myself, and had become familiar with their sound, after which I would write it down in Roman letters. I would then proceed to use the phrase I had learned, and ask in Chinese the names of things about me, repeating them and writing them as I did the first words, "What is this?" In this way I would continue to learn new words and phrases, to repeat and write them; and in the absence of my teacher, I would spend as much time as I could study with advantage, in reviewing them. After a few days, I would go out with my teacher and try to *use* the few words I had learned, in talking with any Chinese I could meet with, speaking the same dialect; and if I was not understood, I would try to ascertain from my teacher, what was the fault in my pronounciation, or mode of speaking.

After having pursued this course two or three week,, I would exchange my teacher for as good a Chinese teacher as I could obtain, and would prefer one acquainted with no other language. With him I would spend most of my study hours for five or six months in conversation, repeating and writing down all or nearly all new words and phrases. I would ask him all the manner of questions about everything I could see, hear, or think of; and also tell him everything I could. I would not be afraid of saying things that would seem simple, or foolish; but talk, talk, talk, like the little child, like whom I am just *learning to speak*. This is the natural way to learn to speak a langage, and believe me, it is the best way.

At the end of five or six months spent in this way, I should be able to converse on many subjects in such a way that Chinese could understand me, and I should be able to understand them to a considerable extent. I would, therefore, go abroad more and spend most

of my time for the next six months among the people, observing and noting down their forms of expression, endeavoring to catch their tone and manner, and using the knowledge of the language already obtained, in conversation with them.

At the commencement of my second year in the study of the language, I would begin to give some attention to the written language. It would not be my object to acquire a thorough knowledge of it, but merely to learn to read Chinese books for the purpose of knowing what is in them, and being able to quote such passages as I might afterwards have occasion to use. I would devote about one fourth of my time for study during the second year, to the written language; and the remaining three fourths to conversation, as during the previous year. The mode in which I would study the written language, I shall have occasion to describe hereafter.

The third year should be spent as the second, except that I would give a little more attention to the written language, and perhaps even spend half my time upon it. At the end of the third year, I should probably be able to speak with ease and tolerable correctness on most common topics, and to understand the ordinary conversation of the Chinese. I might then feel that it was time to apply the knowledge gained to its proper object. I would continue to study the language, both spoken and written, as time and opportunity would allow.

During these three years, I would be on the lookout for such words and phrases as I expected to have occasion to use in my future intercourse with the people. As soon as I began to read, I would copy, or have my teacher copy, passages which I might have occasion to quote, in a book prepared for the purpose; and commit them to memory, with the teacher's assistance to correct my pronunciation.

I would, if practicable, *live among the people* from the beginning; but if this were not possible, I would spend as many hours as I could among them daily. I merely mention this here, but it is a matter of first importance, if one would learn to speak Chinese, that *he live among them*, or at least, spend much time in their company.

2. *To learn the written language.* I would spend the first six months in learning to talk in the way described above, except that I might perhaps look at some characters, or learn how to use a dictionary, by way of diversion. At the end of that time, I should be able to converse with my teacher sufficiently to ask questions respecting the characters which I wished to learn, and understand his answers, and his definitions and explanations of words and phrases. In this way, I shall save myself much of the trouble and vexation

which I and many others have experienced, from the difficulty of understanding what my teacher said.

I would then take up the radicals, and learn them thoroughly, so as to be able to write them, and tell their meaning and their number in the list. One or more of them enters into the composition of every character in the English dictionaries of the language: and some of the native dictionaries are arranged in the order of them, as ours are in the order of our alphabet. Hence it is obviously important to have them entirely at one's command. Some persons would doubtless learn them most profitably by sitting down to them alone and mastering them completely before undertaking anything else; but others would do it better by spending only a part of the day on them, and a part in some other way. It might be a useful relaxation to learn how to find words in the dictionary by means of them.

Being thus prepared by learning to converse with a teacher, and to use the dictionary, I would proceed to try to read. I know of no book that is well adapted to the wants of a beginner, and would therefore spend a part of my time daily in directing my teacher to write down words and phrases which I had previously learned to use in speaking, or such as I wished to learn. Another part of the time I would employ in reading such books as there are. I would take

1. Seaou tsze tĭh kwo, "Little boys' reading lessons." This book speaks of things with which even children are familiar, and employs words which are in common use; a beginner would therefore be less troubled by the difficulties of Chinese idiom, and at the same time learn words more useful to him, than he would find in most other books. I would read this over two or three time pretty carefully.

2. Chang Yuen leäng yew seäng lun, "Dialogues between two friends, Chang and Yuen." These dialogues are written in an easy style, and contain a multitude of phrases which are in constant use among common people. I know of none other that contains so many; and it is chiefly on this account that I would take it up at so early a stage in my study of the language. I would read it over carefully two or three times with my teacher; and in the intervals of study, have him copy it in a blank book, writing the columns at some distance from each other, perhaps no more than two on a page. I would then sit down with my teacher and write the sound of each character on the left side of it, and the definition on the right; if there were cases in which the meaning of each character could not be expressed by any English word, or mark of interrogation, &c., I would connect two or more characters together by brackets, and write down

the best definition I could find for them all. I would go over the book thus prepared, sometimes with my teacher to learn to read, and to understand it as I read; and sometimes alone, to learn the form of the characters, and study their exact meaning, and their order in sentences, i. e. the syntax of the language. To learn their *form* the more readily, I would sometimes cover the line of Chinese characters with a piece of paper, and looking at the sound as expressed on the left side of it, or the definition on the right, try to write the characters. After a little practice, I would spare myself the manual labor of writing them on paper, and only see whether I *could* write them. If I could distinctly recollect the several strokes that compose a character, I should consider it learned, and not take time to write it. If I could not, I would uncover the character, look at it carefully, and then cover it again, and write it two or three times. I would proceed in this way through the whole book; and also commit to memory, thoroughly, many of the most useful phrases it contains. It might seem a slow and tedious work; but it would surely be a profitable one, and if it should occupy many a week, and month, or even a year or more, I would comfort myself with the reflection that I had mastered, or at least become familiar with nearly all the most common words in the language, made a good beginning in learning its idioms, collected many very useful phrases, and also began to study the language in a thorough way, which would be sure to give me a good knowledge of it, if persevered in long enough.

This last is a consideration of no small importance. Desultory efforts, studying now in one way and now in another, reading a part of one book and then part of another, or even reading books through once or twice:—this mode of study promises little to the student of Chinese. He needs to adopt a thorough method of study at first, and make himself master of some two or three books, before he hastens to read others. He should continue this good habit of study by spending a part of his time in studying other books or select parts of books in the same thorough way for some years. But after mastering two or three, he need not confine himself to the books he would study thus, he may spend a part of his time in reading other books. Those composed by foreigners would generally be found easier than those written by natives, and it might be as well to read a few such.

3. The gospel of John, I would read carefully two or three times. 4. Also, Acts of the Apostles. And 5, the Heäng Heuen, or "Village Sermons."

6. Shing Yu, or "Sacred Edict;" read nearly as the Two Friends

above described, but passing more slightly over some parts. It is in the style of conversation, and will well reward a careful and often repeated study, and many parts of it are worth being committed to memory.

7. Haou Kew, or "The Fortunate Union." This is a popular novel, written in familiar, easy style, and consisting chiefly of simple narrative and conversation; it is at once easy to understand, and rich in those common phrases which the student of the language should, at this stage of his progress, be most anxious to make his own. I would read this work, which consists of four small volumes, several times; and commit to memory some select phrases and sentences.

8. San Kwŏ Che, or "The Three States." I would read some parts of this work, and perhaps look over the whole *once*. As the style is more admired by the Chinese than that of any other work, except the immaculate books of Confucius and his early disciples, I would select such parts as seemed best adapted to my purpose, and make myself quite familiar with them.

9. Santsze King, Sze Shoo, and Woo King, or "The Trimetrical Classic;" "Four Books;" and "Five Classics." These compose the usual course of study pursued by Chinese students. I would select, by a hasty perusal of the original, or by means of a translation, such parts of each of them as seemed most likely to be of use to me, and read them repeatedly and finally commit them to memory. At first my selection would be a very choice one, that I might not impose too heavy a task upon myself at once; but I would add to it afterwards, as time would allow, and passages worth treasuring up should be found.—Perhaps the reader may be interested to know how fast I should expect to progress in this course of study. It would of course depend much upon my freedom from other occupation and the vigor of my health; but on the supposition that I could give my time to it, as entirely as every one expecting to become able to speak and write Chinese well, should do, I might perhaps arrive at the sixth stage of my journey, or in other words, be ready to commence the Sacred Edict, at the end of the second year; and at the eighth, or The Three States, at the end of the third. One's progress, however, would depend very much, in the latter part of the course, upon the quantity selected to be committed to memory.

But there are several things which should be attended to before the student of the language has read all these books, and which could not be conveniently introduced while speaking of the best course of reading to be pursued.

1. After reading "The Two Friends," I would write Chinese, either translating or composing, half an hour or an hour daily.

2. I would take Dyer's list of characters arranged in the order of the frequency of use, and learn at first, three or four and afterwards at least one daily, learn how to write it, and its composition, derivation, and most common definitions.

3. I would review what I had read, very often and carefully, and frequently repeat what I had committed to memory. To make sure of this, it might be expedient to review what was read the previous day, as the first work of every morning, and review the lessons of every week on Saturday, and for every month during its last week.

4. I would look as I might have opportunity, at all the grammars, dictionaries, &c., that came in my way. I say *look* at them; for I do not think there is, or can be, any grammar of the language worthy of being studied, as we study those of western languages. But it is well to know what has been attempted by way of preparing helps for the acquisition of the language; and sometimes a useful hint may be found in them; and it is therefore best to examine them, so as to know what they contain. Prémare's Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ is the only work I would *study*. I would begin to read this, when I had studied the language about two years, and read it carefully, marking the more important parts, which I would review at my leisure. I would not make the reading of this my principal study for a single day, but rather take it up as a relaxation, and to give variety to my mode of study.

I cannot willingly lay down my pen, without expressing my fervent hope that we shall soon be furnished with a very valuable aid to the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of Chinese, in the list of "primitives," promised by your correspondent, Mr. Lay, in the Repository of September last. I had commenced a similar collection, but on learning that he was engaged in that work, and perceiving that his method of doing it was better than my own, I laid it aside, and am waiting for a copy of his list. If this article should meet his eye, he may be assured that more than one student of the language feels the need of what he has promised, and is waiting anxiously for its completion. If a manuscript copy were sent to several of those who are studying the language, they might suggest alterations, which would make it much more perfect, and more useful when printed.

[Our Correspondent has done well in writing down his remarks and suggestions, for the guidance of others, in the study of this language. This article ought to have appeared some months ago, but having been mislaid it

has been unintentionally delayed till now. We quite agree with Philo in reprobating, "*desultory efforts*, studying now in one way, and now in another, reading a part of one book, and then a part of another." Nothing can be worse than such a course for a beginner. In the outline plan proposed, we think he has marked off far too much work for any tyro; nor should we recommend, as he does, the *study* of any books written by foreigners. We never think of learning Latin or French by studying foreign books. Their place should be supplied by collections of common and easy phrases and sentences from native authors. Helps of this kind, in the shape of chrestomathys, or easy lessons, are much needed; and perhaps Philo would do well to employ some of his leisure hours in the preparation of such. From him and from others we shall be glad to receive other remarks on the study of the Chinese language. By the by, we suspect Philo will erelong change his opinions respecting the grammar, or wăn fă, of the Chinese language.]

ART. III. *Instance of revenging the death of a father by a daughter.* From the works of LUHCHOW.

CONFUCIUS says in the Book of Rites, "the murderer of a father should not be suffered to live under the same heavens." The moral essayist, Luhchow of Fuhkeën, extends this also to women; for he says, "regarding the man who kills a father, if there are no brothers to avenge his death upon the murderer, and only daughters, still he must not be suffered to live." He illustrates this by three or four instances, one of which is here given. This principle of avenging a murder by the nearest of kin is like the law among the Jews, as recorded in the 19th chapter of Deuteronomy, but without any of the mitigating circumstances there given. Some of the tribes of North American Indians have the same law at the present day. The custom has fallen into disuse among the Chinese of the present age, in consequence of the stricter execution of the laws, thus preventing the necessity of having recourse to private retribution.

"In the district of Yuchang in Keängsè lived Tseäy Seaougo, who at eight years of age lost her mother. She afterwards married to Twan of the district Leihyang, and with her father and husband usually lived in the same vessel, in which they carried on a small trade from one place to another. When she was fourteen years old, both her father and husband were attacked and murdered by pirates; and Seaougo herself was also wounded by them and thrown overboard, but her life was saved by the people of another boat. She soon after entered the convent of Meaouko, and became a nun. In a

dream, her father appeared to her and said, 'the man who killed me, is—

車 中 猿 門 東 草

carriage midst monkey, door select plants.'

She dreamed again, and her husband appeared to her, who said, 'the man who killed me, is—

禾 中 走 一 日 夫

grain middle pass, one day husband.'

"On awaking, she could not explain their meaning, and was continually writing and sending them abroad to find some wise enough to solve them; but for several years, her endeavors were unavailing. At last in the eighth year of the reign of Yuenho (A. D. 814), Le Tso, a man of some rank, who had formerly been a district magistrate in Keängse, anchored his barge at Keënneë, and put up at the Wakwan monastery. The priests introduced this subject, and informed him fully concerning it. As Le was leaning against the railing, writing in the air with his finger, he suddenly ordered one of the waiting-boys in the house to run and call Seaougo; to whom, when she came, he said, 'The man who killed your father was 申 蘭 Shin Lan; he who killed your husband was 申 春 Shin Chun. I thus explain it. That which is in the middle of 車 *chay* is 申 *shin;* and in the twelve horary characters, does not 申 *shin* correspond to 猿 *yuen* or 猴 *how*, a monkey? Put 門 *mun* below 草 *tsaou* (or contracted 艹), and put 柬 *keen* within 門 *mun*, and you have the character 蘭 *lan*. The three characters 禾 中 走 *ko chung tsow*, grain middle pass, means passing through a field,* and thus you again have 申 *shin;* add one stroke above 夫 *foo*, and 日 *yih* below it, and you have 春 *chun*: Thus their names are shown to be 申 蘭 Shin Lan, and 申 春 Shin Chun.' Seaougo, weeping bitterly, thanked him for the explanation; and, secretly writing the four characters in her dress, swore to find the two robbers in order to revenge their villainy. She accordingly dressed herself in male apparel, and hired herself out as a servant in the place where she before lived; and after a year, she came to the city of Tsinyang, and saw there an advertisement for a servant. She went to the house, and inquired for the master, who was no other

*. The character for field 田 *tëen* is similar to 申 *shin*, except in the middle stroke which is much longer; this is what is meant by "passing through a field."

than Shin Lan; this somewhat embarrassed her, but she betrayed no emotion. Here she became very much beloved by Shin Lan and all his household, taking the entire charge of the money and valuables which were received and disbursed, so that there was nothing which was not under her care. Whenever she saw the clothes and other articles of her father, she could not refrain from secretly weeping.

"Now Shin Lan and Shin Chun were clansmen; and the latter's house was on the north side of the river in the village of Pihshŭh, and constant communication was secretly kept up between them. One day, Shin Chun brought a large carp, with wine and delicacies to Lan's house, and in the evening, a large party of thieves came to carouse and drink. After the visitors had gone, Chun, who was very drunk, went to sleep in the inner bedroom, and Lan threw himself down to sleep in the hall, with a sheet over his head. Seaougo stealthily locked up Chun within his apartment; she then, with a large knife first cut off the head of Lan, and then crying with a loud voice alarmed the neighbors, who rushing in, aided her in securing Chun. They also seized the goods and money stored up in the house, amounting to several tens of thousands; and she also secretly handed in to government the names of their accomplices, amounting to several tens of persons, who were all arrested and executed. At the same time, his excellency Chang, the prefect of Tsinyang, publicly praised her for this filial act, after which she reëntered the nunnery for life."

W.

ART. IV. *Remarks on the grammatical construction of the Chinese language; particles generic and euphonic: formation of nouns; easy flow of expression; in the use of verbs: &c.* By ANGLO-SINICUS.

[This article we copy from the Periodical Miscellany and Juvenile Instructor, volume I, pages 154, 181, 205, 229, and 278, where it appeared in five successive papers. In bringing it together into one article, a few slight changes have been made, which the author will readily excuse. The second volume of the Instructor contains some excellent philological observations on select Chinese particles: see pages, 53, 82, 102, 126, 151, and 206.]

IT has often been said that "the Chinese language has no grammar:" if by this is meant that the different parts of speech are not distin-

guished by inflections, as in most other languages, the observation is so far correct: but yet all the parts of speech are capable of being definitely expressed, either by the use of auxiliaries, or by the position which each occupies in the sentence: and there is a certain grammatical construction of sentences, to violate which is to violate the syntax of the language. The unique feature of the language seems to be, that the same word may often be a noun, a verb, an adverb, &c., without the slightest change in the formation of that identical word: so that a word, taken abstractedly, cannot be said to be a noun, a verb, &c.; but place it in a connected form, and its meaning becomes as definite as words in any other language.

Take for instance the word 之 *che*, meaning him, her, it, them, 's: this is the most common character in the language. Often it comes between two words which are evidently nouns; thus, *the civil war 's* [che] *cause was this;* where the position of the *che* determinately fixes its meaning to the sign of the possessive case: and if the two nouns changed places, the *'s* would exactly form the *in regimine* of the Hebrew. If this particle follows a word which is manifestly a verb, its meaning is fixed to be that of a pronoun: but whether masculine, feminine, or neuter, singular or plural, must appear from the subject-matter of discourse. These two leading ideas of the word have some modifications, which it is not necessary here to notice particularly: they illustrate the assertion made above, that although many words taken abstractedly are indefinite, they become definite by their location. The very same assertion is true of our own language to a small extent: the word *light* in one position in a sentence would be a noun, in another a verb, in another an adjective; and that which is *occasional* in English is *common* in Chinese.

So also with respect to number: take the words *sheep, deer, scissars,* &c.; considered abstractedly, they may either mean one item or several; and the context is to determine which. These words in English are exceptions to general rules; but yet when used, they present no difficulty or hesitation in determining the number, whether singular or plural. It may be the general subject-matter of discourse, the introduction of a numeral, an article, or an adjective either singular or plural, which determines the number: still, we contend that the number is readily ascertained; and that which is the exception in English, becomes the general rule in Chinese.

Verbs admit of similar remarks. The verb *to read* is present, past, or future, according to the context. *I read the book you lent me; it is well written:* here the word *read* is determined to be in the

past time, by an observation which could only have been made subsequent to the act of reading. *You read too fast:* here the time is either past or present. *Will you read the book?* this is evidently future. In all three cases, the identical word *read* suffers no change. This word, however, is an exception to a general rule, but the exception in one language may become the rule in another.

It follows then that the grammatical construction of the Chinese language, however unique *en masse*, has its analogy even in the languages of Europe; and the difficulty of assigning to each word its place among the parts of speech, is not so great as a stranger to the language might suppose.

There are however in the Chinese language, hundreds and even thousands of words which have but one specific idea: though there may be idiomatic exceptions. Thus in our own language, we should call the word *man* a noun; and yet in the case of this word, there is an idiomatic exception; for we use the phrase *to man a ship*, where it is used as a verb. This exception does not induce hesitation in determining the word *man* to be a noun, for we may read scores of volumes without meeting with this idiom: and it is only in this idiom that it takes this verbal form.

Having made these preliminary observations, we proceed to notice more particularly the mode of forming several of the parts of speech, at least so far as bears upon our main position, viz., that although the construction of the language is unique, it is quite definite. And to begin with nouns. A vast multitude of nouns are made by what we shall call *formatives:* i. e. by adjoining to the word containing the radical idea, either (1.) particles having a certain generic sense, (2.) or euphonic particles. Under the first head we will notice several classes.

1. By the addition of 氣 *ke*, denoting (i.) The mental constitution; as,

angry	ke	denotes	anger
righteous	ke	denotes	rectitude
brave	ke	denotes	valor
patient	ke	denotes	patience
malicious	ke	denotes	resentment

(ii.) Celestial phenomena or appearances; as,

heaven	ke	denotes	weather
casting forth beams	ke	denotes	luminous appearance

2. By the aiddition of 色 *sih.* (i.) Relating to the appearance or aspect of a person or thing; as,

grave	sih	denotes	gravity
moon	sih	denotes	phases of the moon
heaven	sih	denotes	appearance of the heavens
countenance	sih	denotes	personal aspect

(ii.) Formative of nouns having a bad sense; as

weary	sih	denotes	weariness
wine	sih	denotes	drunkenness
fear	sih	denotes	fright
beast	sih	denotes	bestiality

3. By the addition of 夫 *foo*, corresponding to the word *man*, added to the English nouns; as,

village	foo	denotes	village-man, or villager
wood	foo	denotes	wood-man
bear	foo	denotes	bearing-man or porter
ferry	foo	denotes	ferry-man
hundred	foo	denotes	hundred-man, or centurion
horse	foo	denotes	horse-man, or hostler
kill	foo	denotes	killing-man, or butcher

4. By the addition of 者 *chay*, corresponding to the syllable *er* in English nouns; as,

heal	chay	denotes	heal-er, or physician
attend	chay	denotes	attend-er, or attendant
cast-lots	chay	denotes	diviner
look	chay	denotes	astronomer
pry	chay	denotes	pry-er, or spy

5. By the addition of 匠 *tseäng* denoting a mechanic; as,

varnish	tseäng	denotes	painter
gold	tseäng	denotes	goldsmith
iron	tseäng	denotes	ironmonger
wood	tseäng	denotes	carpenter
stone	tseäng	denotes	stoneman
tin	tseäng	denotes	pewterer
brass	tseäng	denotes	brazier
tub	tseäng	donotes	cooper

The particles here particularized are by no means the whole of such as are used as formatives of the nouns of that class described above, but we have adduced the principal of them, and sufficient to answer our purpose. We proceed to notice the nouns made by adjoining euphonic particles. These particles are not to be considered as bringing with them any distinctive idea: but they frequently

throw the preceding word into the substantive form; thus, the particle 子 *tsze*, a child, forms such nouns as the following;

table	tsze	*chisel*	tsze
spear	tsze	*carriage*	tsze
arrow	tsze	*club*	tsze

There are many cases where this word, following another noun, would have its own proper meaning; but there is no difficulty in determining when it is euphonic, and when not so. We will only notice one more of these particles at present, viz. 兒 *urh* a child; thus,

needle	urh	*door*	urh
drop	urh	*deer*	urh
rabbit	urh		

It should, however, be carefully noted, that these euphonic particles abound most in the light authors, and works written in a colloquial style, but they are found occasionally in good classic authors.

Having noticed the formation of nouns, we next offer a few observations upon gender, number, and case. There are four ways of forming gender, particularly worthy of notice; when, 1. The masculine and feminine have each their appropriate words. 2. Particles indicative of gender are prefixed. 3. Particles indicative of gender are affixed. 4. A distinctive particle is affixed to one gender only.

Under the *first* division the following may be given as instances; *hero, heroine; king, queen; emperor, empress; fung-bird, hwang-bird; ke-animal; lin-animal, &c.*

Under the *second* division, particles indicative of gender are prefixed: as *male*-human-being, *female*-human-being.

Under the *third* division, particles indicative of gender are affixed: as horse-*sire*, horse-*mother*.

Under the *fourth* division, a distinctive particle is affixed to one gender: as king, king-*queen*; emperor, emperor-*queen*.

In the first class of genders, we readily trace the analogy between the Chinese and our own language, and the list might be swelled to a very considerable length. In the third class there is a slight analogy to the Latin and Greek, where the *radix* is retained in each gender, with the termination peculiar to that gender; only in these the termination makes *one word* with the *radix*; whereas in Chinese, the genders of the third class are made by two distinct words, in a certain juxtaposition.

We come next to number, and we notice four ways of forming the plural. 1. By prefixing a numeral to a singular noun. 2. By

affixing plural formatives. 3. By repeating the noun. 4. By the scope of the passage.

1. By prefixing a numeral; thus Hwan and Ling, *two*-emperors.

2. By affixing plural formatives; thus man, man-*class* (men); he, he-*sort* (they); officer, officer-*order* (officers); Tartar, Tartar-*tribe* (Tartars).

3. By repeating the noun; thus class, class-*class* (classes); man, man-*man (men);* house, house-*house* (houses).

4. By the scope of the passage; thus, In the starry night he marched his *soldier*. When he was young, he used to play with the little *boy* of the village. That which is most difficult to win, is the *heart* of the multitude. In these expressions, it is easy to see that the words *soldier*, *boy*, and *heart*, must have a plural meaning.

With respect to the cases of Chinese nouns, we have not much to remark: the nominative usually precedes the verb, and the accusative follows; the dative and ablative are made by their appropriate prepositions expressed or understood: the mode of forming the genetive was hinted at on a former page. The vocative, however, requires special notice; and it may not be out of place to remark, that in our Chinese translations of the Scriptures, the proper mode of forming the vocative has (in our humble judgment) been too much overlooked; at least in the historical portions. It is quite oriental to use the third person where we in the west use the second; and this orientalism, so to speak, prevails commonly in Chinese historical and many other books; thus,

Let my dear child come and pay his respects to this gentleman; for, *My dear child*, come and pay your respects to this gentleman.

Mr. C——. said, how does *this villain* dare to rail at me? for, Mr. C——. said, *you villian* how do you dare to rail at me?

And, where is *my friend* going? for, *friend*, where are you going?

In completing a vocative period, it is very common with Chinese writers to introduce such words as *to request*, *to hope*, *to expect* &c., thus,

I *request* master to help me:
I *hope* master will help me:
I *expect* master will help me:
} for, master help me.

We cannot think it any breach of fidelity in translating, to substitute the third person for the first and second, where the idiom of the language requires it: to retain the western idiom frequently causes an obscurity which the translator would wish to avoid. Nothing is gained, much is lost by retaining it; nothing is lost, much is gained by substituting the eastern idiom in its place.

We shall introduce our remarks on Chinese verbs by an observation which is deserving of very particular notice; viz., in Chinese composition, special regard is to be had to what is called the 順讀 *shun tŭh*, or *easy flow of expression*. Herein is the peculiar defect of many of the books written for enlightening the Chinese mind on the subject of Christianity; the natives say of them, *moo shun tuh*, the language does not flow easily. Knowing this to be the characteristic fault of the compositions of missionaries to the Chinese, it is a fault which should be especially guarded against. It seems to be for the sake of this *shun tŭh*, at least in a great measure, that so many Chinese words, particularly verbs, are formed by *two* nearly synonymous characters in juxtaposition. We say *nearly*, for in Chinese, as in other languages, the cases are rare, where two characters are *exactly* synonymous. In a vast number of cases, we do not see the necessity of these double verbs, &c., to elucidate the meaning; but upon an ear familiarized to the enunciation of classical Chinese composition, these double words fall with great propriety and harmony, when properly used. And to neglect the use of them, or use them improperly, betrays the author of the composition to be a barbarian.

The formation of verbs may be thus classified. I. Verbs made of two synonymous characters.

1. Where the characters have no apparent relationship to each other, so far as relates to the *form* of the characters; thus,

To transport-remove, 擊移 meaning, to change places;
To observe-look, 觀看 meaning, to look;
To peep-look, 窺看 meaning, to spy;
To look-seek, 看見 meaning, to see;
To search-seek, 尋覓 meaning, to search for;
To impose upon-deceive, 瞞騙 meaning, to deceive;
To distinguish-discriminate, 辯別 meaning, to discriminate;

2. When the characters have a *radical* or *partial* relationship, as respects their form; thus,

To leap-skip, 跳躂 meaning, to skip about; here each character bears the radical idea of the *activity of the foot*.

To roam-wander, 遨遊 meaning, to roam; here each character sustains the inherent idea of *motion from place to place*.

To instruct-teach, 訓誨 meaning, to teach; here the radical idea is *words*, which are the medium of instruction.

Perhaps the distinction between this particular and the last, may

be deemed rather fanciful than important; however, inasmuch as the distinction exists, although possibly by mere casualty, it appears to deserve a passing glance: and it is capable of improvement by those who lay stress upon the use of etymologically analogous words when practicable, in translating the sacred Scriptures.

3. When the same verb is doubled, making a form exactly like the *piel* in Hebrew grammar; thus,

To look-look, 看看 meaning, to look earnestly;

To restrict-restrict, 休休 meaning, to restrict absolutely.

4. When a doubled verb is doubled; thus,

To weep-wee plament-lament, 哭哭啼啼 meaning, to weep and lament most bitterly.

II. Verbs formed of a *generic* and a *specific* character. 1. When the generic precedes: as 打 *ta* to strike, imparting to the expression the simple idea of *action;* thus,

ta make;	*ta* sleep;
ta listen;	*ta* measure;
ta sweep;	*ta* send;
ta dress;	*ta* arrange.

2. When the generic follows: as, 住 *choo* to halt, conveying the idea of *impediment;* thus,

To lock *choo*, signifies to lock fast;
To grasp *choo*, signifies to grasp firmly;
To detain *choo*, signifies to keep a person where he is;
To impede *choo*, signifies to prevent a person going farther;
To embrace *choo*, signifies to hold fast in the arms.

Ke, 起 to arise, conveying the idea of *up, ascending;* thus,

To think *ke*, signifies the arising of thoughts in the mind;
To pluck *ke*, signifies taking something up from the grouud;
To let loose *ke*, signifies to cause smoke to ascend by the application of fire, or to cause noise to ascend in the air.

These examples are sufficient to show the general nature of Chinese verbs; and they illustrate the necessity of paying marked attention to the proper use of the generic words. Improprieties of construction excite the smile of the reader. They do that even in our own language. Suppose a foreigner to use the expression, to listen *fast:* we may catch his meaning, but he should have said to listen *attentively*, or *eagerly:* these are the appropriate words to be used in connection with this particular verb. The same idea is of universal application.

We lay the greater stress upon this observation, because these are precisely the improprieties into which Europeans are prone to fall, particularly in translating. We want perhaps to translate the expression *offer sacrifice;* we seek for the Chinese word *to offer*, and the Chinese word for *sacrifice;* and putting them together, we are ready to suppose that these words must needs be as good Chinese, as the others are English. Whereas the Chinese word *to offer* may mean nothing more perhaps, than to present by an inferior to a superior among men: and there is an appropriate word for offering a sacrifice, which signifies *to place a sacrifice in order and to accompany it with devotion to the deity.* We could not but smile if a Chinese, translating one of his own books into English should use the expression, 'they came to the temple and *placed* sacrifices,' instead of *offered;* and yet he would be constantly liable to this kind of mistake, without a thorough knowledge of English; and this is the kind of mistake into which Christian missionaries have fallen in innumerable instances.

We have often thought it would be of great assistance to the Chinese student, if a manual were published, containing a classification of expressions, such as nouns with their appropriate adverbs, &c. In no language probably would such a book be more useful than in Chinese, owing to the great degree of refinement in the language; to the vast number of synonymes and antitheses; and to the fact of the written language being one, but the provincial dialects many: all which circumstances render such a manual extremely desirable. It is remarkable, that in native schools, the children are taught to learn off two antithetic words for every copy they write, which words are usually inserted in the copy. Thus when grown up, they have the antitheses ready for use. We will only add here, that *propriety of diction* and the *shun tŭh* are the subjects which call for the most serious attention, inasmuch as their contraries have been the rocks upon which many a Chinese scholar has split.

Having described the formation of Chinese verbs, we proceed to notice their *construction.* It must however be borne in mind, that the word itself admits of no change expressive of voice, mood, tense, number, or person: but these changes are effected by the use of auxiliaries and particles prefixed or affixed. Perhaps, however, we should not here entirely overlook the small semicircular mark, sometimes placed in one corner of certain characters, indicating the *tone* with which that character is to be read: thus *yĭh* 易 to change,

when distinguished by this mark as 易 is read *e*, and means easy. This mark serves in some measure as a guide to the reader; inasmuch, if the tonal mark be in one corner, the character is read in one sense; if in another corner, in another sense. But still this mark cannot be considered as an inflection.

The various accidents of voice, mood, tense, number, and person, have each their corresponding particles, and each assumes its proper place in the order of construction. This order, in all its variety of modifications, would be too tedious to describe minutely: a few brief observations will suffice for our present purpose.

Voice. The passive voice is commonly distinguished from the active, by the adjuncts 被 *pe* to receive, and 受 *show* to receive, denoting that some object *is susceptive of a certain agency*; thus, The villain *received* my sword's *cutting in twain*: for, The villain *was cut in twain* by my sword.

Mood. The indicative is the simple form of the verb: the imperative, potential, and subjunctive moods are variations of the simple form, made by imperative, potential, and subjunctive adjuncts. The infinitive is often nothing more than the latter of two verbs, which by its locality assumes this modification.

Tense. The present, past, and future, have likewise their appropriate particles: but that beautiful precision of time, expressed by the Greek inflexions, is altogether inexpressible in Chinese, without considerable circumlocution.

Number and *person.* The verb with its adjuncts is for the most part the same in both numbers, and for each person.

Thus some idea may be formed of the large number of auxiliaries, particles, and adjuncts, required to express what in other languages, at least in part, is expressed by inflection. The substantive verb *to be* is commonly expressed by no fewer that five different words, and it is often very difficult to say why one should be used in preference to another: and yet they may not be used promiscuously. The same may be said of personal pronouns, and many other words. It follows therefore, that there is much perplexity in reducing the construction of a multitude of words and phrases to any definite rules. It would however be extremely useful if a number of the common auxiliaries &c., were illustrated somewhat as follows, by some forty or fifty examples each, accompanied by the character; they would constitute a manual of more real use to the Chinese student, than all the rules which could be deduced from them.

Nae 乃

My master *is* a descendant of the house of Tsing.
Lewshing *is* my master's brother.
Your father *is* the son of the officer Tseëntang.
Tsze-king *was* the pupil of Kaou-ming.
I know that the emperor *is* a very benevolent man.
Tsze-king *is* a man remarkable for his liberality.
This *is* Chow-e's scheme.
He *is* the father of Keaou.
The emperor *is* of the Han dynasty.
The emperor *is* the hero of the age.
Sunkwan *is* a very dutiful child.
This *is* the finest spot under heaven.

Wei 爲

Ask him to let you have the town of Hing *to be* a rendesvouz.
I have a daughter whom I will give you *to be* your wife.
I have promised you to Mr Heën *to be* his wife.
He wishes to take this for [*to be*] a name.
Rather seek him *to be* a son-in-law.
He cut him in [*to be*] two.
I am not able *to be* your ruler.

She 是

Why do you say it *is* only by your strength?
It *is* extremely inconvenient.
He *is* only requesting him to make haste.
It *is* just so.
The town of Hing *is* very dangerously circumstanced.

These sentences are selected from the same Chinese author, and there seems to be an evident peculiarity in the use of each of these substantive verbs, although it must be admitted that the following deductions have their exceptions. 1. The substantive verb *nae* is commonly used in *affirmation*, particularly with respect to description of persons and things. 2. The substantive verb *wei* is usually preceded by another verb, which throws it into the infinitive form. 3. The substantive verb *she* loves adverbs, particularly adverbs of order and of quantity.

How far these deductions might be affected by quotations from other authors, or even by other quotations from the same author, we are not prepared at present to say; our present object is merely to illustrate the idea, that in a language, scarcely susceptible of general

rules, at least in any very great degree, a manual prepared as suggested before would be of vast use to the Chinese student.

It was intended to have offered a few observations on two other subjects connected with the grammatical construction of the language, viz., *corresponding particles and expletives*, but it was found impracticable to illustrate either of these subjects without introducing a large quantity of the native character, owing to the difficulty, or rather impossibility, of transferring the ideas conveyed by these particles into another language. We must therefore content ourselves for the present with a few general remarks. These corresponding particles are different from the antitheses noticed in a former page. Those are mostly *opposites* or *relatives:* these are links, connecting sentences which have some correspondence in sense; which correspondence may be *adversative, consecutive,* and sometimes nothing more than *copulative.* For commonly the utmost imaginable confusion prevails in native works with regard to stops. Often, when the reader meets with one of these particles, he understands that it is the first word of a new sentence; and then again after a few characters, when he meets with a particle corresponding to the first, he understands that the pause is on the preceding character: the reader goes on, and perhaps meets with an expletive; he then understands that the complete sentence ends with it. Not indeed that every sentence is thus rounded off, but when these particles do occur, they serve this purpose. Christian books are so regularly pointed, that the aid of these particles is not required for this purpose, but still they are equally necessary to give a proper *turn* to the sentences; and when rightly used they very much assist that easy and harmonious cadence, for which the Chinese language is so remarkable. In addition to which, *a native, in his pauses, would probably be more guided by the particles alluded to,* than by our western refined punctuation. It will hence be readily conceived how necessary it is for the student to give these particles very minute attention; and here again, as before, the student would be immensely assisted by tables, illustrating the manner in which the particles are used by native authors. These corresponding particles remind us most forcibly of the corresponding particles of the Greek language. They are used very much in the same way; but they are more numerous, and sometimes less definable, although conveying a peculiar idea, the loss of which would be readily discovered by a good Chinese scholar.

With respect to the *expletives*, the Chinese themselves account it a considerable attainment to know how to use them aright. And pro-

bably no characters are more misused than these, in Christian books. The idea has often suggested itself, while reading Christian books, that the writer considered it necessary every now and then to round off a sentence with one of these expletives; and for the sake of varying his sentences, sometimes one expletive was used, and sometimes another. The idea may be uncharitable, but possibly its justness may appear to those who are able to appreciate it.

It may be well to observe, that our occasional strictures on the productions of Christian missionaries, in this paper, originate in a desire for their improvement. Those productions have done much good; they are still doing much good; and may God grant that they may yet accomplish a thousand-fold more. But we conceive it is perfectly consistent with such a desire, to point out those errors into which the writers have fallen; not for the sake of finding fault with them, but that others may avoid them; just as the mariner inserts upon his charts such shoals and rocks as he may fall in with; not that he likes to see his charts pourtrayed with dangers, but where they exist, he would have them laid down, in order that whoever consults those charts may be careful to avoid them.

ART. V. *The claims of Japan and Malaysia upon Christendom, exhibited in notes of voyages made in* 1837, *from Canton, in the ship Morrison and brig Himmaleh, under the direction of the owners.* In 2 vols. New York, 1839.

SELDOM, indeed never until within a few years, have citizens of the United States of America engaged, beyond the Ganges, in any other enterprises than commercial. In these they have acted in character befiting alike their early ancestry and their present geographical position, and earned for themselves the reputation of thrifty and honorable merchants. There have been exceptions doubtless; but as a body they may justly claim rank with those of the most enlightened and most favored in modern times. To have gained this equality in China is no small attainment. For many years, this community of foreign merchants has consisted chiefly of men—enlightened, liberal, generous, honorable, in a degree not surpassed by any other in the east. We here speak of the whole body commercial; and we thus

speak because we believe it true, and because we fear, that in the condemnation of the traffic in opium, the character of this community will not be fairly estimated. That traffic has always seemed to us pregnant with evils; and were it possible for us, we would persuade all men to abandon both it and the use of the drug. Seeing what we have seen, we blame ourselves for not having done more to exhibit the evils — commercial, political, and moral — which flow from this noxious thing. It seems to have come into the land like a scourge, a curse; and it is now yielding its fruits — perplexity, vexation, strife, bloody contention, &c. Nor can any man see when or where these things will cease. But of one thing we think there is certainty — the foreign community resident in China will soon be free from this traffic; interest and duty alike require it; and we anticipate that, after existing difficulties are settled (if they are only settled as they ought to be) the foreign community will assume an attitude and character better than ever before. This anticipation is founded in the fact, that there are in this community, and connected with it, men who are ready to contribute largely for support of scientific and philanthropic objects. The donations for these objects, during the last few years, have been very munificent. And it was mainly and almost entirely for purposes like these that the two voyages were undertaken, notes of which compose the volumes now before us.

Having already given our readers copious accounts of those voyages, it is unnecessary now to go into a formal review of these volumes. We notice them, for the two-fold purpose — of recording our opinion of their value, and of recommending the prosecution of other voyages for similar purposes.

The first volume contains "Notes of the voyage of the Morrison, from Canton to Japan, by C. W. King," and two maps; — one exhibiting the whole of Japan, Lewchew, Formosa, the kingdom of Corea, and the maritime provinces of China; the other presents a more extended and particular view of the principal ports visited, namely Yédo and Kagosima. Both seem to have been carefully executed, and to be as accurate as possible from the information extant, for access was had to the best and latest surveys. The introduction to this volume comprises, in seventy-five pages, a succinct account of the intercourse which once subsisted between western nations and the Japanese empire, derived from the works of Charlevoix, Kæmpfer, Titsingh, Raffles, Krusenstern, &c. Then follow notes of — voyage to, and stay at, Napakiang — voyage to, and transactions in, the bay of Yédo — voyage to, and transactions in, the bay of Ka-

gosima—return to China, inferences from the voyage—conclusion—nautical memoranda and tables. The whole is written in an easy, perspicuous, and animated style. A single extract, taken from the conclusion of the book, will show well the style, spirit, and object of the whole.

"Abandoning, then, all reliance on repeated private movements, how stands the case between the *governments* of Japan and the U. States? It stands thus:—The former power confines its subjects to vessels of so bad a model, that every gale must be expected to drive many of them out to sea, where their crews must perish by shipwreck or famine, or meet, on some savage shore, a barbarous death, unless rescued by the interposition of European or American aid. Even if this be their apparently happier lot, what must become of these unfortunate men? Their unnatural government spares not whom the tempest has spared. They dare not return, even by stealth, to their homes. The charity which has rescued them must continue to support them, or throw them again upon the world, to suffer, perhaps, keener and more protracted miseries. What course would the government of the U. States have its citizens, in this remote part of the world, pursue in such a case? Shall they refuse to afford all assistance, or are they authorized to commend the miserable Japanese whom they may rescue, to a place on the pension list? It is not, however, with the harsh operation of the Japanese policy on its shipwrecked subjects, or with the more extensive injury it inflicts on its whole people, by depriving them of the benefits of foreign intercourse, that we are now concerned; our object being to ascertain its bearing on the people and government of the United States. And, in this point of view, I think it not difficult to show its pointed injustice, affording the strongest grounds for national remonstrance which can be conceived to exist. The truth is this:—More than two centuries ago the usurpers of the Japanese throne found, or pretended to find, something alarming or injurious to their dominions in the conduct or purposes of the Spaniards and Portuguese. At that time, the earliest of the "Pilgrim Fathers" were struggling to acquire a footing on the edge of the American wilderness. What had they to do with the malpractices of men of other nations in the opposite hemisphere? Why is the sentence of exclusion, passed upon the Spaniards and Portuguese of 1637, entailed upon us, the descendants of those western colonists, at the distance of two centuries. It is not true that this entail is a measure even of *impartial injustice*. There may have been strong reasons why a mixed feudal and ecclesiastical go-

vernment should resolve to root out Catholicism, and, in order to accomplish this, that it should interdict intercourse with all countries under papal domination. The long abandonment of their right to trade by the English, and still more their close alliance with Portugal, may be supposed to have afforded some ground for their exclusion also from Japan. And had the Dutch been included in the sweeping excision, posterity would have said that it was but a light sentence on the most rapacious of eastern adventurers, and honorable, compared with the assignment of a perpetual annuity of certain people on a limited trade, paid in prison, like a largess to an executioner, in memory of services which shame would bury in oblivion. Even the late rejection of a Russian embassy may be accounted for by a reference to the statements of its historians; or on the ground that Japanese jealousy would rather check than invite the advances of so powerful a neighbor. But that the only flag fired on in the harbors of Japan should be that of the only nation which maintains no church establishment; forms no offensive leagues; holds no foreign colonies; grasps at no Asiatic territory; and whose citizens present themselves, for the first time, at the gates of the capital, unarmed, and with every pledge of peaceful, humane, and generous intentions; that the American flag should be so dealt with without warning; nay, after the promises of protection and under the mask of friendship; is surely *partial* — a distinction that calls for acknowledgment in the name of the country. It may be urged, in opposition to this view of the subject, that we are unable to trace the causes of the hostile act referred to — that the report of disturbances, of incipient revolution in the country, may be true — that provocations may have been offered by American whalers — or that the repulses may have been the work of inferior officers, unauthorized by the supreme government. But if the first objection be true, it is highly important that an American officer be placed in readiness to exert an influence over a rising dynasty before its policy is hardened into rigidity, and while its weakness may incline it to draw support from foreign sources. In the second case, it is surely the duty of the proper department of the American executive to inquire into mal-practices, attended by results so serious as to degrade the national character, and to expose every unfortunate citizen who may be thrown on the Japanese coasts to the fate of Golownin, while it perpetuates the general exclusion. If such depredations have been committed, the aggrieved government will hardly refuse to answer such a call of inquiry when made with a direct view to ample reparation. If the last objection prove the true one, the court of Yédo can

as ill refuse to pass its censure on, as to disown, the late insult to the American flag; or, which is more important, to instruct the commanders of its coast-guard to take the trouble to inquire, what our ships come for, before it treats them as enemies, firing on them without provocation and without inquiry. I will not conceal my fears that the easy repulse of the Morrison will tempt the officers on the coasts of Japan to riddle every American ship which distress or any other cause may carry within the range of their guns; for, be it remembered, that the officer has only to report that he had evidence of hostile designs, and his cruelty and falsehood are sure to be rewarded by imperial favor, if his cupidity has not already been by plunder. If these fears have any foundation, it is further desirable that their grounds should be removed immediately. The people of Japan are now friendly; they boarded us with confidence when permitted, and were pleased with their frank and kind reception. They wept when their shipwrecked countrymen told their tale, and cried out, that the strangers who had come to restore them were angels. But should the canaille of Japan get a taste of American plunder, the friendly might be outnumbered by wreckers and robbers." *pp.* 171, 177.

Mr. King has only performed a bounden duty, we think, in recommending strongly to the consideration of his government at Washington, the propriety of early adopting measures for opening a friendly intercourse with Japan. We will not undertake to prove that the course which he has suggested is the best that could be devised; but that something ought to be done, and that soon, to prevent the recurrence of hostilities, on any and all vessels that may come on her coast, no one can deny. It is not right that a traveler should be repulsed, even from the door of a stranger, *vi et armis*, ere he has come within speaking distance, and had opportunity to make known the object of his visit. And what, in this instance, would be true of an individual, is strictly applicable to nations. There may indeed be danger, if measures are adopted and acted on, of running into extremes; but this danger may be easily avoided. Yet so long as the ships of the United States, and other nations, engage in the fisheries off the coasts of Japan, they will ever be liable to be thrown on those shores. Besides, it is not unlikely, as elsewhere hinted, that "whalers" have already gone intentionally to those shores, and committed outrages, the avenging of which so jeopardized the safety of the Morrison, and drove seven innocent men a second time into exile. Now to prevent the recurrence of such outrages, efficient measures ought speedily to be adopted and acted on.

We will only add here, before laying aside this volume, that those seven Japanese, since their return, have been provided for by foreigners, their fellow-passengers in the Morrison. Two of them have gone to the United States, as common sailors, in that vessel. A third is now in Manila with Mrs. Gutzlaff. Another is with Mr. Gutzlaff; and the other three are with Mr. Williams in Macao. By the aid of two of these men, and other helps, both Mr. Gutzlaff and Mr. Williams are daily prosecuting the study of the Japanese language.

The second volume contains "Notes made during the voyage of the Himmaleh in the Malayan Archipelago; by G. Tradescant Lay, naturalist in Beechey's expedition, and now agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society for Eastern Asia." After an appropriate preface, apparently from the pen of the writer of the first volume, the object of the voyage and Mr. Lay's manner of writing are well exhibited in the opening paragraph of his book. He says—

"In laying before the public a few remarks and observations collected by the writer in his voyage, it is merely justice to state at the beginning, that the plan was drawn out, and the cost of the expedition sustained, by the owners of the American brig Himmaleh. Its object was to ascertain whether any opening could be discovered for missionary effort, to set on foot some kind of commercial understanding with Borneo Proper, and at the same time gather all the information we could of a religious, moral, and scientific nature; with the view of calling the attention of Christians on both sides of the Atlantic to this ill-used and most neglected portion of the globe. Impressed with the desirableness of the attempt, the author gladly accepted an invitation, and went on board the Himmaleh as a passenger in the expedition, to see what opportunities might be found for distributing the Scriptures, translating them into new and hitherto untried dialects; and, in a word, of promoting the simple but comprehensive views of the British and Foreign Bible Society. And as the same God who devised the plan of redemption, established the laws of creation, there can be no variance between the doctrines of revelation and the lessons of nature. Hence we thought it would prove neither useless to ourselves, nor unacceptable to the public, if the writer should bestow such attention upon natural researches as spirits, health, and leisure might enable him; especially as several years' experience has rendered such employment easy and familiar. The first part of our undertaking was to do immediate good by dispensing the word of God, and commending it to the hearts of the heathen by deeds of Christian kindness; the second was, to gather up some of

the results, and by them encourage and direct the minds of others. There have of late been many proofs given of a ready mind among the disciples of Chirst, and nothing appears to be necessary but to show in what way this readiness can be turned to the best account. Our voyage is over, and all the little good it was possible to do is finished; and now, in order to complete the second part of our undertaking, at the special request of the projectors of the voyage, I am going to cull, from notes and the records of my memory, such thoughts and pieces of information as may seem best calculated to interest and instruct. I shall not borrow much from my predecessors, and refer to little that did not come within the reach of my own observations. Had it not been for the instance of the respected partners of the house just referred to, I should not have written a book at so early a period, for my head and my heart are filled with prospects of the future; and most travelers defer the pleasure of putting their story in print till they return, where the charms of quietness, and the endearments of family and home, put the mind in the best frame for securing a lucid arrangement in the detail, and a harmonious fluency in the style and diction." *pp.* 1, 3.

We ought to have mentioned, before this, that this volume contains a map, on a moderate scale, of the whole Archipelago, extending on the north so as to include a part of Hainan, and including Timor with a part of New Guinea on the south and east. The map exhibits a variety of statistics, which enhance its value. Whether Mr. Lay's arrangement of the body of his book, into one unbroken succession of paragraphs, is better than the common method of division into chapters with a summary of the contents, we doubt; for ourselves we should much prefer the latter, which makes the reading easier and facilitates references to particular subjects. In the following paragraphs the character and condition of the *Bugis* in general, and of *woman* among them in particular, are, we think, well portrayed.

"Among the Bugis, we have a people who possess a spirit of enterprise, activity, and a love of freedom; qualities, indeed, which from the depravity of human nature, are often instruments of evil; but which under the benign influence of the gospel, become the moral channels through which good flows into the heart, and is from thence spread into the life of a human being. The holy Scriptures would supply a national basis for their literature, yield them the means of education, and sow the seeds of eternal life wherever they met with a true and honest heart, prepared by the grace of God to receive them. Several thousands live near the city of Macassar; but their home is

on the Bay of Boni, where a confederacy exists, which is a curious combination of despotism and liberty. For the hereditary sovereigns of eight states form a council for exercising the functions of government in the Union, and for the purpose of electing one of their number as president, and investing him with the executive department. The love and reverence for a particular family appears among these trustees of freedom; for the choice of president or Asunga is limited to a particular family. Each one of these counsellors appoints his own prime-minister for the regulation of public matters in his own particular state, where his will is law in all questions of a private nature; while all that have a general and federal concernment, cannot be transacted but by and with the consent of the rest of his brother counsellors. Their encomiasts have decorated them with many high moral and intellectual qualities; while others, upon a closer acquaintance, have found them to be nothing but a set of cowardly knaves, who never act an honest part expect when compelled by fear, or allured to it by the prospect of gain. But travelers often deceive themselves, and lay up a stock of disappointment for another day, when they look for things which never spring but under circumstances most favorable for their growth. An unbounded and ever wakeful reference to their own peculiar interest is the moving cause that drives them to act contrary parts; but it is the native weed of the human heart, diverted and modified, but not diminished by either the sober seeming doctrines of Confucius, or the moral romances of Mohammed. The purer morals of the Attic sage, when they flowed down the silver stream of Grecian eloquence, might have charmed this passion into a momentary forgetfulness of itself; but nothing short of divine teaching can at first check, and ultimately exterminate, this cleaving mischief and pest of all sublunary virtue and happiness. It is something that we have not a lazy nation, nor one accused of drunkenness or riot; but an active, bold, and sagacious people, who will, I think, be not like the tree in the desert, which seeth not when good cometh."

"It cost the propagators of the Mohammedan faith more than a century to bring them to embrace the 'faith;' and it is a matter of rejoicing that they did not succeed in making polygamy fashionable, as at Borneo and other places; but the woman continues to be on a parity of condition with her husband, may be elected one of the *orang*, or members of the council, and after her marriage, retains her rights with such general allowance and recognition, that she sometimes governs her own province, while her lord is head of another,

without the slightest interference from that quarter. In my walks and visits from house to house, I saw many intimations of that respect and honor in which females are held among the natives of Celebes, and did not fail to note it as an evidence that sin had not deprived them of everything that was amiable in their character. Besides, I never can divest my mind of the recollection of the many great things which females, in more favored lands, have done towards the furtherance of Bible and missionary objects; and am glad to seize any glimpse of hope that the women in these dark and much neglected places will prove a blessing to their husbands and their children, by being among the first to lay hold on the truth whenever it shall be set before them. When we called upon a Bugis prince in the kampong Waju of Macassar, we found him sitting upon the floor; his leger spread before him and his wife close by his side; who, though her looks were youthful, seemed to be acting the parts of accountant and confidential clerk, and doubtless took an equal share of interest in all the mercantile speculations of her partner. In the South Sea islands, and in those of which we are speaking, it is customary, when two or more persons walk together, for them to follow each other, and if one is more honorable than the rest, he takes the first place; hence my servant, when he wished to know whether I required him to go with me in any of my excursions, would say, "Shall your servant follow?" Now, in Macassar, when I met a company of persons, of both sexes coming to town, or returning into the country, the females always walked before, while the males followed as a mark of respect; nor was it an uncommon occurrence to see the females mounted on horseback, while their husbands or male friends performed the humbler duties of groom by leading the animal.

"One evening I fell in with a party of youths, who were very desirous to obtain some of my books; but finding that none could read, I showed some reluctance to part with them. While I was talking with them, the mistress of a little cottage hard by, sent a child to bid one of the number ask me for a book, which he did in a tone that implied his respect for the individual, and his confidence that such a request would not be denied. They all assured me, with one voice, that she could read, of which I had some little proof; for she soon discovered, rather to my surprise, that I had given her only one half of the work, and sent in haste to beg the other. On another occasion, whilst I was straying amongst the shady walks of a distant village, I met with a man who remembered the taking of Macassar by the English, and who endeavored to entertain me with a descrip-

tion of the several actions and skirmishes he had witnessed. When I showed him a book in the Bugis character, his countenance seemed full of delight and admiration; nor did he keep his joy to himself, but after a glance or two called his wife to share in it, with an inimitable tone of tenderness and esteem, evincing that he considered her as the partner of all his joys, as well as of all his sorrows. He then read aloud, for the benefit of the neighbors, who began to cluster around us; but as Bugis was not his native language, he now and then faltered, when his wife set him right; he adopted her corrections with extreme complacency, and at last, when he was so bent upon giving me two little pieces of money in requital for my books that he would not listen to my refusal, the gentle assurances of his companion that they must be treated as presents, went so far with him, that all the money was soon restored to its lodging in the box from which it had been taken." *pp.* 28, 34.

No intelligent reader can carefully perure Mr. Lay's book without pleasure and profit. Great versatility, good taste, and erudition are displayed in its pages; and we sincerely hope that these qualities will be employed in behalf of China. When Mr. Lay left this country, it was his intention to write copiously on several topics of Chinese literature and science; and he took along with him a large collection of native books, to enable him to carry out this purpose. From the volume before us, we should like to quote on several topics; yet two must suffice. The first is the native governments of the Archipelago.

"In all Malay governments, there are certain persons called *mantri*, or privy counsellors, many of whom, if not all, are so constituted by special appointment. These are certain grave and reverend bodies, who visit the palace towards the decline of day, and sit down before the sultan in a thoughtful posture, as if they were musing deeply upon some important question of state. Let us take a sample, to show us how far we may be warranted sometimes in drawing conclusions from appearances only. We may conceive that the subject of one day's consideration is propounded in the following terms: 'My lord, I went betimes this morning into the recess at the back of my throne, which is occupied by the white men, where I saw this charming piece of printed cotton as it was suspended by a cord; I forthwith asked whose it was, whereupon the doctor said, 'it belongs to my lord the sultan.' I then demanded 'who gave it to him?' 'The captain gave it to him,' was the reply.'" No question, of course, arose out of this which might rob any counsellor of a night's rest; still every one was bound to regard it as a circumstance highly curious and interesting. And, to tell the truth, it had more interest

than perhaps the reader was prepared to expect; for he had paid a certain sum of dollars in purchase of the self-same piece of cloth the last thing he did before he retired to rest, which was two or three hours after midnight; a fact which he suppressed for the sake of telling a story, as he had a memory too retentive to forget a matter that so nearly concerned his own interest. The freaks of a man, however, who had done his best to abuse the good gifts of a natural understanding, were chiefly confined to the palace; for the minister had put a hook in his nose, and so kept him from doing the mischief abroad which his folly or his avarice might prompt him to. A levee was an amusing sight; on one hand you might see the minister, in person a small man, sitting with a demure countenance at a most respectful distance, and now and then uttering some expressions in a subdued and plaintive strain. On the other, the sultan, with a proud stare mingled with a wild anxiety, who felt these soft words to be severe strictures upon his behavior, coming, too, from a man who expected that they should not only be felt, but be considered as cautions for regulating his conduct in future. He resembled an animal with one foot in a trap, who would fain change his uneasy position with no less cost than the loss of a limb.

"The minister, to whom we have referred more than once, is the chief executive officer in the state. The distinction between him and the sultan was very concisely made by a brother of the latter in conversation with myself and fellow-traveler one evening. 'The one speaks, and the other acts.' The entire control and management of all public matters are placed in the hands of the latter, who, from the advantage of such a situation, when a man of talent like Mudá Hasim, can enact his own pleasure, and so leave the sultan a mere pompous trifle, surrounded, indeed, with the habiliments of war and majesty, but destitute of any real power or authority. We see a large hall of assembly, a throne, and a large gong, with a hide stretched over the end of a hollow tree, which hangs in a shed at the end of a long jetty, that its deep tone may not be broken by conflicting echoes. His liege subjects are at times summoned by the sound of this instrument, in conformity with the Malayan custom; when we may suppose him seated upon his throne, in the midst of his guards, while everything is done to impress them with a sense of his royal magnificence. At other times his counsellors sit at his feet; the chieftains pay frequent visits of respect, and the *orang kaya*, or great men of the realm, who live at a distance, wait upon him from time to time. But in the midst of much real respect for his person and office,

and a thousand usages of ceremony observed with the most scrupulous attention, he seems to be only free to do evil; he can harass any part of his people, or put a chief to death, because his own person is sacred; but for any benefit that he might wish to confer upon the general welfare, he is solely dependent upon the wisdom and integrity of his minister. Such, if we reason truly, is a kingly denomination; without a free constitution and a virtuous community, it may do as much mischief as it pleases, but to do good it hath no might." *p.* 172.

The last part of the book is occupied with remarks on meteorology, music, and natural history. From the latter, we make one extract, with which we dismiss the volume. It relates to the *Cassia alata.*

"In all the warmer climates, a collector is sure to find a species of Cassia, should he find nothing else to requite his toils, especially if he is traveling near the sea-shore. In South America, the Indian Archipelago, the peninsula of Malacca, and in China, I have found this observation true; and have reason to believe that it is the case in places where I have not had the pleasure of making the inquiry of an eye-witness. The species are generally recognized by winged leaflets, yellow flowers with irregular stamens, and pods that have always something peculiar and different from the rest. The frequency of their occurrence is apt to make them but lightly esteemed, and the botanist throws a Cassia into his box with as much indifference as if it were a dock or a thistle. And yet there is not, perhaps, a single individual belonging to the old Linnæan genus, Cassia, as retained by Decandolle, which amounts to two hundred and eleven, that is not possessed of some active qualities, and such as might be servicable to man in some of the most common forms of disease. The one before us bids fair to be of the highest importance as a specific for the ringworm, a disease that spreads so much alarm in our families and schools. Whence it is called by the French *dartrier*, or the plant that cures the *dartré*, or ringworm. If the pounded leaves, when applied to the diseased parts, are efficacious in removing such unsightly and painful disorders as the various species of porrigo, it would be worth the gardener's while to have the shrub ever growing in his hot-house or conservatory. The Malays call it *goling-gang*, or *daim kurap*, on account of its being applied to a certain class of cutaneous disorders. At Zamboanga, they call it *capurco*, and say that it is highly useful, when applied in a pounded form, as a remedy for swellings in the abdomen. The governor of that place, it seems, being one of those invalids who exhaust the apothecary's list of remedies long before they get rid of disease, was resolved to try one of the

native medicines, which happened to be the one in question; it was laid upon the abdomen, and had such an effect that the sensation seemed to pass through him. I have not seen it tried, but imagine that its properties are highly diuretic. When it fails in the hand of a native, it may be owing to the fact that he overlooks the constitutional irritation which kindles the malady afresh. It is a handsome shrub, with a spike of large yellow flowers, which display themselves at the top of the foliage. The leaves, compounded of leaflets, disposed in a winged manner, are large, and have a peculiar neatness in their contour. It grows very commonly in Malacca, and in most places in the Indian Archipelago; and is a favorite in the gardens at Singapore. In Mindanao it is very plentiful. Its specific name, *alata*, or winged, was given to it on account of the four edges, or thin expanded corners that decorate the pod." *pp.* 283, 285.

To the Christian philanthropist, to the enterprising merchant, and to the lover of nature, the Indian Archipelago affords an inviting prospect, with a numerous and growing population, where the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms teem with valuable productions. It is probably the greatest and the richest Archipelago in the world. Early this year a gentleman from England, in a small vessel of his own, entered that field as naturalist, for purposes of research. Within the last twelve months, the town of *Victoria* has been founded at or near Port Essington. Others will rise erelong, and like Singapore and Victoria, grow rapidly. In the meantime, as the teachers of divine truth cultivate and improve the mental resources of the people, a new literature will spring up rich, lovely, and charming, like the scenery that adorns those hills and dales, now so seldom visited by civilized men. Under the influences of revealed truth — the truth of God — with the enjoyment of freedom and protection, the improvement of the islanders will surely advance. A few pioneers, some from Europe and some from America, have already taken their positions, and commenced the work of instruction. Those stations, and the numbers who occupy them, will steadily increase from year to year. Voyages, like that which the Himmaleh was '*designed to be*,' and which in part it was, will do much good. With her, fire-arms and opium were the only articles tabued. To the islanders, the good people of Holland owe much; and next to them, the people of the U. States seem called on to act for the benefit of the Malays, Bugis, Dayaks, &c. To the native inhabitants of India the people of Great Britain owe more than they can pay; and seeing this, they encourage the coöperation of all who love their fellow-men. Once, and that

not long ago, they forbade their coming. Now they invite them to come, and aid and support them in the diffusion of knowledge and in the promulgation of truth. The press is free; evil, even in high places, is checked; error and superstition are exposed; and millions of the poor and ignorant rejoice in their meliorated condition. So we hope it will soon be throughout all Netherlands India.

ART. VI. *An account of the visit of the French frigate Artemise to the Sandwich Islands.* By J. J. JARVES, esq., resident at Honolulu, Oahu.

[We copy this article from the Hawaiian Spectator, volume second, number three, for July last. We extract only that part of the article, as it stands in the Spectator, which contains official documents with such remarks of Mr. Jarves as are necessary to understand the manner in which the visit was conducted. In regard to the statements made by Mr. J. in these remarks concerning the official proceedings, "it is proper to observe that they were derived from two intelligent natives of rank, present on the occasion to which they refer." Will Louis Philippe next give Taoukwang a treaty of commerce and amity, and demand of him a site for a chapel? Where was the French flag last March and April, while sundry foreigners were shut up in Canton? Was there no Frenchman among them? In Cochinchina and in Tongking, during the last year or two (see page 336), have Frenchmen suffered less than in the Sandwich Islands? The French government is not wont to act with partiality, nor without sufficient evidence and reason to justify its conduct. We doubt whether the charge of *perfidy*, against a certain class of individuals, is just, or can be sustained by impartial evidence. However, the citizens of the United States have no great reason to fear that the French government will do them intentional wrong; and we do not doubt that, in due time, every necessary explanation will be given respecting the late visit. The persons named as "perfidious counsellors," if not guilty, will enjoy for the time being the conscious pleasure of innocence, with the full assurance that no obloquy will blacken their characters, when the whole truth is known to the world.]

THE French frigate Artemise, capt. Laplace commander, arrived at Oahu July 9th, commissioned to settle the difficulties existing between the government of France and the king of the Sandwich Islands. The purport of the visit is best set forth in the subjoined manifesto, as published in the Sandwich Island Gazette, July 13th, 1839, addressed by capt. Laplace in the name of his government to the king of the Sandwich Islands.

"His majesty, the king of the French, having commanded me to come to Honolulu in order to put an end, either by force or persuasion, to the ill treat-

ment to which the French have been victims at the Sandwich Islands, I hasten, first, to employ this last means as the most conformable to the political, noble, and liberal system pursued by France against the powerless, hoping thereby that I shall make the principal chiefs of these islands understand how fatal the conduct which they pursue towards her, will be to their interests, and perhaps cause disasters to them and to their country, should they be obstinate in their perseverance. Misled by perfidious counsellors, deceived by the excessive indulgence which the French government has extended towards them for several years, they are undoubtedly ignorant how potent it is, and that in the world there is not a power which is capable of preventing it from punishing its enemies; otherwise they would have endeavored to merit its favor, or, not to incur its displeasure, as they have done in ill treating the French. They would have faithfully put into execution the treaties, in place of violating them as soon as the fear disappeared, as well as the ships of war which had caused it, whereby bad intentions had been constrained. In fine they will comprehend that to persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel, under this absurd pretext, the French from this archipelago, was to offer an insult to France and to its sovereign.

"It is, without doubt, the formal intention of France that the king of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of every foreign power which he considers his ally; but she also demands that he conform to the usages of civilized nations. Now, amongst the latter there is not even one which does not permit in its territory the free toleration of all religions; and yet, at the Sandwich Islands, the French are not allowed publicly the exercise of theirs, while Protestants enjoy therein the most extensive privileges; for these all favors, for those the most cruel persecutions. Such a state of affairs, being contrary to the laws of nations, insulting to those of Catholics, can no longer continue, and I am sent to put an end to it. Consequently, I demand in the name of my government,

'1st. That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the king of the Sandwich Islands; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants.

'2d. That a site for a Catholic church be given by the government at Honolulu, a port frequented by the French, and that this church be ministered by priests of their nation.

'3d. That all Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries be immediately set at liberty.

'4th. That the king of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the captain of l'Artemise, the sum of twenty thousand dollars as a guaranty of his future conduct toward France, which sum the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with.

'5th. That the treaty signed by the king of the Sandwich Islands, as well

as the sum above mentioned, be conveyed on board the frigate l'Artemise by one of the principal chiefs of the country; and also, that the batteries of Honolulu do salute the French flag with twenty-one guns, which will be returned by the frigate.'

"These are the equitable conditions, at the price of which, the king of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve friendship with France. I am induced to hope, that, understanding better how necessary it is for the prosperity of his people and the preservation of his power, he will remain in peace with the whole world, and hasten to subscribe to them, and thus imitate the laudable example which the queen of Tahiti has given in permitting the free toleration of the Catholic religion in her dominions; but, if contrary to my expectation, it should be otherwise, and the king and principal chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, led on by bad counsellors, refuse to sign the treaty which I present, war will immediately commence, and all the devastations, all the calamities, which may be the unhappy but necessary results, will be imputed to themselves alone, and they must also pay the losses which the aggrieved foreigners, in these circumstances, shall have a right to reclaim.

"The 10th July, (9th according to date here) 1839. Capt. of the French frigate l'Artemise. (Signed) C. LAPLACE."

At the same time the following official letter from captain Laplace, also published in the Gazette, was sent to the British consul:—

"Monsieur, le Consul,—Having been sent by my government to put an end to the ill-treatment, to which, under the false pretexts of Catholicity, the French have been subjected for several years in this Archipelago, my intention is to commence hostilities the 13th July, (which is the twelfth of your date) at 12 A. M. against the king of the Sandwich Islands, should he refuse to accede immediately to the just condition of the treaty presented by me, the clause of which I explain in the manifesto, of which I have the honor of sending you a copy. Should this chief, contrary to my expectation, persist in his blindness, or to express myself more plainly, to follow the advice of interested connsellors to deceive himself, I will be constrained in this case, to employ the strong means of force, which I have at my disposition. I consider it my duty to inform you, Monsieur le Consul, that I offer asylum and protection on board the frigate l'Artemise to those of your compatriots, who may apprehend danger, under these circumstances, on the part of the natives, either for their persons or property. . . .

"Receive, Monsieur le Consul, the assurance of the very distinguished considerations of your devoted servant; Post captain, commanding the ship l'Artemise." C. LAPLACE.

A similar communication was sent to the American consul, with this addition;

"I do not, however, include in this class, the individuals who, although born, it is said, in the United States, make a part of the Protestant clergy of the chief of this Archipelago, direct his counsels, influence his conduct, and

are the true authors of the insults given by him to France. For me, they compose a part of the native population, and must undergo the unhappy consequences of a war which they shall have brought on this country."

After these communications were sent ashore, the harbor was declared in a state of blockade. A vessel was sent to Maui with dispatches for the king, requesting his appearance; while Haalilio, his secretary, remained on board the frigate as a hostage for his arrival. At the request of her excellency Kekauluohi, the date for commencing hostilities was prolonged to Monday the 15th, on account of his majesty's absence. Much excitement prevailed in the meanwhile, both among natives and foreign residents. Reports having been spread that bands of lawless men from among the lower classes of the natives, were prepared to take advantage of any confusion which might arise, to attack and pillage all exposed property, the foreign residents assembled and organized themselves into a body for mutual defense. What arms could be procured were placed in readiness, and the Seamen's chapel selected for a rendezvous in case of emergency. Owing to the vigorous measures taken by the government to maintain order among its subjects, the town remained perfectly quiet, while every assurance was given to the residents by the island authorities, of their good feeling and willingness to cooperate in any reasonable plan for their protection.

His majesty not having arrived by Saturday the 13th, colonel Kekuanaoa, acting governor of Oahu, delivered the sum demanded on board the Artemise, also the treaty, (according to the manifesto,) signed by the governess, Kekauluohi, and himself, in behalf of their sovereign. In the meantime, the French flag was saluted from the fort by twenty-one guns, which were immediately returned. The king arrived at 9 o'clock the next morning, and immediately landed. At 11 o'clock, a military mass was celebrated on shore, in a straw house belonging to the king, attended by captain Laplace, escorted by a company of one hundred and fifty men, with fixed bayonets, and martial music. All fears of hostilities having now subsided, the usual courtesies were exchanged with the foreign residents, and on Wednesday, his majesty and suite visited the Artemise, and were received with the customary honors. On the same day the following treaty of commerce and amity was signed between the contracting parties:

"ART. 1st. There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the king of the French and the king of the Sandwich Islands.

"ART. 2d. The French shall be protected in an effectual manner in their

persons and property by the king of the Sandwich Islands, who shall also grant them an authorization sufficient so as to enable them juridically to prosecute his subjects against whom they will have just reclamations to make.

"ART. 3d. This protection shall be extended to French ships and to their crews and officers. In case of shipwreck, the chief and inhabitants of the various parts of the archipelago shall assist them and protect them from pillage. The indemnities for salvage shall be regulated, in cases of difficulty, by arbiters selected by both parties.

"ART. 4th. No Frenchmen accused of any crime whatever shall be tried, except by a jury composed of foreign residents, proposed by the French consul, and approved of by the government of the Sandwich Islands.

"ART. 5th. The desertion of sailors belonging to French ships shall be strictly prevented by the local authorities, who shall employ every disposable means to arrest deserters, and the expenses of the capture shall be paid by the captain or owners of the aforesaid ships according to the tariff adopted by the other nations.

"ART. 6th. French merchandises or those known to be French produce, and particularly wines and *eaux de vies* (brandy), cannot be prohibited, and shall not pay an import duty higher than 5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

"ART. 7th No tonnage or importation duties shall be exacted from French merchants, unless they are paid by the subjects of the nation the most favored in its commerce with the Sandwich Islands.

"ART. 8th. The subjects of king Tamehameha III. shall have a right in the French possessions to all the advantages which the French enjoy at the Sandwich Islands, and they shall moreover be considered as belonging to the most favored nation in their commercial relations with France.

"Made and signed by the contracting parties the 17th July, 1839.

(Signed) TAMEHAMEHA III.

C. LAPLACE."

Early in the morning of the 20th the frigate sailed. It is perhaps premature to hazard an opinion upon the final results of this visit, but we cannot close this article without a few remarks upon the exciting occurrences it called forth. We shall not enter into a discussion at present upon the merits or demerits of the American missionaries in the Catholic persecution, or in their alleged connexion with the Sandwich Islands' government. That may be made the subject of future investigation. But we cannot pass over in silence the clause in capt. Laplace's communication to the American consul, excluding Protestant American clergy from all protection in case of hostilities. We complain not that they were refused an asylum on board a French frigate, neither because they were missionaries, but because they were American citizens denounced from *ex parte* evidence, considered as constituting a part of the native population, and selected as the special objects of attack, in what was officially threatened to be a war of

extermination. As such it must meet with unqualified condemnation from all enlightened persons. The Sandwich Islands' missionaries are American citizens, holding passports under the broad seal of the United States, and, having such, are entitled to the protection of their own country, and the friendly courtesies of other governments. A French frigate arrives at Oahu, with orders to declare war if her demands are not complied with. The commander selects a number of American citizens, scattered over the various islands, peaceably pursuing honorable avocations, and holding a large amount of property, belonging to three chartered corporations in the United States, in their hands: charges them with being the authors of the alleged insults to France, and points them and their families out as special objects of vengeance. He would not only let loose the horrors of a savage war upon defenceless women and children, but blacken their memory with obloquy. * * *

Such is a brief analysis of this treaty, which was brought to the king on Tuesday the 16th, at five, o'clock, P. M., and he was told that if it was not signed by breakfast time next morning, *such* a representation should be made to the French government, that they would send a larger force, and take possession of the islands. The king requested time to advise with his chiefs—but the threat was repeated, and he, fearing the consequences which he was led to expect would be the result, signed it; and in affixing his signature to that document, has virtually signed away his power, as a sovereign, to regulate his own affairs. A precedent is now set for any demands, however unjust, if there be sufficient force to back them, but we trust that when all the circumstances of the case are made known, no European power will sanction the like injustice. We have every reason to believe that his majesty is willing to grant all privileges to foreigners, which are consistent with the rights and interests of his own subjects, and how can we, as lovers of our own native lands, condemn such a policy in him, even if it does not meet with the enlightened views of those whose advantages have been greater? If the residence in their country, of the whites prove a real advantage to the natives, the government will not be slow to perceive it, and we can look forward to the establishment of such a liberal policy, as will concentrate the interests of all who reside on the islands. This done, a young and vigorous nation, amalgamated from and friendly to all others, may grow up, with free ports, and preserving a strict neutrality, best preserve that independence of power, which the nations of Europe profess to be anxious to conserve. To effect this, judicious

aid and counsel must be given by this guardian alliance. A few such lessons as the past, will certainly show the value of civilization, though it may fail to convince them of its justice and impartiality. There are men, in whom self-interest or love of country, has an all-powerful influence in blunting their moral perceptions; or to express it in the forcible language of Dr. Channing, "The tie of country is thought to absolve men from the obligations of universal justice and humanity; statesmen and rulers are expected to build up their country at the expense of others; and in the false patriotism of the citizen, they have a security for any outrages, which are sanctioned by success."

The demands, as set forth in the manifesto, were not required as a right, but as a punishment for past offenses, and it is to the credit of France, that it was so expressed. In the light which Louis Philippe viewed the transactions, which called for such an act of power, they were just, though a statement of all the facts, would probably have modified them. Toleration is due from all governments to their subjects, and we rejoice in the event, though we deplore the means by which it was consummated.

After a criminal has endured the punishment prescribed by laws he is considered free, and such all supposed would be the case with this nation. By complying with these "equitable conditions," "the king of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve the friendship of France." How was the friendship shown? By fresh demands, and renewed threats. There was a bitter sarcasm in the inquiry, his majesty made to captain Laplace—when he asked him "If this was the friendship promised? If he called this peace?" The moral has gone deep into the hearts of the chiefs, but their honors are pledged to the fullfilment of the terms; and fearful will be the penalty, judging from the past, if broken.

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Battle at Chuenpe; cannonading at Hongkong; removal of the fleet to Tungkoo; manifesto from the high commissioner, governor, and lt.-governor of Canton stopping the British trade; edicts, &c.; opium traffic in Lombock and Siam.*

MONTH after month the progress of public events here has been from bad to worse. We intended to offer our readers a few remarks, in a separate article, on the prospect and probable consequences of—what now seems almost inevitable—a war between the Chinese and English. This we may do perhaps in our next

number. Great damage has been sustained by both parties, and each has on record heavy charges against the other. Demands will be pressed, which will be neither really granted by the one, nor abandoned by the other. And then probably will come a trial of strength. The action on the third instant was caused in this way. The destruction of vessels, and the seizure of persons, were threatened. Those charged with the protection of these vessels and persons requested the withdrawal of the threats. The request was denied; and at the same time twenty-nine armed vessels bore down upon the two frigates. Three junks were sunk (one being blown up), and one was deserted. The action took place off Chuenpe, soon after noon on the 3d instant. On one side there was no loss of life, nor any serious damage sustained; on the other the loss and damage could not have been small.

A few days subsequently, a heavy cannonading was opened by the Chinese on the vessels anchored at Hongkong; this was subsequently to their having been ordered to Tungkoo.

Respecting the removal of the ships, a correspondence has appeared between the superintendent and the British merchants and commanders,—the latter preferring the old anchorage.

A manifesto from their excellencies, commissioner Lin, governor Tang, lieut.-governor E, and the hoppo Yu, has just appeared, dated Nov. 26th, declaring that the trade with the England, from and after the 6th of Dec., 1839, will be stopped for ever—excepting only two ships, viz. the Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon.

Several edicts have been made public since our last number went to press; two are subjoined; the others we will endeavor to give next month.

No. 1. Lin, high imperial commissioner, viceroy of the two Keäng provinces, &c., &c., and Tang governor of the two Kwang provinces, &c., &c., hereby conjointly issue this proclamation, that all men may know and understand.

Whereas the merchant ships belonging to the English nation which have arrived at Kwangtung in the course of the present year, have not for a long time entered the port; this leading to the people of the said ships involving themselves in very unpleasant consequences: and whereas Elliot has lately petitioned us, requesting us to examine and search each individual ship to see that she has no opium on board, and has offered to give a bond to that effect, specifying therein each ship by name: all this is just as it ought to be. Now, in consequence of this, we, the said commissioner and viceroy, intend granting you a double quantum of kindness and compassion, and will conduct ourselves towards you with clearness and discrimination. Those ships then which feel disposed to grant the bond according to the form and model prescribed, will immediately be permitted to trade as usual; it will be unnecessary to examine and search further; but if they decline to give such bond, then we must take these said ships and bring them up to Shako (or Chuenpe), where they will be duly searched. The following is the process to be observed in the searching. The foreign merchant, to whom the ship and cargo belongs, must take the goods of his ship, and transfer them entirely to a skinned (empty?) vessel (lying alongside); then a weiyuen or specially appointed officer shall take the goods that have been so transferred, and check off and examine them one by one, as they are being repassed from the said skinned ship to the said vessel's empty hold. If any opium be found, then he (or we) shall take the smuggling criminal and put him to death, according to law, and the whole of the said ship's cargo shall be confiscated. If, however, the ship have no opium, then she shall be permitted to carry on trade as before: if the said ship wishes to proceed to Whampoa, then there is no necessity to consult or debate further upon the subject, but if she does not wish to go up to Whampoa, still must she pay the same duties and port-charges as if she had gone there: and whether the said foreigners would prefer taking charge of their own goods (i. e. by proceeding in person to Canton), or whether they would prefer consigning them to the hong merchants to be realized for their account, this is to be left entirely to the option of the said foreign merchants. If the ships will not sign the bond, neither consent to be thus examined and searched, then it is quite evident that such ships have got opium on board, and in such case we shall most assuredly not suffer them to smuggle and sell their drug, but shall limit three days within which every one of them shall be driven forth to go back to their

country. If, after the three days are expired, they still continue to loiter about, then most certainly shall we cause fire-ships to sail among them, and utterly burn these said vessels, thus depriving them of the power to do evil! As regards the time and circumstance of the *search* above alluded to, such search and inspection shall be conducted by officers of government *in their own person*, so that upon no account can there be any stowing away of the plunder (i. e. the forbidden drug), in order to involve innocent persons in the net of the law (i. e. by falsely swearing that they had *found* opium on board, when the searchers *themselves* had put it there, a practice too common in China). Then again, in the case of life and death (the murder of Lin Weihe), we have already clearly examined, and we lay the responsibility upon Elliot alone, that he inquire out [and deliver up] the principal murderer; *this affair has no connections with, or involves no other ship or person.* By our going to work in this way and drawing those clear lines of distinction, we may be said to be even going beyond the bounds of intelligent discrimination itself! So as regards Elliot; what great difficulty can he have in distinguishing between the good and the bad foreign merchants, that these may not be permitted to involve those in the consequences of their guilt! After this all the merchant vessels can come to Canton, no matter whether they have this time signed the bond or not, or been this time searched or not, they must all alike give a bond *in due form.* As regards the form or wording of the bond, the same has already been written out clearly and distinctly in both the foreign and Chinese character, and a copy of the same has been sent to Elliot, that he in his turn send it (to his countrymen), that they may conform thereto accordingly. Any merchant vessel of any country whatever, for every time that she may come to Canton to trade, shall every time grant one such bond: if unwilling to grant a bond, or if the bond be not drawn out in exact conformity with the form given, then such ship will on no account be permitted to trade, and if she offer opposition or procrastinate and delay, then will she be assuredly burned and destroyed! Summing up the whole then, we the imperial commissioner and viceroy, tell you one thousand times, and ten thousand times, that *the opium trade must be cut off for ever:* every day that opium continues to come, every day shall we not rest employing our hands against you; therefore after this, do ye foreigners, take your smuggling of opium ideas, and give them to the winds to all eternity! If ye dare again to scheme after this clandestine traffic, *we shall most certainly put you to death according to the new law,* and what then will your after-repentance avail you? And, moreover, after the issuing of these (distinct) commands, we have got nothing further to say to you! (i. e. we shall give you no more warnings.) A special proclamation! Taoukwang, 19th year, 9th month, and 3d day. Bocca Tigris, 9th October, 1839. (See Canton Register, Oct. 29th.)

No. 2. Yu, prefect of Nanheung chow, &c., &c., and Tseäng, keunmin foo at Macao, &c., officers of the celestial empire, address this communication, in consequence of an official reply received, commanding to return.

It is on record that we, in concert with the hong merchants, enjoined on the superintendent and all the foreign merchants commands, that bonds should be given in accordance with the prescribed form, and that they should proceed to Whampoa to trade. It appeared afterwards, from the said hong merchants' representation, that the superintendent and the foreign merchants were unwilling to give bonds in accordance with the prescribed form, but were willing to request permits to proceed to Anunghoy, and submit to a removal and thorough search of their cargoes. In conformity with these statements, we transmitted a report, and have this moment received the following reply thereto from the high commissioner.

"When I, the commissioner, upon the 20th of Sept., first issued my commands, I set down in order these three things in the prior place—the surrender of opium, the delivering up of the murderer, and the sending home of the empty store-ships and the depraved foreigners. In all such parts of my commands as related to the entrance of the vessels, I stated, that if they should act obediently in each of the three preceding particulars, it would then not be difficult to determine the granting of favors. Let me ask now, if, at

this moment, these three particulars have indeed been duly arranged? And though it may be said that there is no opium to be surrendered, and that the depraved foreigners and the empty store-ships are being sent home,—how is it that the principal murderer in a most important case of homicide has been set aside as not to be inquired about? If indeed the said foreigners were to give the bonds in accordance with the prescribed form, it might yet be suffered that time should be allowed to arrange that matter. But now, while it is far otherwise, how shall the granting of permits be at once sanctioned?

"Moreover, in my commands of the 9th of Oct., and proclamation of the same date, it was declared, 'that this was a modification beyond the bounds of rule, granted upon the present occasion, in consideration for the protracted delay which all the vessels had suffered: that vessels hereafter arriving would all be required to execute an obligation in accordance with the form prescribed: that if not according to the form, they should upon no terms whatever be admitted to trade.' But from what the foreign merchants now declare, it seems that hereafter also they will be equally unwilling to execute the obligation: that their idea is to continue selling opium. To what end then will searching the cargoes upon the present occasion tend?

"Regarding the crowding back to Macao of the foreign merchants and their families, how can any encroaching be allowed, or indulgence shown, while these matters are yet in confusion? I require you immediately, in concert with the commodore of Heängshan, and my deputed officer Le Suh, to act faithfully in driving them forth, and to urge the Portuguese foreigners to join also in pushing them out of Macao. Their stay must not be suffered.

"The cargo ships which do not give the bonds on this occasion must yet, in accordance with my former commands, be interrogated, whether or not they will give the bond according to the prescribed form upon the next occasion, and they must be required severally to give certificates. Such as will express their willingness to give the bond may on the present occasion be allowed to await search. If they are unwilling, on any after occasion to give the bond, it will be better that they should on this occasion return home, and they shall be required within three days to take their departure; they must not be allowed to stay hesitating, and indulging idle expectations. To such the keunmin foo must not presume to give permits.

"Regarding the murderer in the case of homicide, Elliot must still, as in my former reply, be required to send up for trial the five men detained by him. If he continues to oppose and delay, I must call upon the naval commander-in-chief to proceed, at the head of his war vessels and fire-ships, as also of the land soldiery encamped at all the various points of ingress, that they may aid in seizing the murderous foreigner, making it imperative on them to bring him up for trial and punishment; and at the same time to search for and apprehend all the traitorous Chinese in shelter and concealment on board the various ships. And when they are brought to submission, it will then be time to consider of regulations for their search and admission into the port. I, the commissioner, am sworn on behalf of the celestial empire to remove utterly this root of misery, nor will I let the foreign vessels have any offshoot left for the evil to bud forth again."

We have also received the following reply from the governor:

"I find that Elliot, having with all the foreigners repaired to Macao, to deliberate, the hong merchants distinctly warned and instructed them, relative to the difficulties attending the removal of the cargoes, and the injury that must result therefrom. The whole tribe of those foreigners cannot be entirely without men of intelligence. How, then is it, that in consequence of Elliot keeping them out they willingly conform to his wishes; and when Daniell, as a bystander, gave them advice, they still held obstinately to their

previous determination? This proceeding of Elliot, holding all in bondage to his single opinion, is most detestable!

"The object of requiring the cargo ships to execute the obligation, and proceed to Whampoa, is to cut off entirely the introduction of opium in them. If they cannot give the bond in accordance with the form, then it needs no words to show that they are craftily scheming to screen themselves for a season: and to this how can any approaches be suffered, by admitting them into Whampoa to trade? Besides, the words, 'the parties immediately executed,' inserted in this form of bond, have reference to such foreigners as may bring opium. If they indeed being none, and execute the obligation in the prescribed form, they are then good foreigners, keepers of the law, and will assuredly not be causelessly involved in trouble. What loss or hurt will they then suffer? With reference to the removal and searching of the cargoes, not only are there the difficulties of transport, which may readily give rise to injury and loss; but also, though on the present occasion a temporary discharge of cargoes be obtained, this is not by any means a good measure for a continued course of trade.

"Of late, from Kwanghae on the west coast, and from Pinghae and Kesih on the east coast, reports have been forwarded of foreign vessels sailing about or lying at anchor. It is manifest that the ships at Hongkong, in consequence of the permission to trade upon their undergoing search, have sent away their opium to be secretly conveyed for sale to the eastward and westward, between which proceeding and the selling it at Hongkong there is no difference. But if, the obligation not being entered into according to the forms prescribed, vessels simply submit to the search, not only in such case will the parties who bring the opium be taken and executed whenever any is found on board of these searched ships, but also, whenever it is by seizure ascertained that opium has been put on board any boats to be sent to the eastern or western coast of China, in quest of a market, it shall be inquired who brought it, and in that event also the very foreigner shall be taken and executed. It will be vain foolishly to expect indulgence or remission, on the pretext of the vessel having previously undergone search. I require that these considerations be severely and strictly impressed, in a clear proclamation."

Having received these commands, and finding that there have been repeated orders from their excellencies placing in succession, in the prior place, these three things — the surrender of the opium, the delivering up of the murderer, and the sending back of the empty store-ships and the depraved foreigners: if, indeed, in each of these three particulars, obedience were paid, then in regard to the cargo vessels, and the proceeding to Whampoa, it would be possible to give consideration, and in a measure to grant favors. But at this time, the newly arrived opium has none of it been delivered, nor has the murderous foreigner been given up, and even as regards the depraved foreigners that are to be expelled, one of them, Stanford yet remains, — of the store-ships, two, the Ruparell and the Jane, still delay to take their departure, — while the three reported as rotten, the Austen, Thistle and Coral, have not yet left Hongkong, to seek for opportunity of being sold and broken up. Thus instance upon instance is given of unwarrantable trifling and delay.

That the merchant vessels, after giving the bond, should get permission to proceed to Whampoa, was ruled, with the view of preventing the introduction in them of opium. It being apprehended that the foreigners entertained fears and anxieties, their excellencies were graciously pleased to issue clear and perspicuous orders, showing that, should opium be discovered, except the taking and executing of the depraved foreigners who imported it, none others

should be involved so that the good and the evil might be distinguished. The commands afterwards issued, allowing search (as a substitute for the bond), was in consequence of the superintendent's representation, that if it were absolutely necessary to execute obligations according to the form prescribed, it would be requisite to wait till the arrival of letters from his sovereign before he could comply. The high officers, feeling indulgent consideration for the ships with cargoes that had so long remained at anchor on the deep sea, and having apprehension that the cargoes might become spoiled or injured by mold, made a modified arrangement, beyond bounds of rule, from motives of compassion towards the foreign merchants. But it now appears that the said superintendent's statement,—that it is requisite to wait for letters from his sovereign before complying,—is not to be believed. For if it be necessary to wait for letters from his sovereign before giving such bonds, how is it that the ship Thomas Coutts has already given the bond, according to the prescribed form, and proceeded to Whampoa? Are not then, the ship-master and shippers on this vessel men of your English nation? It is plain that with regard to this ship Thomas Coutts, the self-confidence that there was no opium brought in her, made the parties upright in their principle, strong in spirits, without fear or anxiety. And as soon as the deputed officers had made search and found that there was no cause to detain or trouble her, the bond was executed; and no sooner did she arrive than she obtained her passport, and was at liberty to proceed to Whampoa. How direct and speedy! How respectable! We imagine, that all the foreign merchants, fully knowing that such would have been the treatment, would have found no difficulty in paying obedience. But Elliot obstinately adhering to his own views, has deceived and stirred up into contumacy and disobedience all the foreign merchants. Yet can there not be wholly wanting among all of them as many as one or two men of intelligence; but only because the substitution of search has been allowed, they hope to scheme clandestinely to transport, and so effect sales of their opium, little thinking that whenever it shall be seized, it will be ascertained what foreigner has brought it, and such foreigner shall be taken and executed. How can he, on the ground that his vessel has undergone seach, be so lucky as to escape from the net of the law? It is clear, that the cargo-ships, if they really are not guilty of having brought opium, may at once execute the bond in the form required, without trouble or impediment to themselves. If guilty of bringing opium and sending it off for sale, though they should not execute the bond, yet when it is otherwise discovered, they will incur heavy punishment. Thus the two expressions, 'ship and cargo confiscated,' and 'the parties immediately excecuted,' have reference specially to depraved foreigners who introduce opium. Such as are really good foreigners, conducting an honorable trade, why should they be over anxious? As compared with the searching, which involves both much waste of time, and also the difficulties of transportation, leading readily to injury and loss, is it not far more speedy and convenient to give the bond in the form required?

As regards the various matters, the arrangement of which is at present commanded, none have yet been rightly arranged. How then can the various foreigners crowd back to Macao; and what is still more improper, some have brought back their families. While we write to the commodore of Heang-shan, and the deputed officer, the sub-prefect, Le, that they may expel them, we also copy the replies of their excellencies, requiring acquaintance with them. As soon as this communication reaches the said superintendent, let him immediately pay obedience to the matter of their excellencies' replies, and speedily deliver up at once the murderous foreigner, let him also send home all of the depraved foreigners and opium store-ships. If the cargo ships will

give the required form of bond in the same manner as Warner's ship has done, they shall then be permitted to proceed to Whampoa. Such as are unwilling to give the bond and proceed to Whampoa, are required within three days to start off home. All the foreigners and foreign women are instantly to leave. In none of these particulars, let any idle expectations be indulged, causing procrastination, and so involving seizure and investigation. Let the said superintendent report to us the measures he will take in obedience hereto, that we may report the same for thorough arrangement. Be speedy! Be speedy! A special communication.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 9th month, 20th day. (October, 26th, 1839.)

Siam. Private letters from Bangkok informs us that inoculation there has been greatly extended, during the last season; some ten thousand or more, principally in the palace and in the families of the nobles, have been inoculated by Dr. Bradley; for which his "magnificent majesty," has been pleased to present him 240 ticals as a token of his royal regards. From one of the letters, we quote the following on the subject of opium.

"His majesty has lately issued a new edict against the introduction and use of opium in this kingdom, and requested the use of our press to print it. We have printed at his expense, and according to his request, 10,000 copies. The immediate cause of this new edict was the following. Three large boats or proas loaded with opium from Singapore, armed and containing about 30 Chinamen each, were heard to be selling it at out places on the Gulf. The Siamese hearing this sent to take them; the smugglers fired upon the Siamese, who returned the fire, and killed 7 men, and took one of the boats. On investigating the matter, the king found a great number of his subjects were connected in purchasing opium. About the same time a number of junks recently from China had full cargoes of opium. Officers were sent into every town and village to investigate the subject. His majesty issued his edict, in which he offered pardon to those who had opium, on condition they would deliver it up to be burned, and threatened death to all who should hereafter either buy or use it. For nearly two months, his officers have been scouring the country, and numbers have been thrown into prison for endeavoring to secrete the drug. The king seems determined to free the country of this drug, at all hazards. We pity the poor creatures who have been accustomed to use it, but cannot but rejoice at the prospect of the removal of so great an evil. His majesty, however, has permitted a very small quantity to be restored to those who cannot break off the use of it immediately, but gives them to understand, that when it is gone they are to have no more for ever. Two or three ships from Singapore, &c. happening to come up at the time having, as was said, opium were obliged to secrete it and take it back. The opium business is not yet completed; new discoveries are daily made, and for a number of days past, it is said the burning of the precious drug has gone on at a great rate."

Lombock. Over the signature of the resident councillor, T. Church, Singapore 4th September, 1839, the following *governmental notification* has been published for general information. A "true extract of a letter from the chief of Silaparang to the address of the resident councillor.

"This is to inform you, our friend the Resident councillor of Singapore beforehand, so that he need not be startled to find the use of opium forbidden at Silaparang (Lombock) because a deal of trouble and disturbance has been occasioned by that article in this country. If any foreigner brings opium after the beginning of the next European year, whether by prow or ship it will be seized, and he will be fined double the value of the opium. We now earnestly request our friend, the resident councillor, that whenever any person shall be about to bring opium hither, whether by prow or ship, not to permit it, because our decree is established. Written on the 10th day of the month of Radia-al-Akhir, on Saturday, at 3 o'clock P. M. in the year 1255 (1839.)"

(True extract.) (Signed) T. CHURCH. *Resident councillor.*

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *The Shoo King, or Book of Records; its character, antiquity, and summary of its contents.* By a Correspondent.

THIS is the most ancient book known amongst the Chinese. Its contents being considered sacred, any efforts of ours, as critics, to praise so elaborate a performance, would be considered as useless, and perhaps only lower the opinion of the learned respecting this famous history. If we were to speak about the style with all its innate beauties, though it has always appeared to us a little too laconic, we should only repeat what others have said long ago. To tell the patient reader, that the great mass of Chinese writers have formed their diction according to its pattern, would convey little knowledge. Yet notwithstanding, being thus forestalled by wiser heads than our own, we have had for many years a very strong desire of reviewing this work, and introducing barbarians into the ancient lore of the Chinese. For this we have also our reasons, which will appear at the end of the essay, and in the meanwhile we shall only inform the world, that we are ambitious of the honor of an *antiquary*, and to this end we examine, as the story goes, the most ancient book in the world. We shall also try to say something new, to avoid becoming tedious.

The grand object of the Shoo King is to convey a picture of the good olden times, when the number of the wicked was as small as in our days is that of the virtuous. The first question which naturally arises is, how was the book composed? The answer invariably given is, from ancient records, by the prince of literature, Confucius.

People of a prying disposition are not satisfied with this summary account, and on investigating the matter, they will find, that the origin of this wonderful work, like all old stories, is enveloped in a good deal of obscurity. For the discrepancies and unconnected parts, the learned give credit to that mischievous burner of books Che hwangte, who completely swept away all ancient lore, so as to leave only one copy of the Shoo King hidden in a wall, whilst an old gray-headed scholar repeated the whole by heart. From these two sources, this precious relic was again restored to the world.

Now if Kung tsze really copied from ancient records, we should have felt obliged, if he had indicated the names; if from bamboo slips, on which the books were then written, he might have hinted it; if on the contrary, he transmitted this history to the world from tradition, an honest avowal would have settled the matter. In the absence of all this information, we have the liberty of guessing, and do not scruple to tell the reader, that the sage filled many a page with his own thoughts, whilst he ascribes the same with great humility to old Yaou and Shun. This may pass as a pious fraud, of which there is so much in this world; this, however, being admitted, we ought no longer to think of reading of the times of Abraham, but transport ourselves to the fifth century before Christ, when the sage flourished. What, however, becomes then of the history contained in this book? To this we reply, that it is not at all improbable, that the names of many princes or chiefs, that lived in the times of yore were not entirely forgotten, and that whatever was transmitted by tradition, though erroneous in many respects, might still have been retained, as the only account preserved amongst the nation.

Some general remarks may here be in their place. A great deal of vanity induced the first Chinese writers to refer to antiquity as the source from whence their opinions flowed. History, therefore, could not possibly be the recital of events which had passed only a few centuries ago, but had to be led back to ages of which the memory had long been buried in oblivion. The first who gave the example was Confucius, and from his compilations all that the Chinese possess of ancient history is derived. He dwells in this book diffusely upon the first reigns of his heroes Yaou and Shun, does not mention even the names of all the princes of the Hea dynasty, and then again launches forward in the praise of Woo wang and Wan wang, who overthrew the reigning family and established the Shang line of princes. Then again we must be satisfied with short notices, until the Chow rulers engage his eloquence, and finishes with Ping

wang, a ruler of that family, 770 B. C. These annals, therefore, comprise a period of about 1435 years, not including Yaou and Shun, and impartiality will assign to them as much credibility as it gives to all other histories, with records events 500 years before our era. The Chinese monarchy is not older than the Persian, unless the existence of small principalities, and the reign of some enterprizing chiefs deserves that name. We cannot compare the Shoo King to anything better than to the fragments from whence Herodotus derived his history of Asia. The greater part of the work is in dialogue, and every subject is treated with so much brevity, that a hundred questions arise spontaneously, which though faithfully answered by the commentators, still leave much to desire. Being, however, the only work of this description, it is sacred to every true son of Han, and he would much easier be led to doubt the existence of the sun, than the veracity of the Shoo King, and we therefore must carefully hide our scepticism for fear of giving offense. As we, however, write for the edification of barbarians, we may be allowed to add something more.

To have carried history to such remote antiquity might have satisfied every moderate speculator. Just suppose a historian of the present day, writing the history of the United States, and beginning with a sachem, something similar to Yaou and Shun, setting up and destroying dynasties, until the time when the first intruders from Europe arrived in the distant west. Would you call this a faithful history of America, that so many names mentioned were actually borne by some chiefs some centuries ago? But no more of this. Szema Tseën, the first professed historian of China, goes still further, though he lived as late as a century before our era, and commences with Hwang te, the yellow emperor, that lived long before Yaou, about the time of Lamech, and the declining age of Adam. His commentator, Szema Ching, considered it necessary to improve upon such an excellent pattern, and therefore recedes some centuries, and commences with Fuhhe. Upon this, Lew Taouyuen, a writer of the middle ages, improves, and tells the world, that history ought to commence 2,227,000 years before Confucius with Pwankoo. Another, supported by the priests of Taou, very modestly asserts, that the above scholar must be in the wrong, because 96,961,740 years had already elapsed, when the sage made his appearance in the world. Having thus given a fair specimen of the antiquity of this monarchy, we leave the reader to judge for himself, satisfied ourselves that its existence cannot be placed before the great empires of western Asia.

This matter being thus satisfactorily settled to our own mind, we proceed to tell the reader, that in writing this essay we intended to give him a general idea of its contents, and shall not therefore be slow in quoting the most striking passages. Here we only remark, that the work is divided into four books; the first contains the history of Yaou and Shun, the second that of Heä, the third of Shang, and the fourth of Chow, until Ping wang. The book opens in the following manner.

"It is said, if an examination be instituted about the ancient emperor Yaou, you will confess, that his merits were vast, that he was respectful, clever, decorous, prudent, perfectly at his ease, truly courteous and striving to be humble, and that the lustre of his merits spread everywhere to the utmost extent. Being, therefore, celebrated and eminent for his virtues, he thereby promoted the relationship between the various families; and these living in harmony, the peace of the nation was confirmed. Whilst the people exhibited these qualities, all countries were kept in good understanding. The black haired people thus reformed, they lived in mutual good understanding. He also ordered He and Ho to pay regard to the glorious heavens, and to make astronomical calculations respecting the sun, moon, and stars, in order to report to the people regarding the seasons."

This specimen may satisfy the most scrupulous anti-sinologue, that Yaou was a gentleman as accomplished as Lewis XIV., and that he moreover was a reformer, an honor for which few kings are anxious. But one of his most meritorious actions was, that he pacified the world, not like Napoleon who waged war merely for the love of peace, but like a man who knew what he was about, by making families harmonize, and transferring the same benefit to the nation, and from thence upon all countries. Had he lived in our enlightened times, he might have done the honorable Company a great service, by thus influencing their Nípálese, Burman, and Persian majesties, who are not overfond of quietness.

What honor does the wise Yaou confer upon astronomy? From this early notice of this science, we really conclude, that the ancient Chinese were no whit behind the Chaldeans and Egyptians, likely for the same reasons. Yet we believe that the correctness of these calculations, of which we have in the Shoo King an instance, and in the Chun Tsew, a chronological work of Confucius, a series of eclipses, cannot be valued higher than those of the above nations. Yet notwithstanding the royal patronage, these scholars occasionally neglected their duty. For this they were severely reprehended, but during a subsequent reign got so exasperated on account of the censure passed upon them, that they rose in open rebellion. They appear to

have been popular leaders, whom a great many of the nation favored. The emperor, therefore, had to march an army of 20,000 men in order to quell the insubordination of two astronomers. The year, according to the regulation of these worthies, was to consist of 366 days, the whole to be divided into four seasons, and an intercalary month to be inserted, in order to equalize the four parts of the year. This being satisfactorily arranged, Yaou held council with his grandees, in order to choose proper persons for the various employments of government. Above all he wished to have an able man intrusted with the repair of the ravages occasioned by the deluge. Though the opinions at first differed, as is always the case, even in a king's council, yet Yaou declared in favor of Shun. Here we shall again resume our extracts.

"It is said, that in examining into the life of the ancient emperor Shun, one perceives that he was very illustrious and resembled the emperor Yaou. His deep penetration, courteousness, cleverness, affability, respectful behavior, solidity of character, and exalted virtue, raised his fame, and caused the decree which put him on the throne."

His first measure, during the life of the celebrated Yaou, was to offer sacrifices to the supreme emperor, the mountains, hills, and rivers. The worship bestowed upon these natural objects of veneration followed the service of the Supreme Being. When, however, the nation became more refined, and their taste as well as manners vitiated, polytheism, with all its absurdities, found favor with the Chinese, as well as with the most polished nations of the west. Even the most intelligent Chinese worthies are not free from an imputation of having practiced idolatry. After the performance of this important duty, he sat down and compiled a criminal code, the principles of which remain the same until this day. When the death of his venerable compeer made him sole arbiter of the empire, he became at once legislator, as well as the executor of the law. To banish vice from the country, he exiled disorderly persons, and whilst administering a severe punishment, he at the same time gave the poor barbarians, amongst whom the civilized culprits were living, an opportunity to improve in their manners by the force of example. He then completely regulated his government upon a new footing; not however to his own ideas, but after a mature consultation with his counsellors, and then made regular tours to inspect the officers, in order to ascertain how far they performed their duty. Amongst other institutions, he created an office for the promotion of music, in which he himself was an adept. The air he invented charmed the very

beasts of the forest, and it may safely be inferred, that it also enchanted his subjects. His successor Yu was nominated by himself and the ministers of the cabinet. From hence it appears, that the Chinese monarchy was at first elective, a prerogative now bestowed upon the monarch alone, who without consulting his ministers, as did his venerable patterns, makes choice of a successor after the pleasure of his own heart.

The chapter bearing the name of Yu is full of salutary maxims, of which we shall quote a few.

"Yih, one of the ministers said, take heed, be careful and you will escape much pain. 'Do not offend against the laws, do not give yourself up to amusement, do not become a votary of pleasure.' 'When conferring an office upon a worthy man, do not retract your word. Never hesitate to remove depraved people. Plans of a doubtful nature, do not execute, and whatsoever you resolve upon, will prove prosperous. If you wish to be popular, do not act in defiance of the wishes of the nation, and follow your own desires. By not being negligent and indifferent in the performance of your duty, you will induce barbarians from all quarters to come to you. Yu said, consider that virtue is the basis of a good government, and that it is the duty of the administration to provide for the wants of the people, that they may have water, fire, metal, wood, earth, and corn sufficient for their use. 'Preserve their morals, and provide richly for their wants.' These are nine points, the observance of which constitutes the merits of a prince. Let these nine objects be recorded in popular songs. Influence them by bestowing suitable praise, instruct them with authority; exhort them by these nine ditties, and you will thus preserve the nation."

A great deal is contained in these sayings, and if one or other of the princes would take the trouble of following them, he would soon discover, that Yu and his minister were practically acquainted with the art of governing. One rule requires our peculiar attention, viz. to convey this sage advice into popular songs, and thus make the nation at large acquainted with the spirit that actuates government. The collection of the She King or Book of Odes is a sufficient proof of the fondness with which the ancient Chinese embodied their thoughts in short stanzas, that were sung by every body. They were also accustomed to pass praise or blame upon the administration, and in fact to give full vent to their feelings by singing. It was not at all extraordinary, that ministers and princes drew a conclusion from the songs that were in vogue, upon the public opinion regarding their measures. Trivial as it might appear, it has frequently given rise to the most important events, and guided the principal actors in taking a resolution. Now Yu was perfectly aware that if he could make his

government so popular as to render it the burden of a song, he would have a strong hold upon the affections of the people, and hence he was so very anxious to have these ditties properly composed.

If the maxims contained in this book were not uttered by Yu himself, they do great honor to the composer, for they contain the purest morality mixed with much good sense. Yu appears here in the most amiable light, and always asks the opinions of his ministers, before he ventures to show his own sagacity. So much was he beloved by the nation, that when he wished to surrender the government of the empire, like his two predecessors, to the most worthy of his ministers, his son and heir was considered, by the general assent of the nation, as voted to be emperor.

Having been employed in dividing the country, after having drained the marshes occasioned by the deluge, he investigated the soil, accurately examined into the productions, and drew up accordingly a catalogue of the tribute, which was to be paid by the respective districts. Upon this geographical account all similar descriptions compiled by the natives have been founded, and how imperfect soever, it gives one a tolerable idea of the celestial empire in ancient times. A map has been accordingly drawn, it is rude and imperfect, but perhaps the first delineation of a country, as Yu's are the first original statistical tabbs ever presented to the world. Princes, however, appear to have been in all ages of the same mind, and when they give themselves a great trouble about their country, it is with the view of benefiting themselves. Thus also in this case. The accuracy of the description claimed an equal accuracy in the discharge of tribute. In the enumeration of these articles, we find many curious articles; amongst others, precious stones and pearls, which proves, that the people, who lived immediately after the deluge, were very rich.

The reign of his son opened with a declaration of war against a rebel. He called together his vassals, and then declared, that heaven had resolved upon the destruction of the unnatural rebel. The language is strong and powerful, but we are not told whether the exploits corresponded with the bravado. There is, however, something very remarkable in the wars of the ancient Chinese, which may deserve imitation. Whenever two armies came in contact, the two commanders-in-chief challenged one another to single combat, whilst the remainder of the army quietly awaited the issue. When one had fallen another would take his place and fight on. The battle was thus frequently decided without much loss of life, for the party that

had lost most of its champions retired in confusion. Now this is a very gentle mode of settling disputes and saves many innocent beings, who would never have thought of drawing a sword for mutual destruction, and may therefore be safely recommended. There is some hint in the text, which shows, that this mode of fighting must have been in vogue at that time.

His successor was not aware, that the power of virtue impressed upon the minds of the people by his grandfather Yu was evanescent. Having spent one hundred days in hunting, one of his vassals took possession of the imperial territory. His five brothers therefore followed their mother to the place of the exiled monarch, and each of them repeated in his presence a song of Yu, in which this wise statesman had described the ruin of a prince. These stanzas are very sensible, and deserve to be written in letters of gold in every royal cabinet. We are not informed, however, what was the effect; a circumstance which more and more inclines us to think, that the Shoo King is a collection of excellent maxims, which have been conveniently arranged under the different reigns.

No other remarkable circumstances occur, except the revolt of the two astronomers above noticed. The eclipse here spoken off, upon which the antiquity of Chinese history turns as on a pivot, places, according to the calculations of modern astronomers, the first year of Chungkang 2155 years B. C. We shall not dwell upon a subject upon which so much has been already written, but only remark here, that if no other reasons can be brought forward, the authenticity rests upon a foundation of sand. Considering, that the calculations themselves do not agree, that the notice is very slight, and that the Chinese would never have laid so much stress upon the matter, if foreigners had not seized upon this circumstance to blazon the fact to the world.

All the latter reigns, from Tseäng 2146, until Keě Kwei 1767 B. C., are not mentioned in the Shoo King, and how other historians could have made up this gap, we are unable to tell, there being no other authentic document extant. The third part of this work commences with the declaration of Chingtang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, against the last wicked prince of the Heä family. These few lines belong to the most pathetic in sentiment, as well as in expression.

"Listen, all come hither and hear my words; how can I a little child dare create trouble; but since the dynasty of Heä has committed many crimes, heaven has issued a decree for its extirpation. All of you say,

our prince has no compassion upon us; we therefore leave our harvest, in order to punish the Heä dynasty. I therefore only listen to your words; the Heä family is guilty, but I fear the Most High, and dare not but act justly. Help me, a single man, to execute the punishment of heaven, and I shall richly reward you for this. Remain faithful to me, and I shall not break my word. If you, however, come not up to your oath, I shall kill you and your families without mercy."

Though the hero proved successful in his endeavors, and completely overcame the race of Heä, he still found some twinges of conscience, which disturbed the quiet possession of the throne. For this purpose, he held long and edifying conversations with his minister, and whilst explaining his views listened to his advice. He was an extraordinary man, who strictly personified the ancient emperors. There is, however, nothing so extraordinary as his righting the barbarians by invading their country. If he turned to the north, those to the south would complain, that he was so long in coming to assault their country. This was surely waging war for the benefit of the world, and it would be well, if the heroes of the present time would imitate Chingtang.

His grandson, however, was by no means equal to the task of ruling an empire, and the minister of state, in whose charge he was, therefore, endeavored to give him salutary instructions, and as he neglected to receive them, he was imprisoned, until he gave the most speaking proofs of his sincerity. These sage counsels fill no less than three chapters, not including the foregoing ones, which are entirely the gift of the minister. If the maxims laid down here can be put into practice, a government will possess considerable strength, and obtain a firm hold upon the love of the people. Like many other theories this also has to be tried, and its excellency be determined by the practicability of the execution. As they, however, stand in the book, we must not refuse the meed of praise due to every enterprise of rendering a nation happy.

From Wuhting, 1720 B. C. to Yangkeä, 1408, not the slighest hint is given in the Shoo King, and we must consider these fourteen emperors as mere nonentities, whose names are inserted in other histories of a less ancient date to parade before the reader.

The thread of discourse is again resumed with Pwan kăng. This ruler suggested to his loving subjects the idea of removing the capital, and as they were not willing to comply with his commands, he adduced the will of heaven, as the great cause which had prevailed upon him to adopt this step. But as this did not seem to be a sufficient

reason for this stubborn race, he quoted old custom, and it then appeared that his ancestors had five times changed their abode, and why should he not do the same! As none deigned a reply, it is very probable, that they followed his directions. Being, however, once in a mood of imparting admonition, he went on to talk with the magistrates about their duties, and also assured the people that he was quite independent of every body. His colony having arrived at the new court, he immediately broached his lessons of wisdom.

"The Most High has given lustre to the grandsire of our family; he will grant protection to the empire. I shall, therefore, co-operate with my faithful subjects to preserve the life of my people, and to establish once for all my abode in this city. Instead of heaping up riches, endeavor to prove meritorious, and thus to lay a foundation for the peace of the nation."

Two of his successors seem to have spoken nothing worth recording. Wooting, about 1324 B. C., began to make good the silence of his predecessors, by a greater share of loquacity. In order to prepare himself for his discourses he kept silence for no less than three years, mourning the death of his parent. When finally the ministers grew quite impatient, and urged him to open his mouth, he waited until he was directed in a dream to choose a worthy minister from amongst the people. He having safely arrived at court, the emperor said unto him, "Be unto me what a whetstone is to metal, an oar when passing a large river, and a shower of rain during great drought." With this celebrated man he entertained himself, and the chapter is full of rational talk. The great object of these counsels was to make of this prince another Yaou or Shun, and if there was one single personage in the empire suffering, or one city not enjoying happiness, he would consider himself guilty of having caused all this misery. This is taking too much upon one's self; but all the emperors in China have repeatedly in theory borne the crimes of the nation, and derived great fame for their conscientiousness.

From these delightful dialogues we are on a sudden called to the announcement of the approaching ruin of the Shang dynasty. A faithful minister had witnessed the vices of the court, and uttered his bitter complaints. But the warning voice was raised too late, the hearts of the people were alienated, and the champion of the rights of the people had already approached to expel by main force the monster that sat on the Chinese throne. We are thus arrived at the last book of the Shoo King, the dialogues held by the princes of Chow. Woo wang, the founder of this illustrious house, used the same reasons to prove to the world, that the Shang dynasty must

cease to reign, as Chingtang before him had done regarding the preceding one. His first charge, is too great severity and cruelty towards the people. The last scion of this devoted race dared to involve whole families in the crimes of individuals, and had moreover conferred hereditary office upon several magistrates, a thing in diametrical opposition to the constitution of the celestial empire. He was more lavish in his expenditure, and above all neglected to serve the Most High,—an unpardonable crime in those days. Taking therefore the whole into consideration, Woo resolved to put an end to these abuses, and at an assembly of the commonalty, he declared that heaven had ordered his father, and subsequently himself, to maintain the rights of the people; and he added,

"Mark, heaven protects the nation, and appoints men to become its princes and teachers; but these are only the ministers of the Most High 上帝 to promote everywhere tranquillity, and to distinguish the guilty from the guiltless. Can I then prove disobedient to his will? The measure of the crimes of the house of Shang is full, heaven's decree for their extirpation is past, and should I myself not act in obedience thereto, I should become their accomplice."

A great deal of this apparent piety is obliterated in the following pages, where the hero tells us, that he was going to sacrifice to the Most High and to the earth. 'Only assist me,' he added, 'and heaven will accord the wishes of the people, and I shall be enabled to establish everlasting tranquillity throughout the four seas,—do not on any account lose this opportunity.' This was then H. M's. maiden speech before all the lords and gentlemen assembled. The government of China seems to have been, in ancient times, a mixture of oligarchy and democracy. We hear our new king next lecturing the soldiers, who had flocked to his standards, upon that important chapter, virtue. There are few addresses of Napoleon to his army equal to these two. They most strongly prove, that the leader knew what soldiers are, and how perfectly he understood to work upon their passions. With these valiant hosts, he marched forward, and when arriving in sight of the imperial army, the soldiers of that division turned their arms against each other. Having annihilated themselves, Woo wang took possession of the empire, and with great wisdom divided the kingdom amongst wise and approved ministers, and so effectually swayed the empire, that all the wounds inflicted during the last misrule were soon healed, and the nation began again to revive, 1045 B. C. This detail is the only historical part which we have yet found in the Shoo King. Confucius, who lived under this

dynasty, was naturally anxious to add as much lustre to its grandsire, as his writings could prove, and he is, therefore, in this instance more diffuse. His administration was supported by a wise and powerful minister, who was thoroughly persuaded of the divine right of kings, and therefore did not fail to inculcate this important lesson upon his royal master. In other respects, he teaches him thoroughly the art of a king, how a ruler ought to feel the pulse of the nation, to observe prognostics, and also consult the stars. Virtue and vice greatly influence the order of the universe; rain, dew, dearth, and plenty, may thus be procured by a prince for the nation over whom he rules, and the only requisite is to be virtuous. Some strangers had made a present of a dog to the new sovereign; a circumstance that produced a whole chapter of remonstrance against the introduction of foreign commodities. Do not make much of these things, the counsellor said, and the foreigners themselves will come to offer them at an advantageous price. Now this was quite so as it is still to-day.

Amidst his manifold labors, however, Woo wang fell sick. The consternation was general, and none was so much touched as a near relation of the monarch. What was now to be done? In this great extremity, the ministers remembered, that there was a mysterious casket, in which the lot of dynasties was contained. This they therefore opened, and having found, that the whole had a favorable issue, all were consoled and confidence as well as general joy restored. The prince who thus inquired after his fate, made a vow that he was quite ready to die for such an excellent prince. This devotion seems to have had the most happy effect, and the cure was effected with wonderful speed. For all this, however, he was accused of the blackest crimes. When the punishment was announced, heaven declared in favor of the innocent, a dreadful tempest arose, and the calamity was not assuaged before the sovereign himself had made a public declaration in favor of his meritorious minister.

Hitherto we have only had the axioms of statesmen, but Ching wang, 1115 B. C., himself becomes orator. Some of the descendants of the Shang dynasty had endeavored to assert their right to the throne, and he was therefore anxious to engage the loyalty of his good officers to resist the usurpation. The antagonist of the emperor was speedily put down, and the monarch acted most generously by bestowing a principality upon the fallen rebel, but he gave him also many good lessons, how to establish an excellent government. Another long chapter of admonition, addressed to a prince by Woo wang, follows. For all those who wish to rule, the perusal may be of ex-

tensive use; Fenelon could not have written more edifyingly when he was instructing his royal pupil. As perhaps none of my readers, however, are called to govern a nation, we will not insert these remarks, and now go over to a chapter containing the maxims against the introduction of *liquor*.

During the latter end of the Shang dynasty, when dissoluteness and libertinism generally gained the upper hand, a kind of *distilled liquor* had been invented in the capital. When therefore a relation of Woo wang received the control of this district, the king deemed it necessary to give him very strict directions respecting this liquor. This beverage, he said, ought only to be used at sacrifices; in consequence of its being drunk to excess, whole kingdoms have been subverted. Men who work hard, and strictly perform their duty, ought to be treated with indulgence. Others who are apprehended when intoxicated ought to be taken up. Do not, however, punish, but instruct them. If they profit by your exhortation, reward them; if they turn a deaf ear to your admonition, condemn them to death, without mercy or reprieve. To this, other salutary advice is added; and a variety of directions for promoting agriculture and every branch of industry, the whole well worth reading. In all these papers, mercy is always recommended in preference to justice.

In the arrangement of some chapters, chronological order has been much neglected, and it is on that account that some speeches, which were delivered in a preceding reign, are put before others of a much later date. That which is generally known under the name of Lokaou is an address of a minister at the coronation of Ching wang, the successor of Woo wang. There is much frankness in this harangue; the prince is told some very severe truths, and he is directed to study the welfare of the people, as the first and most necessary of all the duties. No British corporation could possibly have presented a better congratulatory paper to the young queen, than this veteran statesman. Whilst he, however, gives his admonition in the words of command, he professes the most devotional regard towards his young master, and prostrates himself before H. M., and promising to render himself and all the people virtuous. This was certainly a noble undertaking.

During the reign of Ching wang, there lived one of the wisest men, a very celebrated statesman called Chow kung. He considered it a most important object to instruct the monarch, and moreover to civilize the nation. To effect the first, he held long speeches, and compiled a code of rites, full of the most amusing remarks. The first

have been faithfully preserved in the Shoo King, and though they contain nothing new, they only confirm, that all the politicians of China thought about the art of governing in the same manner. His praise is very high, and he ranks amongst the worthies who are worshiped to the present day in the imperial pantheon. Exasperated against the previous rulers, and bound by the ties of consanguinity to the emperor, he exerted himself much to insure the loyalty of the new subjects. They were at first reluctant to obey their new master, but Chow kung's affability, joined to an earnest desire of conferring benefits upon the nation, conciliated their goodwill. He was, however, not content with merely giving his advice to the people, but most effectually dissuaded the king from giving himself up to pleasure, and cited the example of the unfortunate princes of Shang, who fell victims to their follies, whilst others by their virtues prolonged their lives and confirmed their rule. When one of the ancient ministers wished to leave the court, of which he constituted the principal ornament, Chow kung did his utmost to retain him. His persuasion was powerful and effectual, and has on that account been preserved in the Shoo King.

Notwithstanding, however, the constant care bestowed upon the government, the people were still dissatisfied, and Ching wang therefore told them, once for all, if they would not attend to kind words, he would exercise the power intrusted to him by heaven, and punish them severely for their disobedience and mutinous disposition. In order to effect this purpose, a new code of laws was issued, and a number of remarks published by the ministers to prove the excellency of this measure. A new list of officers was drawn up, and every department received its proper administrator. All this was effected by the wisdom of Chow kung, a man who is said to have been versed in all the sciences of the age, and that he was particularly well acquainted with astronomy. On his death, another worthy man was nominated in his stead, and a whole chapter of the Shoo King contains the instructions about his proceedings.

Ching wang, after a reign of thirty-seven years, fell suddenly ill. His pains increasing every day, he saw his end approaching, and having called all the grandees round his bed, he gave them his last advice. He puts the most favorable construction upon his reign, and advises his son and heir to treat foreigners with indulgence, to instruct those who are near his person, and to maintain peace throughout the world. After his death, he was buried with great ceremony, which has been faithfully described in the Shoo King.

Kang wang, the young successor, immediately delivered a speech to the grandees and vassals assembled at court, and showed the necessity of conforming to the ancient statutes, whilst he himself promised to imitate his predecessors. Unlike all other young rulers, he retained the old minister, who during four successive reigns had held the helm of the state. He was at that time more than 120 years of age, but still possessed sufficient perception to understand an eulogy which the young monarch addressed to him. The Chinese emperors are very fond of old ministers: witness Taoukwang's cabinet, where you may see hoary heads of eighty. Though this gives a very venerable aspect to the councils of princes, we doubt whether any decrepit old man is able to endure the fatigues, and whether the said apparent ministers have not favorites who perform their duties in their stead.

The remaining part of the Shoo King contains a repetition of Woo wang's sage maxims. All the princes of this line were anxious to embody the principles of their grandsire, and therefore have his name constantly in their mouths. They are at the same time very loud in deploring the degeneracy of the age, and look back with great delight to centuries past, when all the world was actuated by virtuous principles. Amongst the celebrated princes of Chow, Muh wang holds a very conspicuous place. When he was 100 years of age, he announced to the world, that he was going to issue a penal code, the result of much experience. To render, however, the new ordinances more important, the monarch cites the example of venerable Yaou, who was shocked by the inhuman punishments inflicted by one of his contemporaries. Mercy ought thus to be the basis of the penal code. No man who cannot be fully convicted of his crime ought to be punished. In most cases redemption money may be received from the culprit. The execution of the law ought not to be hampered by judical difficulties, and the sophism of attorneys. The hints laid down in these regulations are at present the foundation of Chinese legislation, and the traces may be found throughout the Ta Tsing Leuh Le. So much is the nation wedded to antiquity.

The thread of history is henceforth lost, 946–770 B. C., until the reign of Ping wang. This prince was sorely pressed by some barbarian tribes, and therefore invoked the aid of one of his relations, who had been appointed a hereditary vassal by one of his ancestors. This address concludes the historical part of the Shoo King; the remaining two chapters refer to two tributary princes, who in time of danger promulgated some wise regulations. With the conclusion of the work, the chronology of history may be said to become more

certain, for Confucius continued purposely in the Chun Tsew the order. It is rather extraordinary, that the Greeks, only six years earlier, should have commenced reckoning their Olympiads, and that at the same time the kingdoms of western Asia should have assumed a different form. From hence, may be dated the existence of large empires, with the Egyptian and Assyrian at their head, and the authenticity of history in general.

Having thus finished giving a general view of the contents of this book, we beseech the reader to admire, with us, the Shoo King. The translation of Gaubil, though it very much embellishes the sense, is tolerably correct, and we therefore recommend it to the uninitiated in Chinese lore. As for all sinologues, we frankly confess, that those who have not read the Shoo King ought in common justice to set to work immediately, in order to make themselves acquainted with the quintessence of Chinese literature. Whatever may be the faults of composition, and there are very glaring, yet the book contains a vast variety of original ideas and principles, which to the very end of the existence of human society will continue to constitute the basis of good government. Whilst perusing this performance, the reader will feel that he treads upon the domains of remote ages, and that whatever meets his eye bears the stamp of primeval simplicity. It is a great pity, that all the wisdom which the ancients have condescended to bequeath to posterity is contained in speeches, and not exemplified by actions. We here observe, what Christian historians have often proved, that polytheism was not the offspring of the immediate age after the flood, but that it was gradually introduced to expel the knowledge of the true God, with whom all the posterity of Noah was conversant. He is repeatedly named in this work, and always with the deepest reverence, and if anything were still wanting to prove, that Shangte conveys in ancient lore the idea of the Supreme Being, one has merely to consult the Shoo King, to set the question at rest. How there ever could have been men, who dared to assert, that the Chinese had no name for God, we never were able to discover.

Here we bid farewell to our old friend, and if the reader is angry, that we have kept his attention so long fixed upon these remote ages, we promise to bring before him next time, a book of the most recent date. As far as we ourselves are concerned, we consider it an unpardonable crime, that in reviewing Chinese literature, we did not commence with the Shoo King, for it was no doubt the first book compiled in that language. This may serve as an excuse, and be put on record.

ART. II. *Remarks on the works of Charles Ritter; the Pocket Library, edited by J. H. Jäck royal librarian at Bamberg; the Chinese, by J. F. Davis; and China, its state and prospects by W. H. Medhurst: published in the Christian Review for March*, 1839. Boston, Gould, Kendall and Lincoln.

THE author of these remarks,—if by any means he should find himself in the Chinese empire alone, without any other guide than the article before us,—could not without some delay and much difficulty ascertain into what country he had come. By the time this were done, perchance he might perceive that there may be *one* other source of error besides those alluded to in his opening paragraphs: also he might discover that the foreign residents at Canton and its vicinity, notwithstanding "the infelicity of their position," have the means of learning something of China "as a whole," not excepting even "the interior and western parts." This he now questions, affects to deny, and endeavors to disprove — with what success, will appear in the sequel. "What are you going to do!" some reader may be ready to exclaim. "A more clever review——one exhibiting more research, more accuracy, more solid matter-of-fact, and withal one every way better fitted for the great mass of common readers—I have never seen. The erudite and accomplished editor, who is the author of the review, has done his country good service, and himself much honor, in the timely publication of this very able article. It is really a most admirable paper, comprising in less than thirty pages a more complete view of China than can anywhere else be found." Well let us see now how the matter-of-fact is, and if we can, let us find out the true state of the case. By the bye, it is proper here to remark—lest some one should suspect we may have "a pique against the author," that we have no acquaintance with him: it is not with him, but with his article we have to deal; and the article is a good one—only excepting its errors as to facts. And here we take the liberty to repeat,—applying to himself, what he says of foreigners at Canton and its vicinity: "These errors have arisen not so much from the fault of the writers [the writer], as from the infelicity of their [his] position." Whether these words of his are true or not, this application of them is fair; because if the residents at Canton are to be excused for their errors, on account of "the infelicity of their position," much more ought they to

be pardoned, for like offenses, who are the very antipodes of the celestials, have never gazed on the "unparalleled beauties" of the flowery land, nor come within its "wonderful influence."

Presuming that our readers are not entirely unacquainted with the principal authors — ancient and modern, continental and English,— who have written about China, we now proceed to examine some of the facts advanced in the article before us.

"The modern French and Russian schools of Chinese literature; under such men as Rémusat, Klaproth, Humboldt, and Schmid, have a depth, variety, and completeness, to be found nowhere else, and have thrown a flood of new light upon China, not afforded by the incidental and insulated labors of their predecessors. p. 119 * * *. Those who are acquainted with the facts well know, that no Englishman in the east has made attainments in this study equal to those of Rémusat and Klaproth. p. 121. * * * He who has learned all that Polo, Mailla, and Du Halde can teach him, will find little that is new in the recent books on China; . . . [And] . . . it is but too evident, that even in such men as Davis and Medhurst, there is an ignorance of nearly all the new light that has been cast upon Chinese geography and history, by the living oriental scholars of continental Europe."

All this, and more in the same strain, ought to be modified. In some respects Rémusat and Klaproth were unrivaled in their day; in others, not. But for the "incidental and insulated labors" of Prémare, the works of his successor might have lacked somewhat of their depth, variety, and completeness. Witness the grammar of Rémusat. Nor are the translations of that eminent scholar always so exact as we could wish they were. As a specimen, we introduce, with the text, his translation of the introductory lines to the second chapter of the *Yŭh Keaou Le*, or, "*Les Deux Cousines.*"

憑君傳語寄登徒
只合人間媚野狐
若有佳人懷吉士
從無淑女愛金夫
甘心合處錦添錦
強得圓時觚不觚
再莫鑿空施妄想
任他才與色相圖

Note. These lines are to be read in the Chinese manner, commencing with the column on the right, at the top; the sounds of the same, arranged in European order, are given on the top of the next page: the orthography is that of Morrison's Dictionary.

Ping keun chuen yu, ke tăng too
—Chih hŏ jin keĕn, mei yay hoo—
Jŏ yeu kea jin, hwae keih sze,
Tsung woo shŭh neu ngae kin foo;
Kan sin hŏ choo, kin teĕn kin,
Keäng tih yuen she, koo puh koo;
Tsae mŏ tsŏ kung, she wang seäng,
Jin otal tsae ya sih seäng too.

Croyez-en les rapports d'un père, le jeune homme ira à tout;
Mais au moindre examen, le vide de sa tête se montrera.
Une belle peut distinguer qu'un homme de mérite,
Jamais une fille vertueuse ne fut touchée des biens de la fortune.
Un brillant tissu se joint volontiers à une riche étoffe,
La violence seule peut associer la perfection et les défauts.
La dissimulation n'obtient pas de succès constant.
Ne comptez jamais que sur le mérite et les agréments réels.

We leave the reviewer to consort this translation with the text in the best way he can devise; in the meantime we venture, with all due deference to continental sinologues, to subjoin another,—and the reader will please choose for himself.

The rake, gentle reader, I trust you to tell,
—For none but *he* smirks with the wild wanton belle—
That a *lady* would choose to consort with a *man*,
And never could fancy a *gold* gentleman;
That the union of *hearts*, adds beauty to beauty,
But a match is no match, if *enforced* as a duty;
Never chizel the heavens, in fruitless endeavor,
Let the noble and fair, *freely* wed with each other.

A somewhat difficult stanza this, taken at random, solely for the purpose of comparing it with the translation of Rémusat. We suspect that other parts of the work would betray similar ignorance of the allusions and figures found in the original text. As we have read only a single chapter of this book, the French translator may be supposed to have some advantage over us, since he must have carefully and repeatedly perused the whole. In the original, this passage is highly poetical and figurative. The word *keun* here means the honorable, i. e. the gentle reader; *tăng too* is a double surname, and forms a kind of patronymic, like Belial, and is used here in a sense identical with that word, for worthless fellows, sons of dissipation; it stands as the correlative of *yay le*, wild foxes, vel *puellæ procaces*. *Kinfoo* denotes one who has gold but no sense, a hollow miser, or gilded fop; it is the opposite of *keih sze* the happy man, the perfect gentleman, the genuine scholar. The two phrases *kin*

teën kin embroidery added to embroidery, and *koo puh koo* square not square, are used figuratively in senses that cannot be mistaken. *Tsŏ kung* is likewise a figurative expression, denoting that which is as useless as the drilling into the firmament, or the beating of the air.

And who are those *living authors* who have thrown such a flood of "new light" upon Chinese geography and history? Besides M. Julien, and two or three other savans, we know of none on the continent of Europe, who possess any very accurate knowledge even of the language of the Chinese; and without intending any reflection on those sinologues, we affirm that there are "Englishmen in the east," who have made attainments in this study equal — not to say superior — to those of Rémusat and Klaproth, or any other foreigners now living. If little that is new can be found in the recent books on China, it is not because the works of Polo, Mailla, and Du Halde are free from errors, or have told the half that is known of this country. And because Davis and Medhurst had little occasion to speak of the geography and history of the Chinese, it does not follow that they were ignorant on these subjects. Further, if the information contained in the article before us must be regarded as a fair specimen of the works of Ritter and others on the continent, it will be easy to show that our reviewer has misjudged, both with regard to the depth of their researches, and the amount of "new light" which they have thrown on China. A few specimens we will here notice. Following Ritter, professor of geography in the university of Berlin since 1820, he says —

"Except at Canton, which is approached by water, there are but three ways of access to China — that on the north from Asiatic Russia, through the wall, to Peking; that on the north-west, from central Asia, through the narrow passage between the mountains of Tibet, and the great desert of Tartary; and that from Burmah, on the south-west, into the province of Yunnan." *p.* 122.

In this manner many pages are filled — with remarks not indeed absolutely and altogether false or erroneous, yet so framed that they cannot but convey very inaccurate information. By saying, "except at Canton," and so forth, the idea is given that, along this whole coast, there are no other places of access to the country, and that there is no way of passing the boundaries of the empire, on the north, west, and south, except at the three points named above — "China Opened" notwithstanding. At one time, China seems to embrace the whole possessions of the reigning dynasty; at another its limits are restricted, and China seems like some castle, walled up to heaven,

and hermetically sealed all round, except at only three or four small vent-holes. On three sides it is hemmed in by "impassable mountains;" and on the other it is made inaccessible by the "tornadoes of the Yellow Sea." Of course, though the Chinese have an ocean on one of their borders, they are "*not a seafaring people*," and have "*never acquired the cosmopolitan character of a commercial nation*," forsooth, because they have never been in Europe. And how do the embassadors from Siam and Tongking get to the capital, when they do not pass by the way of Canton nor through Burmah?

After giving us "these details," and others like these — having especially "consulted the wants of the English reader," he says "it would be interesting to hear at length the general remarks and philosophical reflections of this prince of geographers; but we must content ourselves with the following summary, condensed from his work." That we may not misrepresent Ritter, our readers must bear with us, while we quote two or three entire paragraphs, from this condensed summary.

"The great ocean current, which finds an outlet among the Ladrones, beats directly against the coast of China, producing a tide that flows more than 500 miles up the Keäng. This maritime part of China is filled with bays, lakes, streams, canals, and marshes; and the periodical succession of dry land and water by the tides, produces an effect upon the soil and its millions of inhabitants, to be observed in no other country on the globe. The relation between the coast and the ocean is highly characteristic of China, having no parallel in the northern hemisphere; and even that of Brazil, in the southern, has only a distant resemblance. The natural inland communication of this part of China is so much improved by art, that no part of the world can be compared to it. Such facilities for intercourse have a wonderful influence upon its myriads of inhabitants, by resisting the tendencies to individuality which exist in unconnected provinces. The action and reaction of mind upon mind, brought thus in contact, give a great uniformity of character to the whole population. Nearly all the rivers of China come in parallel lines from the mountains in the west. But the canals run north and south, cutting these rivers at right angles. The smaller streams supply the canals, and the larger serve as drains to carry off the superfluous water. The whole coast, from Peking to the mountains near Hang chow, is traversed by the imperial canal, which is like the trunk of a great tree sending out innumerable branches. Such a canal in Europe would connect the Baltic with the Adriatic, and this with the Euxine. In magnitude, this compares only with the great wall, and far surpasses it in utility. Only in a country, where despotism controls the labors of millions, would it be possible to construct either; and only in a country of so uniform a water level could such a gigantic canal be formed without a single interruption. It winds its crooked

course around elevations, and, with a considerable current, in a channel from 200 to 1000 feet in breadth, makes its majestic way sometimes through large bodies of standing water, often above towns and villages, and occasionally through mountains." *p.* 132. * * *

"One fourth of China lies constantly under water, or is so marshy as to be incapable of tillage. Over this whole territory there are annual inundations, as on the banks of the Nile and the Ganges. All this would take place by means of the great rivers coming from Tibet, even though not a drop of rain were to fall here, and though no swelling tide were to rush in from the opposite direction. The building of dams, repairing damages of floods, opening or completing canals, are recorded as among the great events of history. In the imperial geography, the descriptions of canals in the several provinces, constitute one of the principal chapters; and, in treating of Shense, which is least provided with them, 350 pages of this work are occupied in describing them. No mandarin can make any pretensions to learning, who is not perfectly acquainted with those of his province, and the governor of the province must know their history, their measurement, and all the mathematical reckoning for dams, sluices, and branch canals. With all the details of this branch of knowledge, the imperial ministers are as familiarly acquainted as our professors of botany and conchology are with the details of their science. But the influence of the hydrographic system of China is still greater on the modes of life among the industrious classes. Of those productions which depend on this system of irrigation, we will mention that of rice alone, the staple article of food for three hundred millions of inhabitants, and which grows only on the coast south of the Hwang ho. It yields regularly two harvests in a year, the one in May, the other in October. Not only all the other parts of China, but the Manchows, and even the Mongols of the barren Gobi, as far back as to Siberia, are all dependent on the rice crops. The great army of the emperor, as well as the army of civil officers, in that complicated government, from the highest to the lowest, receive half their pay in rice. All the taxes of the nation are paid in rice; and hence the number of revenue vessels. Rice-dealing is thus the basis of Chinese trade; and the Delta, where this article is grown, is the centre of business, and the seat of the densest population. Whenever the rice crops fail, millions die of famine. The inhabitants are not all so fortunate as to have land to stand upon; many must be content to lead a kind of nomadic life, on the water; for in such extensive lowlands, a large part is necessarily in a middle state between land and water. Many lakes, and marshes, and channels, as in Shantung and Keängnan, are covered with dwellings, as much as the land. All the waters of China are free, no tax whatever being paid for fisheries, and the peculiar culture of this floating soil. Whole tribes of fishermen, in floating villages, without country and without home, wander about from place to place, like the fish of the sea, or the fowls of the air. Their vessels are connected into large floats; in the rear are small artificial gardens; and thus the back yards of these sailing farmers are covered with vegetable products, and are alive with ducks and swine. *pp.* 133–34.

All this summary may be true of some undiscovered regions in the moon, but it is very far from being true when applied to China. The canal, in a channel from 200 to 1000 feet in breadth, making its way above towns and villages! How gigantic! How majestic! And there is *the* imperial geography, and all the mandarins studying the history, and taking the *mathematical* measurement of all the dams and sluices and branches of the canals. And then, too, one fourth of the whole country is continually under water, or so marshy as to be incapable of tillage. Millions dying of famine, whenever the rice crops fail; and whole villages with their gardens, are seen floating about like fish in the sea, and fowls in the air! How interesting! How philosophical! Truly this is *new light*, with a witness.

It is much easier to make assertions than it is to prove them. One would require a small volume, if he should take up one by one each paragraph of the article before us, and separate what is false and erroneous from what is true, and adduce the evidence that might be deemed necessary to overthrow the one, and to establish the other. Of the very many passages which we marked as being erroneous, we will notice only one more in the first part of the article. It is the following.

"According to the treaty of 1689, between China and Russia, the boundary between them was to be passed only by triennial caravans, and any attempt to enter China during the intervals, was to be regarded as an aggression. As a party of Russian traders once crossed the line, and ventured to form a settlement on the Amour, a hundred and fifty miles beyond the boundary, they were captured by the Chinese, and carried to Peking. This at length led to a Russian colony in the Chinese capital, in which the Russian religion and Russian schools are tolerated. The Chinese emperor allows the colony to have six clergymen and four teachers, to be succeeded by others once in every ten years. The Russian government takes advantage of this arrangement, suggested by Chinese jealousy, and sends, every ten years, a new set of men, to study Chinese and Mongolian literature, and after their ten years of service have expired at Pekin, to return to Russia, as professors of Asiatic literature! This is one of the reasons, that so much Chinese literature comes to us by the way of Petersburg." *p.* 125.

On first reading this passage we supposed we had really got some new light. But having been very often in conversation with a native gentleman, for many years well acquainted with the Russian mission in Peking, and never having heard from him a word about a Russian colony, or Russian schools — excepting *four* ecclesiastical and *six* lay members — we were led to doubt the existence of such colony and schools. We had not quite forgotten Gerbillon's visit to

Nipchú, and his account of Albazin. Upon further reflection, we recollected to have seen, somewhere in Timkowski's book, a notice of the remnant of a colony. The principal information we found on opening that work is contained in the following paragraphs.

"On the 14th of June, 1728, a treaty of peace was concluded between count Vladislawitsch, Russian embassador extraordinary, and the ministers of China. The fifth article is in the following terms:—'The Russians shall henceforth occupy at Peking the kouan or court which they now inhabit. According to the desire of the Russian embassador, a church shall be built with the assistance of the Chinese government. The priest who now resides there, and the three others who are expected, shall live in the kouan above mentioned. These three priests shall be attached to the same church, and receive the same provisions as the present priest. The Russians shall be permitted to worship their God according to the rites of their religion. Four young students, and two of a more advanced age, acquainted with the Russian and Latin languages, shall also be received into this house, the ambassador wishing to leave them at Peking, to learn the language of the country. They shall be maintained at the expense of the emperor, and shall be at liberty to return to their own country as soon as they have finished their studies.'—According to this treaty, the Russian mission, composed of six ecclesiastical and four lay members, fixed its abode at Peking; the first do duty alternately in the convent of Candlemas, and the church of the Assumption, situated in the same quarter of the city, and originally inhabited by the Russians, whom the Chinese government caused to be removed hither in 1685, after the destruction of Albazin, a Russian fortress, which had been built on the banks of the Amour. The lay members are young men, who are obliged to study the Mantchoo and Chinese languages, and to acquire an accurate knowledge of China. They all reside in the kouan, a vast building, part of which, known by the name of the court of the embassy, is kept in repair by the Chinese government, and the other, containing the convent, by Russia." Vol. I. *pp.* 1-2.

December 21st [1820]. Benjamin the deacon, the assistant of the archimandrite, went with the deacon Seraphim, member of the mission, to take possession of the church of the Assumption, and to visit some small houses belonging to the Russian government, situated in the north-eastern part of Peking. These were habitations assigned to the Albazin Cossacks, a hundred and thirty years since, when they were removed to this capital from the banks of Amour." Vol. I. *p.* 367.

"According to the treaty concluded between Russia and China, the only one which the latter has made with a European state, the correspondence was to be carried on at the same time in Russian, Mantchoo, and Latin. A special school was established at Peking, subordinate of the tribunal of Nuy Ko, to teach the Russian language to twenty young Mantchoos of the first families." * * *

"The Russians, who were brought from Albazin to Peking, taught the

Mantchoos the first element of the Russian language. In the sequel, several members of the Russian mission, with the consent of the Chinese government, were appointed to this office, for which they received considerable remuneration. The Chinese government on several occasions has expressed a desire that the Russians residing at Peking should contribute to instruct the Mantchoos. The special school, however, has made but little progress, as is evident from the translations made by the Mantchoos, from their language into the Russian; we perceive in the very first lines that the simplest rules of grammar are not observed. 'We were told that Youngdoung Dordzi, vang of Ourga at the time of the Russian embassy to China in 1805, had asked for translators, who had studied in the school of the Russian language at Peking. He expected to find in them able and trusty interpreters, without being obliged to apply to the Russians. The first interview proved that he was mistaken. The Mantchoo interpreters candidly confessed that they did not understand a word of what the Russians said." Vol. I. *pp.* 268–70.

"April 12th [1821]. In the morning, all the mission went in procession to the church of the Assumption; this ceremony was a little deranged by a heavy rain, which continued till noon. Mass was read by the archimandrite Peter, in a full assembly of the clergy, after which prayers were put up to implore the blessing of Heaven on the emperor, and the imperial family. The Chinese who were in the church appeared much edified by our divine service, and by the fervor with which the faithful subjects of the white Czar prayed for him beyond the great wall. None of the Albazins, even those who were baptized, were present at the ceremony, except Alexis who was their chief, and belonged to the Russian company, which is incorporated in the imperial guard. Alexis pointed out to us in this church, a picture of our Saviour in prison, seated and wearing the crown of thorns, which was brought from Albazin by his ancestors. The picture is pretty well painted, but in the style of that time, and become dark by the effects of age. The church was in such a ruinous state that it seemed ready to fall." Vol. II. *p.* 104.

"It was built about the time of the arrival of the Albazins, with the materials of a pagan temple which formerly stood in this square. One of the small houses close to the church is inhabited by a married Mantchoo, who is one of the emperor's guards. He pays the rent of a thousand tchoki, or tsoën, about eight francs a month; and is obliged to guard the church. Before the house there is a deep ditch, which during the rainy season is filled with water, and as there is no outlet, it becomes a large stagnant pool. In general, this quarter of Peking is very poor, though it contains the palace of a prince, which is situated to the southwest of our church. The descendants of the Albazins live at present in the western part of the city, which is assigned to the division of Mantchoo troops to which they belong. They have lost all attachment to their former countrymen, the Russians. There are twenty-two among them who have been baptized; but they are so connected with the Mantchoos by marriages, and by their dependence as subjects, that it is very difficult to distinguish them. They speak Chinese; they dress like the

Mantchoos, and live entirely in the same manner as the soldiers of that nation — poor, idle, and attached to the superstitions of Schamanism." See Vol. II. *p.* 45.

Such are the Russian schools and colony and *teachers* in Peking, Timkowski himself being witness. Our reviewer seems to be in error, when he says six clergymen and four teachers; and Timkowski contradicts the words of the treaty when he says six ecclesiastics. The native gentleman, above alluded to, who has some knowledge of Latin, says the title of the principal is "vicarius episcopus;" and the name of the incumbent, when he left the capital about two years ago, he wrote "Menjamine," probably the deacon Benjamin, noticed in Timkowski's journal, for our informant said he was on his second term, having arrived in Peking near the close of Keäking's reign; that his associates were called "clerks, vel clerici," one of whom was a physician; and that of the students, two study Chinese, two Mantchou, and two Mongolian. He said further, that two of the Russians were good Latin scholars, and that the "episcopus" spoke the Chinese fluently. How "this arrangement" was "suggested by Chinese jealousy," we cannot divine; but why the Chinese should avail themselves of the Russians in their capital to study the language of their neighbors is very plain. This charge of jealousy seems uncalled for, and this "deeper shade" need not have entered into his picture here,— though it might elsewhere and for other reasons. The reviewer says, "observers at Canton and Macao have been treated with so much indignity and have suffered so much odium among that part of the Chinese with whom they have had intercourse, as to cause them to charge *their* picture of China with far deeper shades," than the Jesuits. This is one source of error with observers at Canton and Macao. "Another kindred error is, that of having intercourse with *intriguing* mandarins,— a most extraordinary and unique class of individuals,— and of applying epithets that are descriptive only of them, to the whole nation." And he adds, "there is no more resemblance nor sympathy, between the *artificial* and *fraudulent* mandarins, and the plain, simple and honest-hearted people, than there is between the nobility and the common people of Europe." Thus the observers here on the spot have some apology, in the indignity and odium they have suffered, for giving darker shades to their picture; but why is the writer on the other side of the globe so lavish of the epithets, jealousy, intriguing, artificial, fraudulent,—than which none can be of a darker hue? Why, if they are not true? And are the nobility of Europe as bad as the officers of the celestial empire? And

how are the "mandarins" a most extraordinary and unique class of individuals? And what intercourse have foreigners with them?

Moreover our reviewer intimates that "much Chinese *literature* comes to us by way of Petersburg." Except Timkowski's works, and a little volume by Father Hyacinth, we have not had the good fortune to receive anything from that quarter of a more recent date than the travels of E. Ysbrants Ides, who "set out from Moscow in 1692, on some important affairs to the great bogdaichan, or sovereign of the famous kingdom of Katai." We like to have forgotten Bell's Journal, who visited Peking in 1720. The English translator of Timkowski's book says, that so far as he was able to ascertain, none of the members of those successive missions, "have ever published anything on the subject of China, even in the Russian language." A journal, kept by Lawrence Lange, who accompanied the mission to Peking in 1727, was published by Pallas in his Nordische Beiträge. So says Lloyd. And he adds: "If any valuable information has really been gathered by the members of those missions, it seems the Russian government, if it has not prevented, has at least done nothing to promote the publication of it." In the Peking gazettes we have seen occasional notices of the Russian school; and about two years ago, a professorship for the study of the Chinese language in the university of Kasan was founded by the emperor of Russia.

There is one more point deserving notice in the paragraph under review. It is quite true that a treaty was formed between the governments of China and Russia in 1689. This treaty will form a part of our next article. Our reviewer clearly intimates, though he does not expressly so state, that subsequently to this date, 1689, a party of Russians was carried to Peking; and "this at length led to a Russian colony in the Chinese capital." Timkowski says they were removed thither in 1685, prior to the formation of the treaty. Who is right in this matter, the reader is left to judge.

Respecting the last half of the article, we have but little to say. The commendation of 'Jack's charming Pocket Library of Travels,' is all well enough, for aught we know. The work contains a condensed summary of some of the principal narratives of foreign travelers in China from Carpini to the present time. But little room is reserved for noticing "the valuable works of Davis and Medhurst;" and "although neither of them is perfect," yet he does not hesitate "to give them the preference over anything we have seen in English." Such is the testimony of our reviewer; and therein we will not presume to question the correctness of his judgment. Of Mr. Davis's

volumes he remarks, "In no other book of equal size can we learn so much respecting the civil and social condition of China. 'Here is no gaping at tales of wonder and prodigies; no European complacency and prejudice." This, too, is very just commendation; but then he adds:

"There is one thing, however, which seems not to be in keeping with his general character; and that is, the exposure of many disgraceful acts of European merchants and masters of vessels, in which the Portuguese, the Spaniards, the Dutch, the French, and the Americans act a conspicuous part, while the *English* appear to be no sharers in this game! We cannot, —such is the spirit of the book,—believe that is the effect of national vanity, or odium; but we set it down to the fact of his delicate official and personal relations." *See Review p.* 144.

The fact here affirmed escaped our notice in reading Mr. Davis' volumes. Our impression was strong that he was not chargeable with the partiality here imputed to him. To end our doubts, we determined to examine his book again. The first place we opened to, gave us the "singular instance of successful daring" by captain M'Clary, master of a country-ship from Bengal, in 1781, "*who certainly was little better than a pirate.*" Vol. I. p. 68. At the next place we opened we read: "With some it may be a question how far the system of exclusion, practiced by the Chinese government, justifies such means [direct violation of the laws of the country] in order to defeat it; but there can be none whatever with regard to those deeds of violence on the part of individuals, who have themselves attempted no other justification than the extent of the provocation. Among these instances may be mentioned, the shooting of Chinese from the smuggling ships near Lintin, in 1831 and 1833, and the notorious case of an English subject, who, by his own confession in the papers, actually *set fire to a mandarin's house.*" Vol. I. p. 126. Here we close the book, and must leave it with the reviewer to reconcile his own remarks with those of Mr. Davis in the manner he best can. It has been our sole endeavor to correct some of the reviewer's errors, and to show that if foreigners in China are more ignorant of this country than others are on the continent of Europe, it must be attributed to some other cause beside the infelicity of their position; and if we have erred in so doing we wait to be corrected.

We cannot close this article without expressing our deep regret that so little correct information respecting the Chinese empire exists in England and in the United States of America. If ever we have been disposed to smile at the writings of the Jesuits, or at the phi-

losophical reflections of Ritter; De Pauw, Montucci, &c., *that* smile was not *affected*. We confess, that when we see articles like that before us,—written evidently with the best possible intentions,—replete with error, and calculated to communicate and perpetuate the same, we ought to grieve rather than laugh. Foreign works on China are certainly very imperfect and incomplete, though they are somewhat numerous and voluminous. "Now what the English and American public greatly need, and as yet do not possess, is some thorough work which shall bring all these materials together; and by supplying deficiencies, adjusting differences and correcting mistakes, present a clear digest of the whole." In this opinion of the reviewer, we entirely concur; and he may perhaps be pleased to learn that the materials for such a work are being collected; whether it will ever be completed in the "masterly manner" of Ritter, remains to be seen. *Some* of the Jesuits wrote admirably, and they certainly possessed superior advantages for so doing. We complain not of them; and of our reviewer we complain chiefly, because he does not distinguish between the good and the bad writers on the continent, and because he misrepresents the position of the residents in China. The reviewer ought, we think, to have been somewhat reserved and guarded in leveling his artillery against the residents at Canton and its vicinity—of whom he knew nothing, or if he did he must have been aware that their advantages as "observers" are comparable to those on the continent of Europe. For gaining a knowledge of the United States, would Yédo or Myako, be a more *felicitous* position than New York or Philadelphia? Would a philosopher of Han, who had never traveled among barbarians, be in a better *position* to give a correct account of Europe, than any other Chinese who may have had the "misfortune" to reside twenty years at "Bamberg" or in Berlin?

True it is that our limits here have been narrow, and our disadvantages many; still the position for observation is not quite so miserable as the reviewer represents—if he will allow us to be competent judges in this matter. Nor has the odium and indignity received by the *fanqui* rendered them utterly unable to distinguish black from white, "blessing" from "cursing." And we hope, he will not take it ill, if we attempt to lighten a little the deeper shades of *his* picture. Excepting special occasions of "quarantine," such as were experienced last March and during lord Napier's stay in Canton, when "the poor foreigners were kept as close and safe as fish in a tank," residents here have, we venture to say, occupied a better position and

enjoyed better advantages for acquiring a correct knowledge of the Chinese — their language, literature, manners, customs, laws, history, geography, &c., — than any other foreigners in the world, excepting perhaps those in Peking, but not those on the continent of Europe. The reviewer ought not to imagine, like the Chinese youth, that merchants here never read a page all their lives long. There have been in China, if we mistake not, students and fellows of Cambridge and other colleges both from Old England and New. Mr. Davis, during a residence of some twenty years in this country, enjoyed almost every facility he could well desire for gaining information. By the liberality of his honorable masters, the princes of Leadenhall, he was not only excused for a time from the regular routine of his commercial duties (if we have been correctly informed), but was furnished with the best means Europe could afford for the prosecution of his studies. Chinese books, to almost any extent he might name, were within his reach. He might too, if he pleased, occasionally meet with gentlemen from almost all the provinces of the empire, and daily read the gazettes. Nor was Mr. Davis wholly ignorant of the interior, having been once at Peking, and traveled thence to Canton; and both in this neighborhood and at Macao, he might, if disposed, in their shops, and bazars, and fields, visit tens of thousands of the *people*, a class of individuals, as "extraordinary and altogether as unique," for aught we could ever discover, as the "intriguing mandarins." The advantages which Mr. Davis enjoyed, others have, and many again, enjoy. *Able* teachers have ever been here the greatest desiderata; for those employed have usually been poor fellows. Rémusat has somewhere, in the preface to his grammar, if we rightly remember, alluded to, what he no doubt often and severely felt, the infelicity of *their* position, who have had to study the Chinese, without the constant assistance of living native teachers. Chinese seënsäng they have sometimes had, but probably no way superior to those here employed. We must conclude, therefore, — all our disadvantages, our contracted sphere of observation, and the reviewer notwithstanding, — that the infelicity of our position and the sources of our errors, with regard to China, great as they may be, are not greater than they experience, who have had the good fortune to be nurtured in the modern French and German and Russian schools on the continent of Europe.

ART. III. *Hostilities between Russia and China; embassadors and plenipotentiaries appointed; conferences and negotiations; treaty of perpetual peace and union concluded and ratified, September 7th, 1689, being the 28th year, 7th month of the reign of Kanghe.*

THE particulars of these hostilities are very briefly detailed by Gerbillon, whose authority we here follow, as given in Du Halde. "The Russians having by degrees advanced to the very frontiers of China, built the fort of Albazin, called by the Tartars and Chinese Yaksa, at the confluence of a rivulet of that name with the great river which the Tartars call Saghalian úla, and the Chinese Yalong keäng. The emperor of China's troops took and razed the fort; but the Russians having rebuilt it the following year, they were again besieged, and being apprehensive of the consequences of the war, desired the emperor to end it amicably, and to appoint a place for holding a treaty." The offer was accepted, and on the 30th of May 1688, the embassadors left Peking. On the 22d of July, a dispatch was received from the emperor, who, in consequence of the war between the Eleuths and Kalkas, ordered his people to return, and at the same time to write to the Russian plenipotentiaries at Selengha, stating to them the reason of their return, inviting them either to come to the frontiers of his empire, or to propose some other method for holding the conferences. The next day three officers, with thirty attendants, were dispatched to the Russians with the following letter.

"The inhabitants of the Russian frontiers entered the countries of Yaksa and Nipchu, beloning to the emperor our master, and committed several outrages, plundering, robbing, and ill treating our hunters; they possessed themselves of the country of Hegumiuma, and other districts; upon which several representations were made to the Russian court, to which no answer being returned, the emperor, our master, in the year 1686, sent some of his people to the Russian officers commanding in those parts, to propose an amicable accommodation. But Alexis, governor of Yaksa, without regarding the occasion of the quarrel, immediately took arms, contrary to all manner of right and reason, which obliged one of the generals of the emperor's forces to lay siege to Yaksa, of which he made himself master by capitulation. However, his imperial majesty, persuading himself that the great dukes of Russia would not approve of the governor's conduct, gave orders for treating the Russians according to their quality; so that though there were above 1000 soldiers in Yaksa when it was taken, not one of them received the least ill usuage; on the contrary,

those who had no horses, arms, or provisions, were supplied with them, and were sent back with a declaration that our emperor, far from delighting in hostilities, was desirous of living in peace with his neighbors. Alexis was surprised at his imperial majesty's clemency, and testified his gratitude with tears. Notwithstanding this, the next autumn he returned to the dismantled fortress, repaired it, then waylaid our hunters, and took from them a great number of skins; nay more, he invaded the country of Kumari, and laid an ambuscade for forty of our subjects, sent to survey those parts, whom he attacked, and carried off one called Kevutey: this obliged our generals to besiege Yaksa a second time, purely with design to seize the ungrateful and perfidious Alexis, in order to convict and punish him. The place being reduced to the last extremity, you sent Nicephorus, with several others, to let us know you were willing to treat of peace. Hereupon his imperial majesty was so good as to forbid shedding the blood of your soldiers, and immediately sent Ivan, the interpreter of Nicephorus, with others of his attendants, accompanied with some of his own officers, who had orders to ride night and day, that the siege of Yaksa might be raised while we waited for your arrival. This year you sent another officer, called Stephen, to know the place of treaty. Our emperor, considering your long and troublesome journey from a far distant country, and praising the pious intentions of the czars, ordered us to repair forthwith to the river that runs through the territory of Selengha, where you are at present, and to do all that in us lies to second the favorable dispositions of your masters. In consequence of these orders, having come a great way into the country of Kalka, we found the Kalkas at war with the Eluths; and as we undertook this journey solely to meet you, we came with a slender guard, pursuant to the request of the sieur Stephen, your envoy. But if we should proceed with so small a force to the place where the seat of war is, one of the contending parties may shelter themselves under our protection, in which it will be no easy matter for us to determine how to act; besides, as we have no orders from the emperor our master, with respect to the differences betwixt those two powers, it will not be proper for us to interfere of our own accord. On this account we have taken a resolution of returning to our own frontiers, where we shall stop, and in the meantime have sent you this express to acquaint you therewith, that if you have any propositions to make, or resolution to take in this behalf, you may send it us in writing. But if the road between us be at present impracticable, appoint the time and place of meeting, for we wait for your answer."

The embassadors immediately returned, as commanded. On the 9th of September the officers came back with an answer from the Russian plenipotentiaries, who earnestly besought the Chinese to appoint the time and place of meeting, and promised to send deputies with letters immediately, in order to make known and to learn each other's intentions. The embassadors soon after received instructions to join the emperor, then on one of his western excursions; not long

afterwards, in December, they returned with his majesty to Peking. On the 23d of May following, an envoy arrived from the chief Russian plenipotentiaries at Selengha, bringing a letter to the emperor's ministers containing in substance:

"That his majesty was desired to name a place of treaty upon the frontiers; that he would send his deputies thither, and appoint the time of meeting, that those of their part might repair thither with a train equal to that of the Chinese deputies. He likewise demanded that the conferences might be managed according to the customs observed on such occasions, and concluded with desiring a positive answer as soon as possible."

This envoy—by Gerbillon judged "to be either an Englishman or a Dutchman, for he had nothing of the Russian pronunciation, and understood the European characters,"—was accompanied by about seventy persons. In answer, the embassadors were directed to say that, his majesty had been pleased to name Nipchú as the place of conference, and the 13th of June as the time for them to leave his capital, and that they should hasten forward with all possible speed, and would have no greater train than was just necessary for the safety of their persons.

According to the previous arrangements, on the 13th of June the embassy again left the capital, and traveled direct to Nipchú, situated in latitude 51° 49′, about due north from Peking. On the 27th of July, a messenger, who had been sent forward by the Chinese to announce their approach to the governor of Nipchú, returned to their camp, with a favorable report of kind reception, but stating that the Russian plenipotentiaries had not arrived at that place. On the 29th, a deputy came from the governor to meet and compliment the embassadors, who on the 31st came in sight of Nipchú. On their near approach to this place, they met many of their countrymen — some were officers appointed by the emperor to act as deputies at the conferences; others, "considerable mandarins," came to meet and congratulate the embassadors; and others were once officers but now exiles, in the condition of private soldiers, employed in laborious duties, poorly dressed, and in a melancholy mood, most of them with white or gray beards. On arriving over against Nipchú, they found a large assemblage of officers, soldiers, and servants, some had come in barks, and others by land — the whole might amount to nine or ten thousand men, three or four thousand camels, "and at least fifteen thousand horses." The governor of Nipchú was surprised at the arrival of so many troops, and had also to complain "because they acted as if they came not to treat of peace but to make war;" on

the other hand, he extolled the civility of those who had come from the embassadors to announce their approach. Lest these irregular proceedings might cause the Russian plenipotentiaries to keep at a distance from Nipchú, or at least to conceal their arrival till they were better informed of the number and design of the Chinese troops, the embassadors sent notice to their commanders to remove farther from the fortress, so as not to give the Russians any cause of complaint. The commanding officer of the Chinese troops, "posted himself in a very agreeable place, over against the fortress of Nipchú, which is admirably well situated at the bottom of a great bay, formed by the meeting of two rivers, the Saghalian and the Nipchú, which gives name to the place. To the east of the fortress, but beyond cannon-shot, are mountains of a moderate height; to the west very pleasant little hills, diversified with woods and arable lands; to the north a large open country bounds the sight; and to the south lies the great bay, near three quarters of a mile wide.".

August 1st, the Chinese embassadors, in order to hasten the Russians, sent them a letter, the purport of which, says Gerbillon, was no more than this:

"That having made all possible expedition according to their request, they were surprised to hear no certain tidings of their arrival; that if they did not hasten their coming, they should find themselves obliged to cross the river in order to encamp in a more spacious and convenient place than that they were in, where they wanted room, and should soon want forage." They added, "that they had foreborne to cross the river, to avoid giving them any cause to suspect their good intentions to conclude a peace."

The next day a messenger from the Russian plenipotentiaries came to the Chinese, and answered "very sedately" to all their complaints and inquiries; and afterwards complained, on account of his masters, that two of their people had been killed, and inquired whether they came to make war, &c. "He insisted much that the conferences should be held with an equal number of men on each side, observing at the same time that the plenipotentiaries of the czars were accompanied with no more than five hundred soldiers, and that no more were to follow, because they came only with pacific views." On the 7th, another messenger came, who said the plenipotentiaries would not arrive in less than nine days, being obliged to wait for their retinue. On the 10th, a messenger arrived from the principal of the Russian plenipotentiaries, with an answer to the embassadors' letter of the 1st. Of this letter Gerbillon says:

"It began with a compliment on their uneasiness at his delay, which he

excused by signifying that his messenger at Peking had informed him they would not arrive so soon, and that in the letter which themselves had written to him from Peking, they intimate that they would not be at the place of conference before August; that for this reason he had used less expedition, to avoid the fatigue of the journey; that, however, he would now hasten to remove their uneasiness, and provide forage for their cattle; that it was not the custom in any part of the world, for those who enter the territories of another to treat of peace, to advance to a fortress; wherefore he intimated to them to remove to some distance from the place, and let him encamp there, since it was but reasonable that he should be nearest the fortress; adding, that a little farther off they might find forage. After this, he promised, by the grace of God, if nothing intervened to obstruct a perpetual peace in regular conferences, to arrive at Nipchu by the 21st of August."

A regular campaign was now opened, and both parties zealously entered on a long war of words — contemptible and despicable in itself, but highly characteristic of these great men and great nations as well as of some others. We hope such scenes are not again to be enacted here. It is time the term *good-faith* were fully understood, and duly regarded. The answer received by the embassadors on the 10th was not very pleasing, and they resolved at once to send messengers to hasten the Russians: for this purpose three officers were dispatched on the 12th. Three days afterwards, the governor informed the Chinese that the plenipotentiaries would arrive in a day or two more. The officers dispatched on the 12th returned on the 16th, well satisfied with their reception by the plenipotentiaries. At length, on the 18th, the chief plenipotentiary made his appearance; the next day was wholly taken up with messages respecting the time, place, and manner of holding the conferences. On the 20th, the preliminaries were so far settled, that it was agreed — says Gerbillon:

"That the first conference should be held on the 22d; that our embassadors should pass the river with forty mandarins, and 760 soldiers, 500 of whom should be drawn up on the bank before our barks, at equal distance from the place of conference and the fortress; that the other 260 men should attend the embassadors to the place of conference, and post themselves at a certain distance behind; that the Russian plenipotentiary should have an equal number of guards and attendants, and posted in the same manner; that the 260 soldiers on both sides should carry no arms but swords, and to avoid treachery, our people should search the Russians, and the Russians them, for hidden weapons; that we should post a guard of ten men over our barks, that there might be an equality in everything; that the embassadors should meet under their tents, which should be placed one beside the other, as if the two were but one; and that they should set in the tents one over against another, without any superiority on either side."

The next day the camp-marshals surveyed the ground: and at break of day, on the 22d, eight hundred Chinese soldiers with their officers passed the river. But, says our chronicler:

"When everything was ready to begin the conferences, an accident fell out which was near breaking all our measures. The Russian plenipotentiary had only consented that 500 soldiers should remain on board the barks, but being informed that they were posted on the bank, and nearer the place of conference than had been agreed upon, he sent to demand the reason of this alteration. Our embassadors, who had never treated of peace with any other nation, fearing to trust the Russians too far, were willing to secure themselves against any surprize; for being entire strangers to the law of nations, they did not know that the character of an embassador rendered his person sacred, and secured him from the insults of his greatest enemies. Hereupon they intreated us to go to the Russian plenipotentiaries, and obtain leave for their soldiers to remain upon the bank; which they granted, after we had laid before them the case of our embassadors, representing that it was necessary to yield to their want of experience, unless they were for breaking off the negociation even before it was begun. However, the plenipotentiaries would oblige them to promise that no more soldiers should land, or be drawn up in arms. After all, we had some difficulty to prevail on our embassadors to cross the river, on account of the jealousies raised in them, particularly by the general of the emperor's troops in Eastern Tartary, who had often been deceived by the Russians when he had any affair to transact with them. But we alleged so many reasons, that at last they were persuaded to pass the river, and enter into conference."

We need not stop here to describe the state in which the high plenipotentiaries of the czars, and the embassadors extraordinary of the son of heaven, now moved to their respective stations. The persons who engaged in the conferences, and the manner in which the first was opened, we give in Gerbillon's own words.

"This plenipotentiary had for his colleagues the governor of Nipchu, who presided also over all the country of tha czars on this side, and another officer of the chancery, who had the title of chancellor of the embassy. The chief embassador was Theodore Alexievicz Golowin, grand-master of the pantry to the czars, lieutenant-general of Branxi, and son of the governor-general of Siberia, Samoyeda, and all the country subject to Russia from Tobolskoy to the eastern sea. He was magnificently dressed, wearing over a gold brocade vest, a cloak or cassock of the same, lined with sable, the finest and blackest I ever saw, which at Peking would yield 1000 crowns. He was a short corpulent man, but of a good presence and easy carriage. His tent was neatly fitted up, and set off with Turkey carpets. Before him was a table with two Persian carpets, one of which was of silk and gold; on this table were his papers, his ink-stand, and a very neat watch. Our embassadors met under a plain linen tent, and seated themselves on a great

bench, that had no ornament but a cushion, which the Tartars, who sit on the ground, after the fashion of the eastern people, always carry with them. Of the Russians, none sat but the three already mentioned; the two first in chairs of state, and the last on a bench; all the rest stood behind their principals. On our side, excepting the seven tajin who had the title of embassadors, and a vote in council, none sat but four camp-marshals, P. Pereyra and myself. We two were seated at the side of the embassadors, in the space between them and the Russian plenipotentiaries, to whom they sat opposite; the marshals had seats behind the embassadors, and all the other officers and mandarins stood. As soon as every body had taken his place, which was done with the greatest equality (for both parties alighted, sat down, and complimented one another at the same instant), a gentleman of the Russian embassy, a Pole, who had studied philosophy and theology at Cracow, opened their commission by word of mouth, in Latin, which language was familiar to him. After which our embassadors were desired to produce theirs, and begin the conferences: but they excused themselves, being willing that the Russians should first explain themselves. At length, after a great deal of ceremony on both sides, about yielding the honor and advantage of speaking first, the Russian plenipotentiary asked our embassadors, if they had full power to treat of peace and the limits, offering at the same time to show his own, written in form of letters-patent; but our embassadors declined to see them, and took his word. It was agreed not to mention what had passed, or any affairs of lesser consequence, till they had settled the bounds between the two empires, which was the main point."

Both parties commenced with exorbitant demands, requiring much more than they could or did (expect to) obtain. It was almost night when both declined making other proposals, and it was agreed to begin a "fresh conference" in the same order the next day. Then, "the embassadors shook hands, made their mutual compliments, and separated," and so ended the negotiation of the first day — having advanced, like the courser of Soo Yewpĭh, in the story of Les Deux Cousines, two steps backward.

The second day's conference ended more coldly than the first; and the Chinese embassadors sent to pack up their tents, "*as if* they intended to have no farther conferences." The three following days, were spent as uselessly as the two preceding; and on the 27th it was resolved by the Chinese, that their troops should pass the river and "form a blockade about Nipchú," and also "cut down the corn about Yaksa." Against these proceedings, the Russians protested, and some counter orders were issued, but too late. During this parley, on the 28th, the Chinese troops began to appear beyond the river on the mountains above Nipchú, and soon advanced in sight of that place, the embassadors themselves passing the river at the same time.

An open rupture seemed now almost inevitable, Gerbillon's agency apparently prevented such an issue. Having at length agreed respecting the principal lines of demarkation, terms of the treaty came under discussion on the 29th. Thus matters stood on the 1st of September, when a new difficulty arose respecting the boundary near the Udi. The Chinese now plainly saw that by seeking for more than they had orders to demand, they were in danger of breaking off the negotiations, and concluding nothing. The Russians protested — both parties reiterating their strong desire for peace, to conclude which, they said nothing should be wanting on their part. On the 6th, drafts of the treaty were written out and the manner of its being signed, sealed, and sworn to, agreed upon, by an interpreter on one side, and Gerbillon on the other, both acting by the authority of their masters.

The following is a copy of the treaty: of it, Gerbillon says, "in our embassador's copy, the emperor of China was named before the great dukes of Russia, and our embassadors before their plenipotentiaries: but the Russians in theirs, set their great dukes first, and themselves before our embassadors; in the rest they agreed verbatim."

"By order of the most great emperor, we, Song Hotu, colonel of the life-guard, counsellor of state, and grandee of the palace; Tong Quckang, grandee of the palace, kong of the first rank, commander of an imperial standard, and the emperor's uncle; Lang Tan, and Lang Tarcha, commanders of imperial standards; Sapso, commander of the forces on the Saghalian ula, and governor-general of the neighboring countries; Mala, great ensign of an imperial standard, and Wenta, second president of the tribunal for foreign and other affairs: being assembled near the town of Nipchu, in the 28th year of Kanghe, and in the 7th moon, with the great embassadors plenipotentiary, Theodore-Alexioviez Golowin, Okolnitz, lieutenant of Branki, and his colleagues, in order to repress the insolence of certain rovers, who passing beyond the bounds of their lands to hunt, robbed, murdered, and committed other outrages; as also for settling the bounds between the two empires of China and Russia, and in short, to establish an everlasting peace and good understanding, have mutually agreed to the following articles.

"1. The river named Kerbechi, which is next to the river Shorna, called in Tartarian, Urwon, and falls into the Saghalian, shall serve for bounds to both empires: and that long chain of mountains which is below the source of the said river Kerbechi, and extends as far as the eastern sea, shall serve also as bounds to both empires; insomuch that all the rivers and banks, great or small, which rise on the southern side of those mountains, and fall into the Saghalian, with all the lands and countries from the top of the said mountains southward, shall belong to the empire of China; and all the lands, countries, rivers, and brooks, which are on the other side of the other mountains extending northward, shall remain to the empire of Russia; with this

restriction nevertheless, that all the country lying between the said chain of mountains and the river Udi shall continue undecided, till the embassadors of both powers on their return home shall have gotten proper information and instructions to treat of this article; after which the affair shall be decided either by embassadors or letters. Moreover, the river Ergone, which falls also into the Saghalian ula, shall serve for bounds to the two empires; so that all the lands and countries lying to the south thereof shall appertain to the emperor of China, and whatever lies to the north of it shall remain to the empire of Russia. All the houses and dwellings, which are at present to the south of the said Ergone at the mouth of the river Meritken, shall be removed to the north side of the Ergone.

"2. The fortress built by the Russians in the place called Yaksa, shall be entirely demolished, and all those subjects of the empire of Russia, now dwelling in the said fortress, shall be transported with all their effects upon the lands appertaining to the crown of Russia. The hunters of the respective empires may not, upon any account whatever, pass beyond the bounds settled as above. That in case one or two ordinary persons should happen to make excursions beyond the limits, either to hunt, steal, or plunder, they shall be immediately seized and brought before the governors and officers established on the frontiers of both empires; and the said governors, after being informed of the nature of the crime, shall punish them according to their deserts. That if people, assembled to the number of ten or fifteen, shall go armed to hunt or pillage on the land beyond their limits, or shall kill any subject belonging to either crown, the emperors of both empires shall be informed thereof, and those found guilty of the crime shall be put to death: but no excess whatever, committed by private persons, shall kindle a war, much less shall blood be shed by violent means.

"3. Everything that has passed hitherto, of what nature soever it may be, shall be buried in everlasting oblivion.

"4. From the day that this perpetual peace between both empires shall be sworn to, neither side shall receive any fugitive or deserter: but if any subject of either empire shall fly into the territories of the other, he shall be immediately secured and sent back.

"5. All the subjects of the crown of Russia, who are at present in the empire of China, and all those belonging to the crown of China, who are in the empire of Russia, shall remain as they are.

"6. Regard being had to the present treaty of peace and mutual union between the two crowns, all persons of what condition soever they be, may go and come reciprocally, with full liberty, from the territories subject to either empire into those of the other, provided they have passports by which it appears that they come with permission; and they shall be suffered to buy and sell whatever they think fit, and carry on a mutual trade.

"7. All the differences that have arisen relating to the frontiers of both crowns being thus terminated, and a sincere peace and eternal union being settled between the two nations, there will be no longer any ground for un-

easiness, provided the abovementioned articles of the present treaty, which shall be reduced to writing, be punctually observed.

"8. The chief embassadors of the respective crowns shall reciprocally give each other two copies of the aforesaid treaty, sealed with their seals. Lastly, this present treaty, with all its articles, shall be engraven in the Tartarian, Chinese, Russian, and Latin languages, upon stone, which shall be placed at the bounds settled between the two empires, there to remain as a perpetual monument of the good understanding that ought to subsist between them."

Here we must close our extracts. Those who wish for more complete details on this subject, will find them in the journal from which we quote. At the present moment, this short notice of a treaty formed, signed, and sworn to, by Chinese and Russian ministers extraordinary and plenipotentiary, will we trust, be acceptable to all our readers. And the Chinese, who always like a precedent for what they do, have here a good one, given them by their greatest emperor. The place where the treaty was sworn to was a tent set up near the town of Nipchú. Thither the high officers repaired,— the Chinese escorted by more than fifteen hundred horse, the Russians by three hundred foot soldiers, with colors flying and the music of kettle-drums, trumpets, bagpipes, &c. The Russians alighted first, and to do the honors of their country, advanced a few steps to meet the Chinese, and invited them to enter the tent first. The plenipotentiaries and embassadors took their seats opposite each other, on benches covered with Turkey carpets, with only a table between them. Gerbillon and the Russian interpreter were also seated at the upper end of the table — all the rest of the retinue, great and small, standing up. The treaty was now read aloud. This being done, each party signed and sealed the two copies that were to be delivered to the other; viz. by the Chinese, one in Tartarian, and a second in Latin; by the Russians, one in their own language, and another in Latin. However, only the two Latin copies, were sealed with the seals of both nations. After this, the high contracting parties, "rising altogether, and holding each the copies of the treaty of peace, swore, in the name of their masters, to observe them faithfully, taking Almighty God, the sovereign Lord of all things, to witness the sincerity of their intentions." The exchanges of copies were now made, and the parties embraced each other — trumpets, drums, fifes, and hautboys, sounding all the while. The next day there was an interchange of presents, &c.; and on the 9th, two days after the ratification of the treaty, the Chinese set off for Peking.

ART. IV. *Premium of one hundred pounds sterling, for an essay on the opium trade; conditions on which it will be awarded; the period for receiving essays extended to January, 1841.*

THE original conditions, on which this premium was to be awarded, were stated in our fifth volume, page 572. Those conditions were somewhat modified by the committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in London, as noticed in our seventh volume, page 174. Several manuscripts came before that committee prior to the 25th of March, 1839, and were placed in the hands of arbiters, who separately gave their opinions respecting them in writing. Whereupon the committee concluded, they had not sufficient reason for awarding the prize to either of the competitors. Accordingly the manuscripts were returned, and the period for new essays has been extended to January, 1841. In this arrangement the committee have acted discreetly. Lord Brougham and those sitting with him on this subject, in general committee, will no doubt take all proper care that the prize be duly awarded. There has been hitherto such a lack of information, and such a want of interest, regarding affairs in China, that it were hardly to be expected essays would be forthcoming worthy of the prize, within the time first named by the committee. We are glad, therefore, another period is afforded. Had the subject been discussed many years ago, and been more extensively and accurately understood, much of the distress and perplexity which has recently been felt in this and other parts of China — especially here during the past year — would doubtless have been avoided. The use of the drug, and the traffic in it, have increased with most extraordinary rapidity, and have led to — or at least hastened on — events of the most fearful nature, and no man living can foretell where and in what these will terminate. The subject can no longer fail to command attention. The present crisis has brought it under the consideration of the British parliament, and thrust it on the notice of the whole civilized world. Public opinion will soon be formed respecting it — for in it all are concerned, the merchant, the statesman, and the philanthropist.

The essays, it will be recollected, consisting of not less than 40 or more than 100 octavo pages, addressed to Thomas Coates esq., secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, London, must be sent post paid, or be delivered to him in such a manner as

to be free from any charge. It will be borne in mind also, that the object of the essay is to show the effects of that trade 'on the commercial, political, and moral interests of the nations and individuals connected therewith, pointing out the course they ought to pursue with regard to it.' Each competitor is at liberty to treat the subject in the manner he judges best. An important part of the essay doubtless will consists of details, showing as accurately as possible what the traffic is — and for this the best sources of information, to which we can refer, are the several periodicals published in China, Calcutta and Bombay, and parliamentary papers.

ART. V. *Edicts from the local authorities,— the high imperial commissioner Lin, the governor and lieutenant governor of Canton; the admiral, commander-in-chief of the maritime forces of the province, &c., addressed to foreigners.*

THE following translations of edicts, (Nos. 1, 2, 3,) of which we have not been able to procure the originals, we copy from the Register and Press. Refering to public matters of importance they deserve to be put on record.

No. 1.

Kwan, admiral of the Canton station, and leader of the maritime forces of the province, hereby issues the following proclamation that all may know and understand. I have just received a communication from their excellencies the high commissioner, Lin, and the viceroy of Canton, Tăng, to the following effect:

"The English superintendent Elliot, after having delivered the opium, petitioned us, begging for permission to load his ships at Macao, to which petition we at the time gave our flat denial. The conduct of the said superintendent from that time has been outrageous and unreasonable in the extreme; he has not caused the empty opium ships to get under weigh; he has not caused the depraved foreigners expelled by imperial authority to return to their country; (some of his people) having beat to death one of our native people, he obstinately refuses to give up the foreign murderer; the merchant vessels lately arrived, he has so arranged that he will not permit them to enter the port, but allows them to sell the new drug on our seas as before; and our edicts, which have been from time to time

transmitted to him, he has stubbornly refused to receive; he has even gone such lengths as in his own person to lead on foreign ships against our cruizers, specially placed for the defense of Kowlung, raising thereby disturbance, and taking advantage of our absence to fire off his guns, thus wounding our mandarins and soldiers! Our valiant troops however returned their fire with a noise like a thunder-bolt, upon which the foreigners, routed and dispersed returned again to Tseënshatsuy, where they cast anchor. And although on the 7th day of the 8th moon (14th September of 1839) he (Elliot) went himself to Macao, and begged of the Portuguese governor to present a note from him to the keunmin foo (or mandarin of Caza Branca), in which he said that "all he desired was peace and quietness" yet we find that he merely commissioned him to deliver so many unmeaning words, and that there is not the slightest proof of his sincerity or submission! On the 9th day of the said month, he departed from Macao and returned again to Hongkong, and on the 10th day came a foreign vessel stealthily standing in for Kowlung, prying and spying about her, by which we can sufficiently see that he still cherishes foolish and presumptuous thoughts, and has no sense of fear or repentance in his heart. Now our mandarins and troops for sea and land service, being all assembled ready for action at the Bocca Tigris, we therefore address this communication to you, the admiral, that you draw up your fleet and army, and appoint a day when you will attack and subdue them. You must not permit them to loiter about at Tseënshatsuy, forcing off their opium, and deluging the central, flowery land with their poison!—and other words to that effect."

This having been duly received, I find that I, the admiral, rule over the whole of these seas, and my especial duty is to sweep them clean of the depraved and reprobate. Since then I have received the button of a leader of the army, I ought forthwith to appoint a day for the great gathering of my troops; but I, the said admiral, am descended from a family that dates as far back as the Han dynasty (2,000 years ago): the line of my forefathers sprang from Hotung. My ancestor was the deified emperor Kwan footze (commonly called the Mars of China); splendid and luminous was his fame! bright and dazzling the place of his imperial abode! The godlike warrior's ardent wish was to practice benevolence and virtue! his mind was grand and powerful as the winds and clouds; his heart genial and refulgent as the sun by day or the moon by night! Now I, the said admiral fly like an arrow to recompense the goodness of my country, and tremblingly received the admonitions of my great ancestor: I

deal not in deceits and frauds, nor do I covet the bloody laurels of the butcher! Remembering that Elliot alone is the head and front of the offense (or ringleader in crime), and that probably the bulk of the foreigners have been intimidated or urged on by him, were I suddenly to bring my forces and commence the slaughter, I really fear that the gems and the common stones would be burnt up together. Therefore it is that I again issue this proclamation, which proceeds from my very heart and bowels, that it be promulgated abroad everywhere. Oh! ye foreigners! if you belong to those opium ships which have already delivered up their opium, or if you are among the number of those who have been banished the country by imperial command, ye must instantly proceed to the wide ocean, and spreading your sails get ye far hence! As regards the newly arrived merchantmen, which are lying anchored here in clusters like bees, in swarms like ants, do ye try and reflect for a little, at a time like this, and under circumstances such as these, how can you continue to carry on your clandestine trade, aiming after unlawful gains by forcing into consumption your forbidden drug! As for you, who are honorable merchants and follow after a lawful calling, still more ought ye not to go near to or herd with the others, lest that ye along with them encounter the same blazing torch! But ye ought instantly to shun such company, and behold, I, the admiral, entertain for you a mother's heart! The words I speak are true as if spoken by the lips of Budha himself! If indeed Elliot can yet repent and awake to a sense of the error of his ways, let him not object to come before me, confess his sins and beg for mercy, in which case I myself will intercede for him! But if he still persists in remaining obstinately doltish as before, indulging in foolish expectations and perverse opposition, then considering the good fortune and grandeur of our celestial empire, united with, or depending upon, all the gods of heaven, just as in the case of the robber Lintsing, when the lightning struck him at dead of night, or in the case of the rebel chief Changkihurh (i. e. the prince Jehangir), when the banners waved and (the earth) was covered with iron weapons, so still supproted by the spiritual protection of my holy ancestor will (in your case) a terrible display of our majesty be made! We have often enjoyed his divine patronage! Thus then the very gods and spirits cannot interfere in your behalf. Oh, ye foreigners! do ye all of you lend an attentive ear to these my words! A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 8th moon, and 16th day. Bocca Tigris, 23d September, 1839. *Canton Press*, 12th October.

No. 2.

Leäng, principal magistrate of Singan district, and Lae, commandant of the Tapang military station, hereby conjointly issue this public notice, that all men may know and understand.

Whereas the English superintendent, Elliot, has handed us up a card, the contents of which are as follows: "Elliot respectfully writes this to state, that he, the foreign superintendent, is just now desirous of peace and quietness, and having already informed the high officers of government (of the same) by petition, has now received their edict in reply and hopes at an early date to arrange matters all right and proper. Only at this present moment there are people who go about spreading all manner of false reports, causing the hearts of men to fear and doubt, therefore it is that the said superintendent now respectfully requests you to issue some proclamation that may have the effect of soothing and pacifying them, &c. &c."

At the same time we, the district magistrate and commandant, duly petitioned the imperial commissioner and viceroy, and in course received their reply, commanding us to issue such said clear and distinct proclamation, and words to that effect; and for that reason, we, the said district magistrate and commandant, now proclaim to the men of all foreign ships that they may thoroughly know and understand:—the fire-ships were got ready, because that your foreign ships placed themselves in opposition to the laws, and scheming after the sale of their opium as of old, we had no resource but to destroy these said foreign vessels, in order to do away with a great source of evil. If the said foreigners, however, are willing of themselves to leave off the opium traffic, and give the bond according to the form or model required, and take their ships and cause them all to enter the port, and deliver up the murderer (of Lin Weihe) and duly submit to these and other points (touched upon in the commissioner's edict), the high officers then will surely look upon them with increased compassion; how can they possibly feel disposed to consume the gems with the common stones! Oh then, all ye foreigners! Do ye forthwith conform to the form of the bond, and duly sign and seal, that ye will henceforth never more dare to smuggle opium. Ye newly arrived ships with legitimate cargo, do ye immediately enter the port. Ye depraved foreigners and empty opium store-ships, do ye instantly return to your country, and let the murderer (of Lin Weihe) be forthwith produced, and there certainly will be no further cause for anxiety. But if ye dare again to delay and procrastinate, involving yourselves in error, if ye dare further to smuggle and sport with

the laws of the land, then the evils that will follow after, are what ye cannot fathom. If your lot be happiness or if it be woe, it will only be you who have brought the one or other upon yourselves. The high officers of the celestial dynasty have not yet made up their minds; therefore, oh ye foreigners, do ye all tremble and obey! Do not oppose. A special proclamation!

Taoukwang, 19th year, 9th month, 6th day. Given at Koonyung (near Hongkong), Oct. 12th, 1839. *Ibid.*

No. 3.

"Yu, &c., and Tseang, &c., officers of the celestial empire, send this communication to the English superintendent Elliot, for his perusal and full information. Upon the 25th instant we received from the high imperial commissioner to our address forwarding copies of two memoranda from the said superintendent, and of two communications sent to him. The following is the reply:

"The memorandum which Elliot before sent to the said joint prefects, was to cause all the ships to give obligations, with his own bond added thereto, after which search should be submitted to, but it wanted the words 'the parties immediately executed.' I, the commissioner, with the governor, treated them with sincerity of purpose, and promised that if they would indeed subscribe the bond in the form prescribed they should not need to undergo search. This was a mean of leading them into a direct and speedy road, to bind them by the force of good faith and justice. But the foreigners not knowing good from bad, cast aside the easy to take up the difficult; and went so far as to make the pretext of sailors carrying it to preserve for themselves ground whereon to smuggle. For this reason, it became the more necessary to be in the very highest degree close and strict. It became requisite that one or two should be brought to execution before the rest could be cautioned. How could they be suffered, before the fixing of regulations, at once to hurry forward to request permits. I would ask you what cause there could be to put yourselves in a hurry for these foreigners, when, after having been held back by Elliot, and not permitted to enter the port for more than half a year, till the main part of their goods must have suffered from mould, and still they have not yet learned to dread the fire, but seek to—so perverse and deceitful are they—encroach upon our defensive guard. Besides the requesting of permits has reference to the ships entering the port. On this occasion are the ships indeed, after the removal and search, to enter the port; and do all the foreign merchants and Elliot consider of returning all of a sudden? From first to

last you officers have made no inquiry on these points—how great your remissness.

"I find that the goods at Hongkong have of late been secretly committed to the Americans, to be conveyed by them into port, to an amount, I know not how great. It being requisite to search, the Americans must first be hindered from carrying the goods in for them, as I have said in my reply to another address. Besides this, the items to be introduced into a series of regulations are not few. How then can hastiness and confusion be suffered?

"I, the commissioner, reckoned that to search a vessel thoroughly would required five days; so that taking 40 as the number of vessels, two hundred days would necessarily elapse before the whole search could be completed. Before its completion, the English foreigners, whether families or others, cannot be permitted to return to Macao, and their supplies must still be with strictness cut off. What further need then can be said of compradors and servants? But if the bonds be given in accordance with the form prescribed, then everything, without exception, may be as usual. Thus, Warner's vessel, having been the first to enter the port, and the cargo merchant, Daniell, having been first in obtaining a permit to proceed to Canton, an established form is here, and what is the difficulty in acting in conformity and obedience. Furthermore, I, the commissioner, having in two former replies to addresses, gone over each particular with distinctness, how is it my words are set aside as if unheard? I require of you immediately to report in answer hereto, and in compliance with my former reply to drive forth with severity the English foreigners who have successively returned to Macao. If the bond be not settled, there can by no means be any indulgence allowed."

We further received an official reply from the high imperial commissioner to a joint representation made by us of the American shipmaster, Fokwang, having purchased an empty Indian store-ship, in order to convey cargo to Whampoa, to trade. The following is the tenor of the reply:

"The Indian store-ship Mermaid having come to Kwangtung for the warehousing of opium has remained so long as six years. Having in this spring delivered up the opium on board, she should have been immediately driven back to her country. But she has been delayed here at pleasure, until now. It was difficult to insure that during this time there have been no clandestine sales of opium made by her; and had she been fallen in with by the naval war vessels, she must have been burnt as was the Virginia, for a warning of punishment.

The ship having now been sold to others, it is still needful to ascertain if the goods on board are of a legitimate nature, before determining regarding her. From this representation it appears that the American foreign merchant who has purchased his vessel, Delano, has also purchased cotton and other cargo from the country ship [Charles Grant,] Pitcairn, and has requested a passport to proceed to Whampoa. I, the commissioner, having carefully investigated the circumstances, find them attended with much precipitancy and confusion: and it is difficult to sanction them.

"Now, after the delivery of the opium, this year, it was required of all the cargo-ships of every nation that they should execute bonds according to the new law, distinctly setting down that if any brought opium the men should immediately be executed, and the ships and cargo confiscated to government." Afterwards, the American ships having been the first to enter the port, on the 11th of June, at which time the particulars of the new law had not been promulgated, the terms used in their bond were somewhat confused and indistinct; and all the vessels successively arriving the same continued onward without alteration. But now the new law has already been received, wherein it is said that, any foreigners bringing opium to the inner land shall be immediately executed, the principals by decapitation, the accomplices by strangulation; and the ship and cargo shall be wholly confiscated to government; all must, therefore, insert in their obligations the form prescribed. At present there are the Indian ship-master, Warner, and cargo-owner Daniell, who have distinctly written it in the form prescribed, and proceeded to Whampoa to trade. Herein may be perceived the unsuspicious and clear mind wherewith they conduct an honorable traffic; and therefore they have been treated with a redoubled degree of kindness. I would ask, seeing that the Indians (country vessels) have given the bond after the prescribed form, how a just equality can be maintained, if the Americans should not give it in the same form? All American ships hereafter arriving shall be required to give the bond in this form, ere they shall be permitted to proceed to Whampoa. And still more will it be impossible to allow this ship to enter the port, if the bond be not written in the prescribed form, seeing that she has been a country store-ship now empty, and that her cargo is cotton taken from on board a country ship. Moreover, the superintendent Elliot having now requested that the country cargo-ships may be searched by officers, it becomes necessary that distinct limitations should be set thereto. If American ships import for the country ships their

cargoes, it is the more necessary that the bond should be given in the form prescribed, ere they receive permission to go to Whampoa. And if not so, they must remain among the number of the country ships, and undergo search: the Americans shall not be allowed to import for them. Thus perfect truth may be obtained herein and the general accord be freely given.

"Besides addressing the naval commander-in-chief, that he may send war-vessels from Shakeŏ to intercept the ship 'Mermaid,' and to require her to give the bond as prescribed, before she be allowed to proceed to Whampoa; besides also writing to the governor and to the superintendent of customs that they examine into the matter—I likewise require that commands be enjoined on the English and American superintendents, foreign merchants, and the hong merchants, Howqua and the others, that one and all may pay obedience, without opposition."

Having received this, we,—besides giving orders severally to all the American merchants and to the hong merchants, that they may one and all pay obedience,—proceed at the same to communicate the same for information. On this communication reaching the said superintendent, it will be his imperative duty to pay implicit obedience to the matter of his excellency's reply. For all the cargo ships there are it must be required to subscribe bonds, in the same form as Warner has done for his ship. They will then be permitted to proceed to Whampoa; and all other matters, without exception, may also be arranged as usual. As compared with the removal and search, how much more speedy and straightforward! They must not be allowed secretly to commit their cargoes to Americans to import for them. If the giving of bonds be not settled, then the English foreigners, who have successively returned to Macao, must with all speed be required, one and all, to leave it, nor be allowed in the least degree to linger, so as to involve seizure and investigation. In all these things be there no opposition. Be speedy! Be speedy! A special communication. (Oct. 26th, 1839.) *Canton Register.*

No. 4.

Lin high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the provinces Nganhwuy, Keängse and Keängsoo, Täng a director of the Board of War and governor of the two provinces Kwangtung an. Kwangse; E a director of the Board of War, and lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung; and Yu chief superintendent of the maritime customs of Canton, &c.; issue this manifesto.

On the 20th instant, we received an imperial order, to wit: "If

duly prepared bonds, which are true and can be depended upon, are given for the ships, then the existing evils will gradually be removed; but if bonds are not so given, and there are further changes and vacillations, then it will be right to instruct by martial terrors, and to close the trade forever, that the stupid and wayward may be warned, and made to fear and tremble."

Now we find that during the 8th month, the sub-prefect (or keun-min foo) of Macao transmitted to us a statement from Elliot, requesting that bonds might be given for trading. We, the commissioner and governor, confiding in this proposition, without suspicion, laid the subject before the emperor by a memorial; and we have cause for gratitude, that his august majesty, the emperor, early acquainted with the dispositions of foreigners, foresaw that they would hardly avoid changes and vacillations. And now the said foreigners have again dared to become obstinate and disobedient, refusing to give the bond. This is truly change, vacillation, inconstancy,—which cannot evade the all-pervading glance of his majesty. It is right, therefore, that we, in obedience to the imperial will, put an end to the trade. The ships of all other nations, and also Warner's and Towns' two ships, which have all conformed to the terms of the bond, are those of merchants pursuing a legal and honorable trade, and will be allowed as formerly to pursue their commerce. But to all besides these, from and after the first of the eleventh month, (the 6th proximo(the port will be closed. Thus, acting in conformity to the imperial will, we have reported to the throne, that the trade with the English nation be stopped forever.

Wherefore we issue this manifesto; according to the tenor thereof, be it known to all the custom-house and other officers, hong-merchants, linguists, pilots, with the foreigners of all other nations, that from and after the period of closing the port above named, all trade with the English and Indian ships is forbidden. But besides these, the ships of all other nations, whose merchants give the duly prepared bonds, will be allowed a free trade. Thus admonition will be given, and a distinction made between the good and bad. Nor will any clandestine connection with the said English foreigners be allowed, by which the goods of their ships, or their ships under false names, may be admitted. Any transactions of this kind, when found out, will be visited with a like extinction of trade.

This is done in obedience to the imperial edict, in order to cut off forever the source of the opium, and to warn foreigners against change and vacillation. View it not as a common matter, but rather tremble and obey, without opposition. A special edict.

N. B. The above is a translation of the manifesto, alluded to on page 389 of the Repository for November. The original, printed in large characters, in numerous copies, stamped with the seals of the high officers by whom it is issued, was posted up in the streets of Macao on Wednesday evening, Nov. 27th. Manuscript copies of it were in circulation on the 24th; those copies, however, were only in the name of the commissioner and governor. The above is dated Nov. 25th.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: comprising a succinct recapitulation of the principal incidents, especially connected with foreigners, during the year eighteen hundred and thirty-nine.*

January 1*st*, the trade of the port of Canton, by command of the local government, was re-opened to foreigners.

It was reported, that the party opposed to the admission of opium on payment of duty, had gained the entire ascendant in the imperial councils; that three princes had been punished for opium-smoking; that Heu Naetse had been dismissed from the public service; and that memorials, from all the provincial governments, had been laid before the cabinet, the general council, the imperial house, and Board of Punishments, for final consideration.

A proclamation to the people was published by the acting magistrate of Nanhae, against the use of opium, with a recipe for curing the habit of smoking the drug.

3d. Lin Tsihseu, governor of Hookwang, was appointed by the emperor, to repair to Canton, in order to stop the traffic in opium.

3d. and 7th. Public meetings of foreign residents were held for the formation of a Seamen's Friend Association.

7th. An edict was issued by the magistrate of Nanhae, by order of the governor, admonishing all smokers, at once to break off the 'vile habit.'

Native houses in Canton were searched for opium and apparatus for smoking it. Gates were erected in the streets to impede the policemen in order to search their *persons* for opium before they searched the houses.

10th. An edict was issued by the governor, against ships bringing opium to Whampoa, and declaring that if they did so they would be sent back to their own country. Another edict came out from the governor, commanding the hong merchants to secure sundry vessels then at Whampoa.

14th. The cohong paid the first dividend, of four per cent., on the debts of Kingqua, to the foreign creditors of that hong.

16th. A new form of bond was proposed by the hong merchants to the Chamber of Commerce, to prevent the smuggling of opium and sycee.

22d. Several European passage boats were licensed to run between Canton and Macao, for the purpose of conveying letters and passengers.

23d. A dispatch was received by the governor from the Board of War, giving conveyance to an imperial edict, of the 3d, respecting the new commissioner.

A proclamation was addressed to foreigners by the governor and lieut.-governor, giving notice of the approach of a special commissioner, and urging the *immediate removal* of all the opium and store-ships from the Chinese waters, threatening a stoppage of the trade in case of non-compliance.

27th. A regulation that the debts of one hong merchant to foreigners shall not exceed a hundred thousand taels, was ordered, by the local authorities, to be engraven on stone, and kept in everlasting remembrance.

February 1*st*. All the back doors of the foreign factories were ordered to be blocked up.

4th. Rules and regulations were promulgated by the British chief superintendent for the establishment of a maritime police in the Chinese waters.

A document was published "on the best mode of arresting the opium plague," written by Chow Teëntseŏ, superintendent of the transport of grain.

A dividend of three per cent. was paid on Hingtae's debts, making the total hitherto paid amount to seven per cent.

3d. The schooner Attaran, captain Jackson, was lost near the island Nanpang, a few miles westward of Macao, with 130 chests of opium.

16th. A coroner's inquest was held, by the magistrate of Nanhae, at the Ophthalmic Hospital in Canton, respecting the death of a Chinese.

26th. A Chinese, accused of trafficing in opium, was strangled in front of the foreign factories. All the foreign flags thereupon ceased to be hoisted.

28th. A request was made by the British merchants to their superintendents of trade, to detain H. M. sloop Larne, in the Chinese waters.

March 7th. The British chief superintendent required all British owned passage boats, not having licenses, immediately to proceed outside of the Bogue, and not return within the same.

10th. Lin Tsihseu, the imperial commissioner, made his entrance into Canton, and took up his residence in one of the collegiate halls.

11th. A European boat, belonging to the St. Vincent at Whampoa, on her way from Canton to the ship, was run down by a Chinese lighter, and nine of the crew lost.

18th. Two edicts were issued by the commissioner — one to the hong merchants, and the other to the foreigners: the latter requiring, 'every particle of the opium in the store-ships' to be delivered up to government, and bonds given that they will never again bring any more on penalty of death, and promising in case of compliance a remission of the past and the continuance of commerce. The term of three days was given for a reply.

19th. By an edict from the hoppo, addressed to the hong merchants, all foreigners were forbidden to go to Macao.

One of the licensed passage-boats, the Snipe, was stopped at the Bogue on a charge of smuggling, and brought back to Canton. She was afterwards broken up.

21st. All communication with Whampoa was stopped, and troops assembled on the river and in the suburbs near the factories. The Chamber of Commerce assembled, and 1037 chests were tendered for surrender.

22d. Mr. L. Dent was invited to go to the city-gates to meet the commissioner. By circular from captain Elliot at Macao, all British ships were ordered to rendezvous at Hongkong and put themselves in a posture of defense immediately.

23d. The hong merchants appeared early this morning, two of them with chains on their necks, urging Mr. Dent to go into the city. Messrs. Inglis, Slade, Thom, and Fearon, went in his stead. Another circular was issued by captain Elliot, at Macao, enjoining all British subjects to make immediate preparations for removing with their property from Canton.

24th. At sunset, captain Elliot arrived in Canton, and immediately hoisted the British flag, and conducted Mr. Dent to his own consular hall, at which place he summoned a public meeting. All natives were withdrawn. Provisions stopped; and a triple cordon of boats placed in front of the factories. Captain Elliot demanded passports.

25th. The foreign merchants pledged themselves "not to deal in opium nor to attempt to introduce it into the Chinese empire."

26th. A new proclamation was issued by the commissioner, urging four reasons for the immediate surrender of the opium.

By order of the government of Macao, all the opium in the settlement was sent on board ship.

27th. Captain Elliot required the surrender to him of all British owned opium in China, holding himself, in behalf of his government, responsible for the same; 20,283 chests were surrendered.

28th. An edict was addressed to all the foreign consuls requiring them to make a surrender of opium—as captain Elliot had done.

April 3d. Arrangements for the delivery of the opium at Chuenpe having been agreed upon, Mr. Johnston, accompanied by Mr. Thom, started for Macao, affording an opportunity for sending letters 'outside.'

7th. Mr. Johnston arrived at Macao, and embarked in the cutter, Louisa, for the Bogue. The illicit traffic renewed.

9th. Meeting of merchants and officers at the consoo house continued till near midnight, discoursing about the bond, and 'nothing but the bond.'

10th. The commissioner and governor proceeded to the Bogue to witness in person the delivery of the drug. The hoppo preceded them.

12th. A communication of this date, from Mr. Johnston at Chuenpe, announced the delivery of 650 chests.

15th. A notice was issued inviting sealed tenders for a British clipper, to bear dispatches to the home government.

19th. An order was promulgated by the prefect of Canton, for the return to the factories of servants and compradors.

Special and earnest commands were given, by edict from the high officers, for the immediate presentation to them of the bond, in order to evince "on the part of every one a mind respectfully submissive."

20th. Half of the opium was delivered, but the passage boats were not allowed to run,—the stipulation for this notwithstanding. Deliveries stopped.

May 4th. An order promulgated for the passage boats to run, and for the resumption of trade. Sixteen individuals named, were not to leave Canton until further notice.

5th. This afternoon the triple cordon before the factories was broken up, and a part of the guards removed.

6th. The European boats, with about fifty passengers, left Canton for Whampoa and Macao.

8th. An edict was published from the provincial government and commissioner, addressed to the British superintendent and foreign consuls, allowing them their request that, at the head of the people and vessels of their several countries they might return home: adding, "after you have thus returned, you will not be allowed to come again: let there be no turning backwards and forwards, no inconstancy."

14th. An edict was issued by the local authorities, commanding all the streets leading into the square, (except Old China street) to be closed up, and the shopmen in them to remove.

19th. Public notice was given, by captain Elliot, to prevent British subjects, vessels, and any other property, from entering the port.

About this time a new regulation was promulgated, requiring that all vessels should be measured before entering the port; officers in consequence went on board the fleet of ships in Macao Roads, and measured them.

21st. At 2 o'clock this morning, the delivery of the 20,283 chests was completed, and the whole stored at Chunhow, near a creek east of the Bogue.

22d. In a public notice from captain Elliot, he recapitulated the items of complaint against the commissioner, and repeated his injunction against the introduction of property, and cautioned all British subjects against continuing their residence in Canton beyond the period of his own stay.

23d. An order was issued by the commissioner requiring ten of the sixteen proscribed persons to give bonds that they would never again return to China. Some had given bonds previously.

A memorial dated this day was addressed by the British merchants to lord Palmerston, respecting the recent acts of the Chinese government.

Commissioner Lin appointed to the governorship of the Leang Keang, i. e. the three provinces of Keangse, Keangsoo, and Nganhwuy.

23d. P. W. Snow esq. the American consul left for Macao in the inside passage.

24th. At about 5 o'clock P. M. captain Elliot, accompanied by a number of the British merchants left Canton.

27th. H. S. A. frigate Columbia, George C. Read esq. captain, arrived from Singapore. She was soon after joined by the sloop-of-war John Adams, Thomas Wyman esq. captain, from Manila.

29th. A mandate was received from the emperor ordering the whole 20,291 chests (eight additional having been surrendered by one of the merchants outside) of opium to be destroyed, so that all the inhabitants of the coasts and foreigners in Canton might see it and be admonished.

Her Britannic majesty's sloop-of-war Larne, capt. Blake, sailed from Macao for the Indian station.

30th. The clipper Ariel, captain Warden, on her Britannic majesty's service, sailed from Macao with dispatches for the home government.

June 1*st*. The number of foreign residents in Canton reduced to about five and twenty, among them a few English and Parsees, British subjects.

5th. The commissioner and governor issued orders for all vessels to enter the port, or immediately to return to their own countries.

11th. An American ship entered the Bogue, and others soon followed, all yielding to the bond.

12th. At a meeting of British merchants in Macao, the preparing to send British ships and property to Canton was viewed with regret.

14th The local officers issued an edict for the purpose of hastening the entrance of all the ships within the Bogue.

16th. The Ann Jane, the last of the British ships in port, passed out of the Bogue, heavily laden with cargo for England.

17th. Mr. King and others, in the ship Morrison, capain Benson, visited Chunhow to witness the process of destroying the opium.

21st. Captain Elliot published a manifesto declaring against the conduct of the commissioner in endeavoring to induce British subjects to disregard his (captain Elliot's) lawful injunctions.

23d. New port regulations were issued by the hoppo. A form of bond finally agreed upon, and signed by Americans bringing ships to Whampoa. Chinese officers seized and detained on board ship at Hongkong. Rumors of renewed operations outside in the traffic of opium.

27th. The terraces on the top of all the foreign factories owned by the hong merchants were taken down by order of the magistrates, lest, as it was said, the foreigners should overlook the city.

July 7th. Commissioner Lin, governor Tang, and the other high provincial officers, visited the foreign factories.

An affray occurred at Hongkong, in which a native, named Lin Weihe, lost his life.

10th and 15th. Correspondence between the British chief superintendent and merchants respecting a scale of demurrage.

26th. Rules and regulations promulgated, which were to be observed in the court of justice with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of British subjects in China, and on the high seas within one hundred miles of the coast.

August 3d. A meeting of British merchants was held in Macao for the purpose of organizing a British chamber of commerce. A provisional chamber only was formed.

5th. Captain Elliot issued a public notice for the first session of the court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction.

6th. The U. S. A. frigate Columbia, commodore Read, and the sloop-of-war John Adams, captain Wyman, sailed for the Sandwich Islands.

12th. The first session of the court of criminal and admiralty jurisdiction held at Hongkong.

15th. All supplies, for British subjects in China, interdicted by the commissioner and governor.

17th. A meeting of British subjects convened by captain Elliot to concert measures for their personal safety.

18th. The orders for interdicting food were repeated; and all servants and compradors, in the English houses and families, left their employers.

21st. Captain Elliot gave notice that, unwilling to compromise the safety of the Portuguese, the commission would embark that evening.

23d. Mr. Snow, the American consul, embarked this afternoon in a chop boat for Canton.

24th. An attack was made on the British schooner, the Black Joke, and several of the people killed and others wounded.

25th. At a committee meeting of British subjects held this day, it was resolved that all should leave Macao next day.

26th. The embarkation took place in the afternoon, and all British subjects left Macao — excepting two or three invalids, and one gentleman known and recognized as Prussian consul.

Chinese troops were quarted at Tseënshan; and large numbers, probably more than one third, of the native population left Macao.

30th. H. B. M. ship-of-war Volage, H. Smith esq. captain, arrived and anchored off Macao, and soon after proceeded to Hongkong. The Hyacinth arrived some days subsequently.

31st. A proclamation was issued by the Chinese, calling on the people to arm themselves, and to resist parties of English landing on their coasts.

September 3d. The commissioner, and governor of Canton, visited Macao, and were escorted from the Barrier by Portuguese troops.

4th. An encounter took place at Kowlung between English armed boats on one side, and Chinese junks and a fort on the other.

6th. An edict was published by the commissioner, animadverting on the affair of the 4th, and the noncompliance in the surrender of the murderer, &c., and authorizing the Chinese to seize and kill any English on shore.

8th. The hoppo of Canton entered Macao this morning, and left it again on the morning of the 8th, with public honors. Trade between Canton and Macao was resumed soon after his visit.

10th. Mr. Bridgman, at the request of the commissioner, went to Chunhow, and returned on the 12th.

11th. Notice was given by captain Smith, of the Volage, of his intention to blockade the river and port of Canton, after six days.

12th. Early this morning a Spanish ship, the Bilbaino from Manila, was burnt by Chinese officers in the Typa. The mate was seized and carried prisoner to Canton, and subjected to the punishment of wearing the cangue.

14th. An edict was published by the Portuguese senate ordering an armed vessel to cruize in the Roads and Typa, and prohibiting all vessels from entering the Typa with cargoes of opium after the 1st of October.

16th. The blockade was not carried into effect — a boat, supposed to have been cut off, having returned, and negotiations having been opened.

24th. An interview took place between captain Elliot and the subprefect of Macao, having reference to an amicable arrangement for trade.

October 9th. The commissioner, by proclamation, declared that so long as opium continued to come he would continue to act against it.

12th. The British vessel *Sunda*, captain Alexander Greig was wrecked on Hainan, the cargo, all the passengers, and several of the crew, were lost.

15th. Public notice was given by captain Elliot that he had, the preceding day, accepted conditions from the commissioner and governor, involving the opening of the British trade outside the port of Canton.

The English ship Thomas Coutts, captain Warner, entered the port after having signed a new bond, henceforth to be required instead of the old one.

20th. Captain Elliot promulgated the conditions, agreed on by himself and the high officers, for conducting the trade outside the Bogue.

22d. Minutes and memoranda of meetings of British and hong merchants, respecting the outside trade, promulgated in Macao.

26th. Captain Elliot gave notice of the commissioner and governor having violated their engagement for the trade outside the port of Canton.

27th. An edict was published complaining of the renewal of the opium trade on the east and west coasts, and threatening to take the English into custody if they continued obstinate.

28th. Another edict was published declaring that six hundred troops had been stationed at the Barrier, and that all the English should be driven from Macao, and not allowed to return, so long as the ships refused to enter the port, and the murderer was not given up.

November 3d. An action took place off Chuenpe, H. B. M. ships Volage and Hyacinth engaged with the H. E. admiral and twenty-nine sail of junks.

On subsequent and successive days there were cannonadings and random shots at Hongkong, and its vicinity. The fleet of merchant vessels removed to Tungkoo. On the expediency of this removal there was a correspondence between the British authorities and the merchants and shipmasters, the latter being unwilling to remove.

20th. Captain Elliot gave information that he had requested the senior officer of H. M. ships to obstruct the further entrance of British vessels to the Bogue, under the present circumstances.

26th. An edict was published by the commissioner, and high provincial officers, declaring that their trade with British vessels, excepting only the Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon, on and after the 6th of December would cease. Large shipments of cargo from the British vessels were made by American and other foreign vessels.

December 3d. M. J. Senn Van Basel esq., the consul of his Netherlands' majesty left Macao for Batavia.

6th. The hon. E. I. Company's finance committee and their last official servant left China.

8th. A part of the crew of the Portuguese vessel, the *Casador*, recently wrecked on Hainan, returned to Macao, via Canton. The remainder of the crew were soon to follow.

18th. An edict was issued by the commissioner and governor forbidding the introduction of British goods in other foreign vessels.

16th. An address from captain Elliot forwarded to the commissioner asking an undisturbed residence in Macao for British subjects.

26th. Mr. Gribble, a British subject, was captured off Tungkoo, on returning from the Royal Saxon — which vessel entered the Bogue.

29th. The Volage and Hyacinth left Tungkoo, for the Bogue, to inquire respecting Mr. Gribble.

On this brief recapitulation of the events of 1839, we have no space for comment. To the foreign community in China it has been a year of singular interest, marked by extraordinary changes and reverses, and ends with the prospect of open hostilities. That such an issue may be averted, peace and prosperity restored, is our ardent prayer to the God of nations, the ruler of all princes.—For our readers and friends we wish a happy new years.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *The new year; posture of public affairs; prospects and probable consequences of war between the governments of China and Great Britain.*

FROM the past, a brief retrospect of which closed our last number, we now turn to the opening year — anxious to observe and to record, as they transpire, its yet future events. Twelve months ago no one anticipated the remarkable occurrences, which have here rendered memorable the year eighteen hundred and thirty-nine. The signs of the times, as all eyes could see, were not as they used to be; and all men were waiting to know what would come to pass. At the commencement of this new year, the posture of affairs is far more unusual than ever before; and the scene is far more complicated. The course of events has been from bad to worse, with a constantly accelerating progression. Instead of light, there has come darkness; instead of order, confusion. Past collisions and reverses seem evidently the precursors of others, more violent and more disastrous. Great interests, strong passions, and long-cherished principles are involved,— interests, passions, and principles, whose innumerable ramifications extend almost all over the world, closely interwoven with the deep and solid foundations of society; and they are drawing into contact two vast empires. Here then let us pause, and endeavor to sketch a distinct outline of public affairs as they now stand, at the opening of the year.

The first object that attracts the attention of the observer is British commerce — by the imperial commissioner and high provincial offi-

cers declared to be closed forever, excepting only with two vessels, the Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon, now at Whampoa. The number of British vessels in the Chinese waters without the Bogue is probably between fifty and sixty, most of them having arrived with large cargoes for the regular and lawful trade, and are now rendezvoused at Tungkoo under the protection of her Britannic majesty ships, the Volage and Hyacinth. A very few British subjects are at Whampoa and Canton, others are in Macao, while the larger number are afloat at Tungkoo. All other foreign commerce remains as before — excepting the imposition of the new bonds, and the many inconveniencies occasioned by the interruption of the British trade.

In Canton no foreign flag now floats over the factories; and Mr. Snow, we believe, is the only consul resident in the provincial city. Communications from captain Elliot continue to be received by the commissioner and governor — but only, as hitherto from him and all the foreign consuls and residents, in the form of petition. Some twelve or fifteen ships are at Whampoa, and some fifty and sixty foreigners in Canton.

On the coast the number of vessels engaged in the illegal traffic is probably as great now as at any former period, perhaps it is greater. The price of the drug, during the last six months has generally ranged from $700 to $1200 per chest. And, at the present time, it is said that very little opium remains in the market. Full crops of the Malwa and Patna and Benares were gathered in the last year. And from the Indian papers it appears that the Bengal government was about to make advances for another crop! The principal agents of this traffic are no longer resident in China; their vessels, both large and small, are so manned and armed as to be able to put all native craft at defiance. Moreover, not a few of the native smugglers are arming themselves with muskets and powder and ball, supplied to them by foreigners, in order to defend themselves against the officers of their own government. From the foreign vessels the native boats now take the drug in small parcels, and often under cover of night. And the traffic seems to be as vigorously prosecuted as ever, and with as much safety and profit. The position of the agency has been changed, but the extent of the business has suffered little or no abatement.

With regard to the use of opium, and the domestic traffic in it, there has probably been about as little change, as there has been in its production and the foreign traffic. Both without and within the empire there have been temporary suspensions and changes. Tens

of thousands of smokers, we doubt not, have reduced the quantity daily consumed; and probably thousands have abandoned its use altogether, in consequence of the late vigorous measures taken for its suppression. They and their friends rejoice at what has been done for them. They appear to themselves, and they feel, like persons saved from impending ruin. But the number of these reclaimed is no more, we fear, than one in a thousand, compared with those who persist in the use of the 'vile thing.'

The laws enacted for the suppression of the use and the traffic have indeed been 'awfully severe.' Upon what has been suffered by the foreign community, in the present crisis, it may be here remarked, that the innocent and the guilty have both had to suffer — and in some cases it may be the former have sustained greater losses than the latter. The same has doubtless been true with regard to the Chinese. And this indiscriminate suffering has been, and is, a grave subject of just complaint. The executors of the laws have declared their intention to distinguish between the parties, and they may have done what they could to fulfill their intention. Had they sought it, doubtless they might have secured the coöperation of the foreign consuls and British superintendents of trade in preserving the fiscal regulations of the empire, the same as is done in other countries; but this they did not. Of the local magistracy, several officers of low rank have been taken into custody, and are on trial for having aided the illegal traffic. On some of these it is supposed the extreme penalties of the law will be inflicted. Since March last, five native smugglers have suffered death by decapitation or strangulation; and others, it is said, have died in prison.

It is now generally believed by foreigners, as well as by the Chinese, that the supreme government of the empire ever has been, and is, sincere in its desire to suppress the evil. For a while the plan of subjecting the drug to a duty, and making its importation legal, seemed to prevail. But before moving far in this course, the emperor paused to take the sense of all the provincial governments, and all the high tribunals in his capital. The response everywhere was unanimous against such an introduction. And from what has since transpired we may suppose that the emperor in council resolved that, it were better to cut off all foreign commerce, than to suffer the introduction of opium and the exportation of silver. In this resolve, according to all the information we can obtain from the Chinese, the emperor has had the support of the popular voice, from one end of the empire to the other. And it has been said, by well-informed

men, that very few have been opposed to the late severe measures, excepting those persons who have been either engaged in the traffic or strongly addicted to the use of the drug. Never have we heard a Chinese attempt to justify either the smoking of opium or the trade in it. We have heard the opinion of thousands; and they have always disproved and condemned both the one and the other. Among foreigners we know of but few advocates for the use or the traffic. Many, even of those engaged in the trade, do not hesitate to declare that it is an evil — and a great evil. Indeed almost all persons, who know anything of its effects, pronounce it evil. When, on the 1st of August last, lord Ellenborough brought the subject before his compeers, in the British parliament, he said 'he was not surprised at the desire of the Chinese to put an end to this trade, which *tends to destroy the health and morals* of their people.' But how, and by whom, shall this be accomplished? Who will stop this traffic? The efforts hitherto made for this purpose have been not only ineffectual, but they have well nigh destroyed all the foreign trade with this country, and threaten to involve the nation in all the calamities of war.

Threaten, we say — because we see here involved those very interests and passions and principles, which in other times, and in other places, have led on to war. That there exists a disposition to make trial of strength, Kowlung, and Hongkong, and Chuenpe, are witnesses. An officer who has seen some service, and witnessed more than once the conduct of Chinese soldiers in action, has well remarked, that they are not to be altogether despised. In both our visits at Chunhow, in June and September last, the contingency of war was made a subject of conversation. It was urged, on our part, that the existing difficulties ought not to lead to such an issue; that a trial of strength would only aggravate and not at all alleviate the present evils; and that the storm of war once raised no mortal could tell when or how it would terminate. *Ta chang puh pă*, 'to join battle we fear not,' was the often reiterated reply to every argument. It was painful to witness the apparent readiness to hazard the 'fortune of war.' Not aware of the advantages which modern science and the arts have given the western warrior when he comes forth as a foe, and believing their cause to be just, the Chinese manifested far less anxiety to prevent collision than could have been desired. They seemed to feel as if they had done only what was right and necessary. It seemed as if they thought none would dare to join battle with them. It was evidently with feelings of this kind that their fleet, on the 3d of November, met the Volage and Hyacinth. On that day,

they took a new lesson. And they have since fallen back, but we have no evidence that they have changed their purposes or opinions.

The contest is now directly between the Chinese and British governments — all other foreign governments preferring (so far as we know) to remain neutral. Precisely how much each will demand and yield, it is not easy to determine. A few points, however, are certain — at least to us they seem to be so.

1. Correspond or communicate with foreign officers, on terms of equality, the Chinese will not.

2. Any reparation for the opium confiscated, or for losses sustained by the removal from Canton, they will not make.

3. No apology will they offer for the detention of the subjects or representatives of foreign governments.

4. They will not yield the right of apprehending and executing those who are guilty of murder or homicide within their jurisdiction.

5. Nor will they desist from their efforts to prevent the introduction of opium and the exportation of sycee.

Though the contest originated with regard to the introduction of this drug, yet the question at issue has been materially changed in its conditions. No doubt the British government will do whatever it can to suppress the illegal traffic. But —

1. Will that government much longer continue to communicate with the Chinese on any other terms, than those of equality, and just and honorable reciprocity?

2. Will no reparation be asked for the losses which have been sustained by the removal from Canton, and the consequent interruption of business?

3. Will no apology be required for the detention of the innocent subjects and representatives of the British crown?

4. Will bonds be signed that will involve the unconditional surrender of British subjects to the judicial tribunals of this empire?

5. And concerning the molestation of private families, the attack on the Black Joke, the poisoning of wells and springs of water, &c., will no explanation be demanded?

Incomplete as this view of the case may be, it is yet sufficient to show that several great and important topics are soon to be discussed. How shall this be done? Shall the powers of reason, and the force of truth be first employed? Or shall an appeal be made at once to arms? For ourselves, we doubt very much whether the Chinese rulers fully understand the disposition and wishes of foreign governments. Full and minute explanations should first be given.

Then the Chinese *may* yield on some of the above named points. Three principal objects are to be aimed at, and sought for, we would fain hope, by all good and honorable men in any way concerned in these matters. These are —

The extinction of the traffic in opium;
The establishment of legal commerce; and
The preservation of peace.

For the present we shall not enter on the discussion of these themes. We are anxious to exhibit fully and fairly the facts of the case, and shall be glad to receive the assistance of others in doing this, for we feel a deep interest in the question now pending. Let the traffic in opium be abandoned as an evil thing, let a well regulated commerce be widely extended, and let peace and friendly intercourse be preserved, and who will not rejoice? These are great and good objects, and they may be attained by fair and honorable means. To them we invite the attention of our readers. Let all the points of difficulty be fully presented, and the proper remedies suggested. A long communication has just been put into our hands; and we are encouraged to expect more from the same and other writers. In this way, by the comparison of the views of different persons, the 'Due Medium' may be found out; once found out, it may be maintained; and being maintained, order, peace, good-will and prosperity, will be secured. As the offspring of the Most High, and the professed followers of the Prince of Peace, both we and our fellow-residents are all alike bound, to love our neighbors as ourselves, and to do to others as we would have them do to us.

ART. II. *Progress of the difficulties between the English and Chinese; the position of the American residents, &c.* By C. R.

COULD the new and beautiful invention, which is soon to furnish us with perfect pictures of all external things, painted by a pencil 'dipped in light,' be extended to abstract subjects, we know of no scenes, we would more gladly submit to the *'papiers sensibles'* than those now being presented to us, in this part of the world, in connection with the opium-question. With such representations of our political scenery, there could be no disputing about proportions; no

complaint of excessive or deficient coloring. The hand that sketched them, being above suspicion, could be charged with no omissions, no false lights, and no distortions. As the case is, the absent must be consent to take and put together our partial and differing views; and as for the artist — he must be content to get, from one praise; from another, criticism; from a third abuse; as his sketch may suit the eyes and the interests of the frequenters of the exhibition. Still we shall not be deterred by the sense of imperfection, the desire of praise, or the fear of censure, from reverting to this interesting subject, as from time to time, new phases are presented to us. In this article, however, we shall do no more than state,— after a brief repetition of some opinions on the past stages of the controversy,— what we hope will be done for us and our cause, or rather, what, we trust, is already doing.

Our first opinion is — that the earliest prohibitions of the drug in 1800, and all the imperial action upon it, from that time downward, was and has been sincere, and that the neutralization of the national policy for so long a period, is to be ascribed to the combined connivance, corruption, and daring of the provincial government and the foreign residents.

2d. The local connivance, even if it could be proved to reach the highest provincial officers, never did convey any valid excuse or equitable protection to the foreign importer; for he knew, that the practical security he enjoyed, was derived by corrupt means and from a legally incompetent party.

3d. The proposition to legalize the import, made in 1836, did not convey any such protective right, because that motion was clearly negatived within four months of the proposal, and followed closely by a reënaction of the preëxisting prohibitions. The right to move and discuss changes in existing regulations must be possessed under every government, and nowhere can such propositions be admitted to weaken the force of the laws, until a formal repeal is actually completed.

4th. The movement of the imperial government, up to the very act of confiscation of March 18th, was so slow and measured, that no one interested in the opium trade wanted opportunity to put himself and his property in safety, had he inclined to use that remedy. The actual appointment of a high officer with large powers and summary instructions, was formally notified to all parties more than two months before his arrival near the foreign residences, and this notice was coupled with the strongest persuasions and warnings to withdraw beyond the reach of his measures.

5th. The course taken by the commissioner before and in the act of confiscation, cannot be reconciled with European modes of procedure, or with our notions of personal justice. Yet, so far as the actual holders of the confiscated drug are concerned, the eastern mode was not more severe than the western. *On them*, the personal arrest, and armed seizure practiced under European writs, would have fallen at least as heavily as the demand of surrender, and the denial of passports. It is the non-holder who has the right to complain, that the confinement was made general instead of personal, and he and his property implicated without cause and without remedy.

6th. The position of the British superintendent under these circumstances was so embarrassing, as to claim and merit the utmost consideration and allowance. As a consular officer under the British government, he was bound by law and instruction to give no support to his countrymen in courses subversive of the fiscal regulations and general policy of the empire. On the other hand, as the agent of the government interested directly in the growth of the drug, and pledged, as it were, not to depreciate its value on its customer's hands, he was deterred from those timely explanations and disclaimers, which would have cleared the British flag, and the legal trade conducted under it, from implication with the illegal. All who know him, know that his personal feelings on the question are, and have ever been, pure and honorable; worthy of himself, his office, and his country. It was the anomalous position of his government, which embarrassed him. Had he been his own counsellor, or the free, unfettered representative of England, he would at once have disclaimed all connection with the opium. But as the coadjutor of the E. I. Company, as the correspondent of the governor-general, he hesitated, and compromised, and lost the invaluable opportunity.

7th. On the occasion of the first attempt to execute a criminal before the factories at Canton, the opposition of the residents to the act was as just, as it was successful. The ground so attempted to be employed, was a part of their own leased premises, and it was proper to guard their right by resistance, even if there had been no other reasons for their interference. The case was considerably altered, when the governor, in reply to the appeal of the Chamber of Commerce, declared the sole grounds of the offensive spectacle. We would have had the national representatives accept his paper as a disclaimer of all national bearings, in the humiliating act; and as to the importers of the drug, they should have so laid it to heart, as to have made impossible, the repetition which shortly followed.

8th. When the entire stoppage of the trade of Canton ensued, the interference of the superintendent, by order of Dec. 18th, to expel the smuggling boats, was right and necessary. Not so, his attempt to draw an imaginary line across the Bogue, and to confine the harm and guilt of smuggling to the waters of the river. The previous practice of the British government may have lent some support to such a discrimination; still, its futility is evident. The Chinese jurisdiction does extend over the shores beyond the Bogue, and to deny their right of domain over the outer anchorages, is to usurp a portion of their territory. Or, if the instructions of the superintendent made it necessary for him to treat the outer waters as the 'high seas,' and to claim exclusive jurisdiction over offenses committed thereon, by British subjects; then such pretensions should have been clearly explained to, and adjusted with, the provincial government. No doubt should have been suffered to rest on a point so important in itself, and so closely connected with the opening controversy.

9th. No such explanation having been made (that we know of); no such division line having been agreed on; no British claim to the outer anchorages having been admitted; the superintendent's order of March 22d requiring all British vessels to repair to Hongkong, and there prepare to resist every aggression on the part of the Chinese government, was wholly indefensible. To resist that government within the river, had been, three months before, declared penal, and homicide committed in such contest, to be murder. Unless therefore, some mutual demarcation was agreed on, the command to oppose the same authority, on the same business, without the river, was a solecism of the greatest magnitude! That the order to arm and resist did include the opium fleet, is manifest from its whole tenor, and especially from the fact, that the whole fleet, was officially placed, in case of the absence of H. M. sloop Larne, under the command of the senior captain of the storeships. Had the Chinese then, leaving their own forms, adopted the European mode of seizure, how could the bloody contest, which must have followed, been defended from the charge of breach of faith? What explanation could have been given, for thus defending by public authority, in ships without the river, an article which the same authority had given up to confiscation, in boats, within the Bogue? Had the acquaintance of the Chinese with European usages extended a little farther, they would at once have met the superintendent's notice by the withdrawal of his exequatur, and thus dissolved their obligations toward

an officer, who had publicly declared, that he had lost, 'all confidence in their justice and moderation.'

10th. The confinement of the foreign residents having taken place, it was a generous, a gallant thing for the superintendent to throw himself within the guard, and share with them their dangers and their humiliations. The policy of that act, we shall not question; the main error lying, to our view, in the use subsequently made of it. Communication with the authorities was prefaced by an interference which necessarily destroyed the just influence of the British representative.* The withdrawal of the gentleman on whom the commissioner had fixed, as the representative of the opium dealers, from under the Chinese guard to the asylum of the British factory, identified the superintendent with the body whose part he thus took, and made him the object of strong suspicion. Of course his proffers to adjust the question at issue, on principles of equity, were suspected, for it was evident that the two officers differed *in toto* as to their interpretation of the word equity. The negotiation was soon at an end, the demand for passports followed, and the breach between two great nations was now made broad, if not irreparable.

11th. Although the Indian drug was the growth of the East I. Company, and bore their mark, we know by the declaration of the select committee in 1826, that they meant to denounce and disclaim it, the moment the tea-trade should be endangered on its account. They would have ordered off the opium fleet, that the superintendent sought to protect. Instead of giving Mr. Dent the protection of their factory, they would have deported him. It was a strange thing, therefore, to see a directly opposite course pursued, to behold the whole mass of the drug assumed for the service of the British government. Considering the origination of the article, and the close connection of that government with it, this was just as it should be. An unseen retribution seemed to control the act. But looking at the consular instructions, at the high tone of British policy, and at the deference due to a friendly nation, a greater official error than the assumption could scarcely be committed.

* The representative is no doubt bound to interpose, promptly and fearlessly, the moment the safety of a fellow-citizen is endangered. But when (as in the case before us) the citizen stands charged with infraction of the laws, it is necessary so to interfere as evidently to secure, not obstruct, the course of justice. Hence we preferred, that the superintendent should stand by Mr. D. protesting against every injustice, demanding every security, &c., rather than remove him. The former course could not have been mistaken; the latter was immediately interpreted as an attempted abduction. The determination to protect was worthy of all praise, the mode only was objectionable. The British factory was no more safe than any other; and the alternative — the surrender of the confiscated drug—was nowhys altered.

12th. The ardent temperament of the superintendent, his energetic character, his extreme sensitiveness to the honor of his flag, and that ever ready recourse to arms, which military training from youth up always engenders, scarcely account for his subsequent measures. The Baconian creed, 'let nations that pretend to greatness, have this, that they be sensible to wrongs, either upon borderers, *merchants*, or politic ministers, and *that they sit not too long upon a provocation*,' hardly authorises them. In fact it is not easy to avoid the conviction, that finding himself sinking into unpromising inactivity, the superintendent hailed the opportunity to fasten a quarrel on the Chinese people. His government had shown itself indifferent to points of honor, and matters of personal disrespect, in the cases of Mr. Marjoribanks and lord Napier. But here was an opportunity to touch 'that sensitive region, the breeches pocket,'—to vest in the Queen a quarrel worth £2,000,000 sterling.

13th. The breach once made, it was necessary to the same policy that it should not close again. It would not do, to sit down quietly under official protests, until the pleasure of the home government could be known. Because this clumsy government, once in motion, had trampled upon the illicit trade, it was necessary that the legal too should be trodden down along with it. This was the practical effect of the superintendent's injunctions on all British subjects, to quit their residences and their business, and to retire from Canton for an indefinite period. The American residents refused to follow this example for these reasons; because, to withdraw at that moment and on such grounds, was to stake their chances of sympathy and support on a hopeless throw—on an opium quarrel; and because the interests of the absent and the innocent were not lightly to be sacrificed; and because they had no representative able and willing to bear the responsibility of a similar order. Situated as they were, they seem to us to have made the wiser choice. At the same time it is to be granted that the semblance of generosity, the show of honor, the seeming of disinterested sacrifice, were on the side of the retiring party. The show, we say, for it was necessary to the reality, that the choice should have been made voluntarily, and when made, honestly and manfully abided by.

But in truth the obedience of the British residents to the orders to withdraw, seems ascribable only the peculiar circumstances of their case. They had given up £2,000,000 sterling, on the responsibility of the superintendent, and it would not do, to question his powers, or attack the authority for so important an act of alienation. This

would have revived their personal responsibility for the surrender, and deprived their claims of his official advocacy. Had not the surrender preceded, the retirement had never taken place.

14th. As a public measure, the withdrawal seems to us impolitic and indefensible. It involved the innocent with the guilty, committed the legal traders to intolerable losses, drove them to evasions of the orders they dared not openly disobey, and at last destroyed their confidence in the superintendent and in each other. It completed the identification of the British government with the contraband trade, and converted the superintendent, from an influential mediator into an open enemy of the commissioner. Besides, the order to retire, like the prior order to arm and resist, seems to us to have been based on a geographical error. It assumed that it was necessary to withdraw from Canton, but not necessary to retire from China. It supposed that private life and property were unsafe within the Bogue, but safe in the outer anchorages. How did the result bear out these assumptions. Did the Chinese yield their claim over those waters? Could Macao afford any protection? Was Hongkong beyond annoyance? No. While on the one hand, the Chinese claims were successfully asserted; while the impression of the British fleet spreading its sails and seeking safer harbors, was not made; while the onus of every difficulty was thrown upon the superintendent; while the idea that trade was still expected and desired, was kept up by the presence of the merchant ships: on the other, more loss of comfort, life, and property were involved in the outset, than continued residence at Canton could by any possibility have endangered. These results are all so many attestations to the wisdom of those articles in modern treaties, by which it is provided, that, even in event of hostile rupture, the merchants of either party shall have a sufficient interval for the settlement of their affairs, and for a safe retirement from the enemy's dominions. For instance, by the 12th article of the treaty of 1826, between Great Britain and Mexico, 'it is agreed, that if at any time any interruption of friendly intercourse, or any rupture should unfortunately take place between the two contracting parties, the merchants residing upon the coasts shall be allowed six months, and those of the interior a whole year, to wind up their accounts, and dispose of their property, &c., &c.' Both the British and the American codes abound with specimens of the like considerate and humane negotiation. And in the view of these, we cannot but look upon the hasty injunctions of May last, as a measure becoming an enemy of British commerce, rather than its legally appointed superintendent

and protector. Even had the conduct of the Chinese government been ten times worse than is was; had hostilities been sure to ensue; had it been absolutely necessary for all official correspondence to cease; still time was due to the legal trader for the settlement of his affairs, if negotiation could procure it; and had it been denied, the mere refusal would have constituted a further ground of just complaint against China. But the harsh requisition came from the British representative, not from the imperial commissioner. The guardian of British interests on this side the Pacific, inflicted with his own hands, the losses, from which the same commerce on the opposite shores, is sedulously guarded by solemn treaty.

15th. The signature of the first bond by the Americans was a great error. To induce the English to remain at Canton, exemption from all bonds had been offered. In all probability therefore, a calm statement of the just objections of foreigners to such bonds, would, at that stage of affairs, have been successful. This release had been virtually promised to an American resident, who came a little before to look on at the destruction of the opium. Unhappily these fair prospects were clouded over; a bond was signed; and to make the matter worse — to add the character of meanness to error — it was arranged that the resident merchants should be screened, and the whole risk be thrown upon the commanders and crews of vessels. Why then were these last fastened on, and the former passed over? Had they been the authors of these troubles? Had they been the chief encouragers of the traffic, the means of its increase and the sharers of its largest profits? No; the resident merchants. Why then this unfair substitution? Because the wily head of the cohong knew whom he was dealing with, and that to subdue the opposition of hardy sailors; to have a victim forthcoming, when the time for sacrifice should arrive; it was necessary to bribe the resident agents.

16th. Unfair and objectionable as the first bond was, there were reasons for submitting to its signature, as a temporary measure, when it became unavoidable. After all that may be said of the law of honor, and of the duty of resistance to every unjust demand; the individual is fully authorized by the Christian code to adopt a less lofty, a humbler demeanor. To fight for every right, to resent to the last every despotic encroachment, may be the duty of governments; but the private man may and generally should submit under protest, waiving his just claims, until appeal can be had to national protection.

Again, at the time of the signature of the first bond, no law touch-

ing the case of foreigners, dealing in opium, was or had been promulgated. The 'new regulations' referred to in the bond itself, were silent as to capital penalties. The edicts of the commissioner, the sole ground of the dread of capital punishments, conveyed direct exemptions for a very long interval. On these grounds, it was believed, that no conviction could legally take place under that bond, and hence, that its signature, though inexpedient and humiliating, involved no practical danger. This belief was strenuously combatted, however, by some, and the submission of the Americans treated as a direct sacrifice of every security for life and property. The argument continued open until the receipt of the commissioner's edict of 20th October, requiring a new bond to be given by all vessels entering the river. The language of this paper was, 'the American ships having been the first to enter the port on the 11th of June, *at which time the particulars of the new law had not been promulgated &c. But now the new law has already been made*, wherein it is said, that any foreigners bringing opium to the inner land, shall be immediately executed, &c., all must therefore comply with the form prescribed.' This declaration from the highest authority was decisive, that the first bond, though objectionable in itself and injurious as a precedent, was not an assent to a capitally penal law, for such had not then been promulgated.

17th. When the British residents had made their election, to quit Canton, and the Americans theirs to remain; one and only proper course remained for both parties. The former were bound to stand manfully by the injunctions of the superintendent, without flinching or evasion; and the latter, were bound not to interfere or tamper with them. The views of the superintendent towards the Americans had been, at all times, kind and friendly. He wished and invited them to leave Canton with him, but since this could not be, he had no disposition to molest them. They were bound, on their part, not to interfere with his policy, or draw away his people from their professed submission to him. When therefore leading American houses at Canton began to look with an eager avidity on the profits of this forbidden agency, and to prepare for its active prosecution, no disinterested person, even of their friends, could regard it as anything less than a departure from all propriety, from all just deference to the representative of Great Britain. The American commodore, then in the Chinese waters, expressed himself thus on the subject,— 'The trade carried on under our flag between Canton and Hongkong appears to me pregnant with evil, and I regret to find that men

who were considered prudent, are largely engaged it. The * * * has come down laden with a cargo for an English ship at Hongkong, and her master informs me, that two of the first American houses are about employing constantly two ships to supply the British shipping with cargoes. If any misunderstanding should grow out of this, our countrymen will have themselves alone to blame for it, and cannot expect the aid of men-of-war, to assist them in doing wrong, &c.' These opinions were the more correct, this claim of the superintendent to deference from the Americans was the more clear, because he had, already, with a generous disavowal of all wish to annoy, sanctioned such purchases of British goods in exchange for their bills, as was necessary to carry on their usual trade without the smallest interruption. This important concession should have satisfied the Americans, and content with the undisturbed prosecution of their own business, they should have held themselves above the temptations presented, and thus given to the world a fine specimen of mercantile principle and moderation. As the merit and good effects of such a course would have been great, so the results of the opposite were lamentable. The friendly feelings of the superintendent were of course affected, and private merchants, as they yielded one by one to the pressure of losses, and sent their property within the river, felt anything but cordiality or respect towards their American agents. Thus the policy which dictated the retirement was gradually broken up, until all that was intended to be impressive and coercive upon the Chinese, fell with almost unmitigated weight on the shoulders of their generous opponents.

18th. While the commissioner was among us, as the impersonation of the temperance spirit in China, we were disposed to follow his movements with indulgence, if not with favor. We saw something of justice, as well as of severity, in his decree of confiscation. In following him through the details of the measure, we remembered how far the Chinese usages differ from our own, and excused in part his preference for his own national modes of procedure. As the officer of an Asiatic and pagan government, we were not surprised to find him somewhat wanting in that strict integrity, that undeviating veracity, which western nations owe solely to their Christianity. But when we stood by the spot where the opium was being destroyed, and passed on from the humiliating scene to an interview with his excellency, we conceived his work of punishment to be finished, and made it our earnest petition, that he would now change his course, and close his mission with revising and liberalising the laws regarding foreign intercourse with China.

Unhappily his excellency was already in an attitude of hostility towards the larger portion of the foreign residents, and the advice was not taken. The bloody affray of July soon followed, and the relations of the two nations were thrown into inextricable confusion. When this affair was carried to the commissioner, he reverted at once to the old Chinese law and precedents, and demanded the murderer. The terms he was then on with the superintendent, precluded any calm and friendly settlement, and irritated by the refusal to comply with his demand, by the lingering of the opium ships and dealers, and by the renewed sales of the drug, he suffered himself to be hurried on to those harsh and unjustifiable acts, which have left an indelible stain on his mission and character. Acting on the system of mutual responsibility, so interwoven with the Chinese polity, he proceeded to coerce the surrender of the guilty individual by oppressing the British residents at Macao, a place forty miles distant from the scene of the murder. The superintendent and most of his countrymen withdrew to Hongkong, where the denial of provisions, and other local annoyances brought on remonstrances, and finally a collision with the Chinese force at Kowlung, a small port in the vicinity. Of this affair, we believe the general opinion to be, that it was rash and 'untoward.' It threw upon the British flag the odium of being the first to aggress, the guilt of the first bloodshed.

19th. The right of blockade is confessedly a portion of international law, which belligerents and neutrals are far from being agreed on. But there are sufficient expositions extant, to show clearly, that the blockade of the port of Canton, announced the 11th of September and revoked the 16th, was defective in authority, as well as based upon misapprehension. The actual cutting off of certain British subjects by the Chinese, which had been assumed in the notice, proved incorrect, and even if it had not, no maritime nation would, we think, have admitted the blockade as emanating from competent authority. That a British consul and a British post-captain can declare war, or assume certain acts of foreign powers to be a declaration of war, and thence proceed without any direct instructions, or any reference to superior authority, to exercise belligerent rights upon neutral flags, is a doctrine that would overthrow all the securities of commerce. Least of all could such principles be admitted in application to remote parts of the mercantile world, where incalculable losses would be inflicted, before such reference could be made or confirmation had, from the supreme governments. In the particular instance before us, the assumption maintained by the blockade party

and derided by their opponents,—that war did actually exist—would have been even more disastrous to British than to neutral interests. Had it been true, the large amount of British property lying within the Bogue, would have been at the mercy of the Chinese, and almost the whole in the outer anchorages also, liable to capture and condemnation under charge of trading with the enemy. But in truth no war existed, and the revocation of the blockade, five days after its announcement, was coupled with a notification of negotiations pending with the enemy.

20th. We shall not attempt to analyse these negotiations, or to trace the causes which led to their failure. On this, as on the other prior matters, we want fuller copies of what passed between the contracting parties, to decide exactly. From the papers which have appeared, it would seem that the whole negotiation for a trade at Chuenpe, was carried on by the parties at cross purposes with each other. From the commissioner's edict of 9th October, ushering in the arrangements, and from the memorandum of propositions and replies published Oct. 26th, it is evident he contemplated as complete a subjection of British life to Chinese adjudication at Chuenpe, in case of the detection of opium, as could be conveyed by the subscription of any bonds whatever. At the same time, it is equally apparent from the whole course of the superintendent, that, on his part, no such submission was intended. Whether any further modifications took place, or whether the superintendent secretly relied on the presence of a sloop-of-war to rescue any British subject charged with smuggling, we know not; but so far as appears, no arrangement was at all practicable between parties so wide of each other. Bad faith on the commissioner's part may have existed, but it is unnecessary to call it in, to account for the subsequent failure. A frank and clear understanding, a full declaration of each one's meaning, was all that was needed to produce that result,—to break off a negotiation based wholly upon concealment or mutual misapprehension.

21st. The failure of the arrangements at Chuenpe gave a new impulse to the freighting business already going on in American and other bottoms. This last hope of renewed trade disappointed, the anxiety of the British ship-owners and consignees to clear their vessels, and the competition which followed, carried freights of cotton (from Hongkong to Whampoa) up to $6 per bale, while, for bringing down teas, &c., $10 per ton was given. The depreciation of the British flag and the enhancement of the value of others went on, until ship after ship was sold for nominal considerations, to supply the demand

for neutral tonnage. This strange alteration of values was of course the legitimate fruit of the superintendent's measures. But whether he foresaw this result or not, we are not aware, and therefore make no comment on the official causes. As a concern of the merchants interested in these transfers, no commendation can be expressed either of the buyers or the sellers. The public and generous nature of the superintendent's contest, however impolitic, should have prevented any man of any other nation from this direct opposition to him. Still more wrong was it for British subjects, to evade their obligations to their own officer, laboring for their own protection. The former violated their neutrality; the latter, their consistency and their allegiance. The part taken by the American consul in these purchases is open to the same and even greater objection. By giving his sanction to such transfers, instead of checking them in the outset, he of course involved the consulate in the course so offensive to the British representative. By going further, and granting formal passes to vessels so bought, requesting all 'princes, potentates, &c., to suffer said ships to pass, without let, hindrance, or molestation,' he exceeded, in the common opinion, his proper and legal functions. As the question here involved is an important one, we will briefly state the grounds of that judgment, as we understand them.

We learn from the consular instructions promulgated on the first of August, 1801, that 'our consuls had already originated the practice of providing with certificates foreign vessels purchased abroad by citizens of the United States.' 'To regulate a course of proceedings the tendency of which was to blend American with foreign property in appearance,' the consuls were instructed to require certain proofs of bonafide ownership, and thereon empowered to grant a certificate, after a form prescribed, which paper—it is added—'*must* be limited to the vessel's return to the United States, and *her destination to some port therein must be specified in it.*' The form referred to, after reciting the evidences of property—closed thus—'I have granted permission that the said ship may depart and proceed on her voyage to the port aforesaid. This permission to continue in force only during the said voyage.' If therefore this certificate were still authorized, it would appear to convey no protection to purchased vessels, plying on freighting trips between foreign anchorages, with no homeward destination, and no idea, in fact, of ever being sent to any port within the Union.

But after four years' experience of the workings of this permission, the department of state issued, July 12th, 1805, the following in-

structions. 'The multiplied abuses of the certificates which the consuls of the United States were, by the instructions of the 1st August, 1801, authorized to give, in the case of foreign vessels purchased by a citizen of the United States, notwithstanding the precautions taken against them, have led to the conclusion, that the discontinuance of the certificates altogether is the only effectual remedy. You will therefore forbear to grant any certificate whatever relative to such purchases, except to those who may satisfy you, that the purchase was made without knowing this alteration in your instructions. Accordingly, you will publicly advertise that you are restrained from issuing certificates in such cases, with the sole exception just mentioned; and from allowing the exception itself, after the expiration of two months from the date of the advertisement.' This is, so far as we know, the latest action of the American government, on the subject of these certificates. The revival of the practice in China, after so long an interval, is, we suppose, based on the general consular power to grant certificates, or on the silence of the general instructions of March 2d, 1833, or on the late receipt of new instructions. The first supposition, could not, in any case, we suppose, authorize more than a consular deposition, respecting the ownership of the vessel in question, even if this be not precluded, by the special exception recited. The second ground seems equally defective, because the object of Mr. Livingston in his digest, was — to guide the consul in his duties, — in the exercise of powers yet belonging to his office, not to recite repeals, or to authorize resumptions of those long taken from it. On the third point, the American consul is of course the best authority, and he certainly will not refuse to make known such instructions, nor indeed any reasons which have justified, to his own mind, this portion of his official conduct. In the absence of such explanations, our impression is — that while the United States will always extend to foreign built vessels purchased by Americans, the protection accorded by acts of congress of 1802 and 1803, they yet confine all certification to the home authorities, because it cannot in their view be safely intrusted to the consuls.

22d. 'The failure of the Chuenpe negotiation led to other consequences of a much more serious nature.' The commissioner renewing his commands to the British fleet 'to enter the port or leave the coast,' under pain of capture or destruction, the superintendent proceeded with two sloops-of-war to the Bogue, to demand the withdrawal of these offensive orders. No satisfaction being afforded, and the Chinese fleet showing signs of hostile preparation, the sloops began

a fire which shortly disabled or destroyed several of the junks, with some scores or hundreds of their people. On this conflict, opinions are, we believe, much divided; some joining with the superintendent in lamenting the carnage; the most regretting that the complete destruction of the fleet was not effected. We do not hesitate in this diversity to take the side of the superintendent and of humanity. And we would further respectfully ask, was it, then, *for the safety of life and property*, that the retirement from Canton was ordered? And are these the fruits of that measure? With all allowance for difference of value between Chinese and British blood, could any consequences so costly have resulted from a continued residence at the factories? We know these questions will be answered with a show of triumph, by pointing to the violences of the commissioner. But the reference is not satisfactory. Had the orders to repair to Hongkong never been issued to the fleet, probably the homicide of July had never happened. Or if it had, the presence of the superintendent at Canton, had he preserved a position of impartial mediation, should have been at least as influential, to resist unjust demands, as was that of the E. I. Company's select committee. Or if the singular violence of the kinchae had brooked no terms and even extorted a victim to the law of retaliation, then how clear and unquestionable would have been the position of Great Britain. As the case now stands, it is not easy to say how much of these difficulties has proceeded from causes worthy of a nation's quarrel, or how much from subaltern error and exasperation. On the one hand, it is undeniable that the course of the commissioner has been harsh and even hostile. But on the other, the declaration of March 22d was hostile. The language and conduct of the British community during the confinement was openly hostile. The retirement was avowedly the precursor and preparation for hostilities. No more conference, no more papers — was the superintendent's language — a swift and heavy blow will be struck at the Chinese, without preface or explanation. Then the armed occupation of a Chinese harbor was not peaceful. The attack at Kowlung, the notice of blockade, the affair at Chuenpe, were all hostile. In short, the whole history of these troubles forms an admirable comment on the wisdom of those provisions against rash war-making with half civilized states, which fill up some of the brightest pages in western diplomacy. We quote for instance, the following from Art. 24 of the treaty of 1786, between the United States and Morocco. "If any differences shall arise by either party infringing on any of the articles of this treaty, peace and harmony shall remain

notwithstanding in the fullest force, until a friendly application shall be made for an arrangement; and until that application shall be rejected, no appeal shall be made to arms." And again, from the 16th article of the treaty of 1816 with Algiers: "In case of any dispute arising from the violation of any of the articles of this treaty, no appeal shall be made to arms, nor shall war be declared on any pretext whatever; but if the consul, residing at the place where the dispute shall happen, shall not be able to settle the same, the government of that country shall state their grievance in writing, and transmit the same to the government of the other, and the period of* three months shall be allowed for answers to be returned, during which time no act of hostility shall be permitted by either party."

These articles seem to us to embody the true spirit of an enlightened and pacific diplomacy; to treat the fearful power of making war,—of taking life,—in the only proper manner,—as an essential attribute of sovereignty, not to be trusted to subaltern hands in any case whatever.

23d. The collision at Chuenpe, as it threw an additional doubt on the safety of British property within the grasp of the Chinese, gave a new impulse to transhipments. Five or six ships of the British fleet were transferred by sale to American hands, and several more were placed under other neutral colors. How far these sales might have gone, is not to be told, had not the commissioner, seeing perhaps that his efforts to dislodge the British fleet were neutralized by the permission to tranship, withdrew by his edicts of Nov. 25th, the license he had previously given through the American consul. These important papers drew the more attention, because they put an official end to the British trade with China, from and after the 6th December. Whether they will be construed rigidly or loosely, whether the exclusion will be applied generally, or only to such vessels from Indian ports as refuse to give bonds against opium, remains to be gathered from the future course of the commissioner and his successors.†

In this tangled and complicated state of affairs, it is our design now to express our views and wishes, as to the more immediate measures necessary to bring back these agitated elements to quiet and order. Beginning with the American community, we venture to offer some brief recommendations, first to the consul, and next to the

* This interval is extended to twelve months in the treaty with Tripoli.

† The receipt of the imperial rescript published January 5th, now makes it nearly certain that the exclusion will for the present be acted on.

private merchants. To the former, we propose that he reconsider his course on two points; the granting of passes to purchased vessels, and the mode of dealing with petitions placed in his hands by his fellow-citizens for presentation to the Chinese authorities.

Beside the objections to those grants, arising out of the consular instructions, he should consider their offensiveness to the superintendent, and their tendency to destroy our neutral character, by confounding all the distinctions between American and foreign property. When the transhipments first began, in American built vessels, commodore Read warned his countrymen — that, 'if they could not carry on their commerce without having their interests so completely and thoroughly blended with those of the English, it would have been better that ships-of-war had not appeared here.' Had he remained in the Chinese waters, until equal and even greater suspicion came to be thrown over the flag itself, his opinions on the point would surely have gained further strength, and thus placed the two American officers in the country, in direct collision with each other.

Again, we hope the consul will reconsider his course with respect to the receipt and forwarding of petitions. We must explain our views by saying — that when the British fleet had repaired to Hongkong, and it became absolutely necessary to the prosecution of the American trade, to exchange bills for goods, a strong objection was felt to any transhipments, by some parties, on account of their irregularity. These parties wished to bring the subject at once before the commissioner, that the practice might have his sanction, or if it were refused, that ships might repair for the purpose to ports beyond the Chinese territory. The hongs would not receive the petitions; and on application to the sub-prefect of Macao, he required that the petition be presented through the consul. The consul refused to transmit it, and thus for some months, the transhipments went on under an odious and hazardous singularity. But when the actual sale of ships, as well as of goods, brought the subject before the commissioner, and he demanded explanation, the consul was compelled to state what he had before declined, and the transhipments were admitted in reply 'to come within the limits of allowable business.'

Again, when the second bond was first presented to the American captains, it was the strong wish of parties that the just objections to that paper should be calmly and frankly stated. Memoranda were prepared for that purpose, but when on the refusal of the hongs to interpose, the consul was applied to, his answer was, that he should not petition himself, nor could he transmit any petition for others.

We are fully aware how very low a rank the consular officer holds in the political system, and that the American especially has no right to approach any native government, at all, except in cases of emergency, and in the absence of an accredited minister. Still, in such circumstances as exist in China, we think it extremely desirable that the consul should not refuse to act upon points which intimately concern life, property, and honor. While we would not have him assume powers at variance with his instructions, and which if exercised, can only serve some private speculation; we would have him ever ready to interpose in behalf of those who are suffering for their fidelity to their principles and their country.

As respects the American merchants, if our opinions might have any influence, we would use it, to recall them to their own regular commerce, and to a more becoming position toward the Chinese government. It is to be hoped, that the prohibition of transhipments will do something to forward the former object; and as for the latter, though error has reached an almost irreparable point, yet something may be done to make it the less disastrous. The mistake we refer to, is — the signature of the second bond, without protest, explanation, or remonstrance. The first bond was sufficiently objectionable. It was vague and without any expressed penalties. It looked like a studied attempt to combine apparent rigor with real immunity from punishment. The admissions with which it was coupled deprived it of any fatal power, until the lapse of a considerable interval. Yet, even in the signature of this bond, the American merchants went to the very verge of dishonor. They made a bad precedent, in the hope of discharging better, an important duty. In the attempt to give the Chinese government every possible proof of their sincere abjuration of the opium traffic, they had conceded all and perhaps more than society and governments could sanction. Still this was no inexcusable, no irreparable error. Yet, had no new bond been presented to them, they would have been bound, on the expiration of the commissioner's limitations in December, to have brought the subject before him, and remonstrated against a longer signature. When therefore the new bond was presented, with all its offensive and fatal clauses, there should have been an unanimous refusal to accept its terms, and the grounds of this rejection submitted frankly to the commissioner. The quiet swallowing of such conditions, in silence, without an effort to effect an abatement, was a proceeding wholly inexcusable, and utterly beneath the American character. Enough had been already done, to evince a complete abandonment

of the opium trade, and here was a fine opportunity to show, how satisfaction to the injured government of China, could be reconciled with every other duty. It was thrown away, as if of no value. Lamentable as this recklessness was in itself, and in its influence to confirm the Chinese in error as to foreign usages, something may yet be done, and certainly should be, before the departure of the commissioner. Taking advantage of his return to the provincial city, they may lay before him their petition in form something like the following.

The undersigned, American merchants, approach your excellency for the purpose of respectfully stating their views on the form of bond lately required, through the hong merchants.

When the British merchants withdrew from Canton in May last, we declined the invitation to follow them, because we were anxious to prove, that our abandonment of the opium trade was sincere and final. Your excellency having then specified four and eight months, as the periods after which the new law should take effect, on vessels from India and from Europe, we were anxious to use this interval, to settle our affairs, and to give every reasonable satisfaction to your excellency. It was ever our intention, on the expiration of these periods, to come before your excellency with our frank petition against the full enforcement of those regulations. Now before the period has elapsed, we find ourselves called on to submit our vessels and crews to their full and unreserved operation. We take this occasion therefore to state the following objections.

1st. The bond now required is unnecessary. When your excellency arrived at Canton in March last, the opium trade was flourishing. With two weapons, the confiscation of the drug and the banishment of the importers, the traffic was driven from the factories. If then, these two means were sufficient to eradicate the evil, they are surely sufficient to prevent its springing up again within our residences. Where is the necessity for the confiscation of legal property, or for the use of capital punishments?

2d. The bond is misplaced. For the last eight months, not a chest of opium has been sold by the foreigners at Canton; while hundreds and perhaps thousands, have been delivered along the coasts of the empire. It is not, therefore, by new and severe regulations applicable to Canton alone, that the evil is to be reached, but by measures extended along the sea-frontier.

3d. The bond is fraught with danger to China. The confiscation of the drug, in March last, and still more, the shutting up of the

foreign residents and consuls, have already endangered the peace of the empire. How then can war be avoided, if confiscations be extended to whole cargoes of licit property, and even life be taken away, for a catty of opium?

4th. The bond is framed in entire dereliction of the benevolent professions of the government towards foreigners. It is not only capitally severe toward the really guilty, but it involves all, having property on board the ship whence opium is landed, in common forfeitures. To use the language of Mencius, it converts the waters from the Ladrones to Whampoa into a vast pit for the ruin of foreigners.

5th. The bond manifests complete ignorance of the views and usages of foreign nations. All good men in the west regret the use of opium by your people. But it is their custom to check vice by pure examples, by clear instructions, &c., not by capital punishments. If such means are necessary to restrain your people from the use of opium, they leave you to apply them. Your people know the laws and language. If accused, they can defend themselves. They have friends to intercede for them. If wronged, they can appeal to the emperor. Not so the foreigner. He is an alien on your shores. He can with great difficulty prepare a short petition. He has no friends, no access by appeal to the emperor. Foreign states will give every guaranty against opium, but they will ever demand, either that their people be treated in all respects as natives, or suffered to live entirely under the jurisdiction of their consuls. This has always been granted to the Portuguese at Macao; why should it not be granted to all other foreigners?

6th. The bond, even if given, is of no value; no man signs it sincerely. He submits, because you are strong and he is weak, but he utterly denies the obligation. He neither means to give up his crew nor his vessel, nor his cargo. He has no right and no power to do either. He regards you as an oppressor, for demanding it, and is determined to act, just as if he had signed no bond whatever. His rulers too will disown the certificates so soon as they hear of them.

For these and other like reasons, we petition your excellency to desist from the demand of these bonds, and to revert to the means already so successful in your hands,—the confiscation of the drug wherever found, and the expulsion of all foreigners taking part in its introduction.

Objections like these are surely too well founded to be overlooked by the American residents; nor will their consul again refuse them his aid, when it is thus required—not for mercenary purposes, not in

doubtful stretches of uncertain powers, — but for the preservation of life, property, and public honor. Even if such a petition should fail to change a policy now hardened by our own needless submissions, yet it is worth while to have placed it in the provincial archives, and in the hands of the commissioner. It is something to have told this government, that while it keeps the foreigner an alien on its shores, it must find some means to reconcile its own demands, with the allegiance he still owes to the laws of his native country.

To go on to the British community, we take the liberty to give our counsel to the mercantile residents with all the freedom of friendship and sympathy. Their choice seems to us to have been made, once for all, when they obeyed the superintendent's injunctions to retire from their factories. Or rather the surrender of the opium was the pledge, too heavy to be forfeited, staked upon the validity of his injunctions, which bound them to respect his command and support his authority. Deference to the superintendent, and unanimity among themselves, were henceforth their true policy. They should not have sent their property, as such, within the Bogue, nor should they have employed other flags, other covers, and other agencies. Evasions, jealousies, discords, only lowered their own stand, and weakened their hold on the home government. It is time that frankness, truth, unanimity, and loyalty, resume their empire. The act of this government, which now puts an official period to British commerce, is the act which should unite all minds in a firm, patient, undoubting expectation for the powerful interposition of their sovereign.

As regards the British superintendent, we trust it may not be inconsistent with the deference due his rank and superior information, to express our wishes on two points, — the armed possession of Chinese harbors, and the defense of such positions byhostile measures. We think he will admit the doctrine, though laid down by a transatlantic tribunal,* that 'the jurisdiction of a nation within its own territory is exclusive and absolute. It is susceptible of no limitation not imposed on itself. Any restriction, deriving its validity from an external source, would imply a diminution of its sovereignty to the extent of that restriction, and an investment of that sovereignty to the same extent, in the power which could impose such restriction. All exceptions to the full and complete power of the nation within its own territories, must be traced up to the consent of the nation itself.' Candor and the maps further oblige us to admit, that the anchorages

* Supreme Court of the United States. (*The Exchange vs. McFaddon.*)

now and lately occupied by the British fleet are 'within the body of the country,' not 'the uninclosed water of the ocean on the sea-coast, outside the *fauces terræ*.' Under such premises, we would respectfully ask, if it be right for the officer of a foreign nation to occupy and hold by force, such harbors? Does this impose no 'limitation' on the Chinese sovereignty? And when this assumption is made, not in war but in peace, not by supreme but by inferior authority, is it justifiable; is it in short, the proper part of a peaceful, protective, trade-superintendency? We cannot see it to be so. The policy of the superinteudent on this point,—the withdrawal from Canton to take up a position without the Bogue,—seems to us to have involved a common forgetfulness of precedents and of geography. It overlooked that favorite provision in modern treaties already quoted, by which a long interval (six to twelve months) is secured to merchants, &c., wherein to settle their affairs, before they shall come under the reach even of a declaration of war, and hurried them from their residences on a hasty and insufficient notice. It drew the same erroneous line across the Bogue, which had been drawn in reference to the opium smuggling, in the previous order of December. The superintendent's abandonment of this demarcation as concerns the drug, and his declaration (notice of 11th September) that 'H. M's. flag does not fly in countenance or protection of the traffic,' and requiring all British vessels engaged in it 'to depart immediately from the harbor and the coast,' go far to show that the distinction between inside and outside never was well founded, and should be given up entirely. The orders not to trade with the Chinese, have now been met by the orders of the commissioner not to trade with the English, and oaths, it is said, are about to be exacted, of all vessels entering, that they have not communicated with the British shipping. We trust therefore the necessity of a general evacuation will soon be admitted, and the fleet leave these waters for some more hospitable harbors.

If the armed occupation of Hongkong was indefensible, much more so were the bloody encounters of Kowlung and Chuenpe, by which it was sought to maintain possession. But the orders to repair thither being issued, it was next necessary to secure a supply of provisions for the fleet, as well as to guard it from molestation. The attack on Kowlung aimed to gain the first object, that on the Chuenpe fleet, the second. If the British relations with China were those of war, when the first action took place, it was surely too much to require the Chinese to furnish supplies — to commit the treason of

'aiding and comforting' the enemy. If they were peaceful on both occasions, then we must view these 'untoward' affairs, as humble, inglorious imitations of Copenhagen and Navarino. But there is a broader objection to these encounters, than any that arises out of the momentary relations of the contending parties. 'War,' to borrow again the language of a western statesman, 'is the ultimate and last resort; and much ought to be borne, before a nation, especially a commercial one, should appeal to arms.' It is the last resort to which humanity consents, even when the reluctant act of supreme authority, after slow and solemn deliberation. How much more objectionable then, when the work of destruction is made to precede the declaration of hostilities; when the sovereign, in whose hands this awful power is constitutionally lodged, is not consulted, and counsel and deliberation are forgotten in the hurry of mutual exasperation. Hence the wisdom of that provision against rash hostilities already quoted; and hence the earnest wish we venture to express, that when the British fleet can no longer ride quietly in the Chinese waters, it will retire, until its safe and honorable and triumphant return can be provided for, as it should be, by orders under the sign-manual.

We now reach the last topic we design to touch, viz. the action, to be expected and desired, on the part of western governments. And here we look mainly to the interposition of G. Britain; not that we doubt that an American (and may be a French and a Dutch) envoy will soon be out; but because his appointment will probably be anticipated, and his measures outweighed, by the quicker and more powerful interference of England. Unquestionably the United States will exhaust every peaceful recourse, rather than leave their citizens resident in China longer exposed to loss and contumely. But all their efforts will be deliberate and pacific. Their neutral position, during the long wars of Europe, and the succeeding disturbances of the Spanish colonies, has taught them patience. The tardy and reluctant satisfaction granted to their claims, but granted at last, by almost every European power, attests their long-suffering, and at the same time, the steadiness with which, when wronged, they demand, and finally obtain justice. They will say of these troubles in China, as was said of the conduct of the South Americans, by the secretary of state in 1827, 'had we declared war upon every occasion of complaint like these, (and there is no disposition to underrate them,) the United States would have enjoyed scarcely a year of repose, since the establishment of their present constitution.' For this reason chiefly, we suppose the American action here will be

set aside, and therefore direct our attention chiefly to the expected movements of Great Britain. The nature of the present troubles — of the crisis which calls for her interference — compels her, at the very first step, to take up the opium question.

The origination of that traffic by the British government, through its creature the E. I. Company, has given rise to two obligations on her part, — one, towards the surrenderers of March; — the other towards the Chinese government. The E. I. Company has trained up a class of men, and employed them to do its work and fill its coffers; by carrying on a contraband trade in China. These men have been overtaken in their sad service, by sudden and heavy losses. The character of their agency is such, that no armed protection can be afforded them, no claim for security or compensation can be put in, on their behalf, to the Chinese government. Their cause cannot be defended even in argument, much less espoused and borne out by warlike measures. There is only one thing upon earth, they can claim from their government, and that is *money*. The power which has raised them up, and taken care to secure the lion's share of their profits, in all the times of their safety, is now bound to bear a liberal share of their losses in their day of adversity. Great Britain stands obliged by sheer justice, to take upon herself a generous division of the late losses, and beyond this, she owes no respect to the traffic, its authors, or conductors, whatever. The money must be counted down, and then the drug, in all its connections, must be swept from her path, at once and for ever. Their claims, their pretensions, their existence, must not stand for a moment longer, between her and her honor.

A distinct satisfaction being done, apart and by itself, to the sufferers of March, in pounds, shillings, and pence, Great Britain approaches, unembarrassed, her obligations to China. Into these, nothing pecuniary enters. Inroads upon a people's virtue, life and happiness, cannot be calculated or paid for, either in sycee or sterling. The past is irrevocable. Frank explanation, manly bearing of just so much censure as is merited, only, can be given; the rest is all prospective. As we are charged, in common with other opponents of the opium trade, with holding all sorts of absurd opinions upon this point — the satisfaction due from England to China — we take this occasion to state our real sentiments the more freely.

As concerns the Chinese government, and especially its imperial head, we hold, that so far as its action upon the opium springs from and evinces a sincere determination to check the fearful progression

of a popular vice, it merits respect and deference. Motives so honorable, even if they do not completely justify, yet should bar all hasty and hostile retaliations. At the same time, we are far from yielding to this government, unmingled commendation. Its merits are subject to some large deductions. It is evidently unenlightened on the subject of 'inefficacious punishments.' It cannot be said 'to love mercy rather than sacrifice.' It clings as closely as ever, to the theory now nearly exploded in the west, that crime is best guarded against by unmeasured punishments. Hence it has already loaded its people with so many odious bonds and penalties, to repress the favorite vice, that nothing but conscience probably keeps down insurrection. Another deduction must yet be made, which should not be overlooked by the moralist and the Christian. The authority which commands a public reformation from a long-practiced vice — universal abstinence from a darling luxury — is the very same, that shuts its people up, from the strongest motives, the most essential helps, to purity and virtue. The imperial proscriber of the opium traffic is also the proscriber of Christianity. Equal sincerity may perhaps animate both acts, but this neither excuses them, nor helps the case of the people. There is no propriety in commanding them to resist seduction, and in denying them, at the same time, the faith that overcomes the world, and fortifies the heart against temptation. It is asserting what all history, all revelation disprove, that there can be popular virtue without Christian motive or private piety.

Unquestionably, all sincere reformation must spring from enlarged knowledge, deep convictions, sincere repentance, in the erring party. And with the aid of Christian motive and the awe of just penalties, such might have been the true and lasting recovery from the national vice of China. No trenching on the popular liberty, no odious bonds, no unjust responsibilities, no harsh and murderous enactments would have disfigured such a reformation. Its effects would have been purely good; not as now, largely mixed with evil. Indeed the imperfect suppression of the traffic at this moment, while the commissioner still lingers near the provincial capital, makes it an easy inference, that his departure will be the signal of fresh importations. If so, of all this costly movement, only two partial fruits will remain:—the moral lesson 'read to Europe,' and the impression made on Chinese society. The first will not soon be forgotten. For the last, the smoker will resume his pipe; for new pleasures are not, new nerves cannot be, given him. The young, the aspiring, the uncontaminated, only, will eschew a vice, once fashionable and flattering,

but now odious, the mark of the informer, the surest disqualification for official honors.

The satisfaction due to the imperial author of this national movement, must, as we have said, be almost entirely prospective. He does not ask for any retroactive measures. Security against future importations is all that is demanded by China of Great Britain. The British government has not even an explanation to tender, unless so far as it deems them necessary to the vindication of its own honor. We hear it has already sanctioned that notice of Dec., 1838, by which the superintendent withdrew protection from the smuggling craft within the river. And when it comes to pronounce upon the notice of March 22d, by which the same officer, changing his ground, defended without the river, what he had denounced within, we cannot doubt, it will declare the distinction vain, and express regret that it was ever adopted. Indeed it has been, as we have said, already abandoned by its author; the notice of September 11th, being as full a disclaimer of the whole obnoxious traffic, outside and in, as could have come from the foreign office, or from the pencil of the commissioner. It remains only for the British government to sanction that official act, and to tender to the emperor such securities for the future abstinence of the E. I. Company and all private parties from growing or carrying the drug, as are consistent with the national usages.

The question then is, do British precedents permit the government to interfere to check the opium trade by making it penal for British subjects to carry the drug, and thus to satisfy the demands of China? We find an answer to this query, in the treaty, on the navigation of the Pacific, &c., concluded February, 1825, with Russia. After defining boundaries, granting free commerce, &c., the 9th Article adds—'the abovementioned liberty of commerce shall not apply to the trade in *spirituous liquors*, in fire-arms, or other arms, gunpowder or other warlike stores; the high contracting parties reciprocally engaging *not to permit the abovementioned articles to be sold or delivered in any manner whatever*, to the natives of the country.' Nor is Great Britain alone in these humane provisions. The United States (beside its treaty with Siam, in which opium is specified as prohibited, and its traffic forbidden to their citizens) has a similar treaty with Russia, on the same subject, dated April, 1824. By its Article 4, '*all spirituous liquors*, fire-arms, &c., are excepted from the commerce permitted by the preceding article; and the two powers engage reciprocally, *neither to sell or suffer them to be sold to*

the natives, by their respective citizens and subjects, nor by any persons under their authority.' Accordingly, congress acting on the right reserved under this treaty, to determine and inflict punishments for contravention of its articles, proceeded to fix, by act of May 19th, 1828, the penalties (fine and imprisonment) to be incurred by any persons so offending.

These remarkable compacts no doubt owe their existence to the working of mingled interest and compassion.* And since they have been entered into, for the sake of the scattered tribes on the north Pacific, and their petty traffic; they may be, for the Chinese people and intercourse with China. If they have been made to include spirituous liquors in their list of prohibitions, they may take in the more deadly drug, which has been intoxicating this empire. If these stipulations — these limitations on a gainful traffic — have been granted on the demand of the czar, they cannot be denied to the demand of the emperor. We hazard little in predicting that they will be conceded; that within a very short period, provisions equally broad and just will be applied to the matter in controversy with this empire. One point of difference between the cases will then have to be provided for. The Indian tribes were too feeble to enforce the system devised for their protection. China is more civilized and more powerful. A fair division of jurisdiction would have therefore to be agreed on; such for instance, as the reserving all offenses on the 'high seas' to the foreign, and leaving all committed in harbors, to the native, tribunals.

Securities like these, tendered by foreign governments to the Chinese (with such modifications as circumstances might be found to require) would surely go far to satisfy the imperial mind, and settle the pending controversy.† Until the tender is made, all retaliations and hostilities are, to say the least, permature; for it cannot be known that they are necessary. The offer involves no extermination of the poppy, as many would have us believe; no crusade against Turks,

* It is under the same humane and intelligent system, that the Hudson's Bay Company and the American Fur Company have been concerting and carrying out together, the gradual withdrawal of spirits from their hunting tribes.

† Compare, at least its influence with the present state of things, and the impressions thence resulting. 'The E. I. Company offering near 20,000 chests of opium for public sale, *for export by sea only*, and advancing on a further crop of the poppy;—2000 chests on its way from Bombay; 9000 to 10,000 more in store of the old crop; and more than 20,000 of the new, just gathered in Malwa.—Powerful vessels, British owned, plying on the Chinese coasts, showing such flags as they please, and to crown all, actively supplying their native associates with fire-arms and ammunition!' And with all this before the Chinese, *with the E. I. Company's advertisements in the hands of the commissioner*, we wonder, and resent

or Malwarrees; no breach of faith, law, or usage. Let the two great powers most interested in the matter, make the concession, and let time tell, if any other dare violate what they unite to respect, or refuse what they have conceded.

Supposing this satisfaction — these securities — once given, we close this article with a short reference to the further questions, most urgently claiming foreign interference. Taking the late occurrences as a guide, (and leaving out of sight the higher and ulterior privileges belonging to those cordial and equal relations, we are one day to have with China,) we confine our remarks to two points, the protection due to the foreign residents, and the security of the innocent among them, from implication with the guilty.

The protection due to the citizen while resident abroad, is one of the important and delicate parts of diplomatic provision. Three degrees of this may be noticed. One, where civilized nations, treating with each other, in mutual confidence, give up their citizens to each others municipal laws, without any reservation. This confidential footing is seen in the relation of the European states with the United States of America, and with each other. The second and almost opposite course is followed with respect to states half-civilized, whose police regulations are imperfect, and whose general administration of justice is not to be trusted. Thus the czar treating with the Ottoman Porte at Adrianople in 1829, stipulates, 'that Russian subjects shall live under the exclusive jurisdiction and police of the ministers and consuls of Russia:' and the United States, treating with the same power in May, 1830, make the only stipulation of the kind in their diplomatic code, that their citizens 'shall be tried by their minister or consul, and punished according to their offense, following in this respect, the usage observed towards other Franks.'

An intermediate degree of protection is sometimes secured, for examples of which we may cite the treaties of the United States, with Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. For instance the Article 21 of the treaty of 1786, with the first of these states provides: 'If a citizen of the United States should kill or wound a Moor; or on the contrary, if a Moor shall kill or wound a citizen of the United States,

his measures. It is said too that the governor-general will probably be empowered to coerce a settlement of the pending controversy. Can it be? Whatever chastisement China may deserve, are there none to administer it, but the monopolist growers of the opium? What justice could be looked for, were the most criminal of all the parties concerned, to be transferred from the bar to the bench, to measure and dispense it? No: let nothing of our delicate and important cause be given over to the Calcutta council, until the time come, so long predicted, when "the child may put his hand on the cockatrice's den."

the law of the country shall take place, and equal justice shall be rendered, the consul assisting at the trial.' And again, the 19th and 20th Arts. of the treaty of 1816 with Algiers provide, that 'any disputes that may take place, between the citizens of the United States, and the subjects of the regency of Algiers, shall be decided by the dey in person, and no other.' * * And—'if a citizen of the United States kill, wound, or strike a subject of Algiers (or the contrary), the law of the country shall take place, and equal justice be rendered, the consul assisting at the trial; but the sentence against an American shall not be more severe than against a Turk in the same predicament.'.

The second of these forms is, no doubt, that which all western governments will prefer, when once they address themselves to the work of making their people safe in China. And as the Portuguese have long been permitted to make and apply their own laws at Macao, no insuperable difficulty seems to lie in the way of the extension of the privilege to other foreigners. It is, at all events, much more easy of concession than those full diplomatic relations, which equalize the native and the foreigner — and which alone will ever induce western governments to give up their citizens to the unmitigated operation of the laws of this empire. If, however, some difficulty should oppose the introduction of both these modes, the third is sufficiently substantiated to admit of being tendered to this government; though without a trial, it seems probable, that the Chinese would rather turn foreigners over entirely to their own officers, than admit a joint exercise of judicial authority.

We have every reason to believe that neither Great Britain, nor any other power, will attempt to screen their people from the course of a steady, a somewhat severe justice in this county. Late events, however, make it impossible that they should longer neglect a due provision for that very end — the attainment of a calm and discriminating justice. The homicide of July has been the means (at once atrocious in itself and fortunate in its connection) of reviving the odious pretensions of the Chinese on this point, at a moment when public attention cannot but be turned toward China. It is enough, that Great Britain and the United States have each suffered one such occasion to pass unimproved; that each once looked on unmoved, and saw a subject die unjustly under the hands of the Chinese executioner. It is due in great measure to the firmness of the superintendent that the same scene has not been lately reënacted, and we feel sure, his superiors, though they may regret that his hostile posi-

tion interfered with the satisfactoriness of his trial, will fully support his exclusive jurisdiction over the homicide of July. It will be the unpardonable fault of the great powers in commerce with this country, if this long contested question be not now settled aright and for ever.

The second point, we have selected — the security of the innocent from implication with the guilty — touches on a remarkable feature of the Chinese polity — that of mutual responsibility. As a domestic question, we are not competent to argue upon it, much less to sit in judgmen tupon it. It is in theory capable of no defense, and all its justification even as a domestic affair, must arise solely out of the necessities of the government that enforces it, and of the social system, with which it is interwoven. In this point of view, the real question is — does the state of the administration and of the social system in this country, demand the mutual responsibility — or, in other words — is it the lesser of two evils — the only alternative from confusion and anarchy? The late Dr. Milne, commenting on this subject (translation of the Shing Yu p. 40), in connection with the atrocious severity of the Chinese statute of treasons, asks — 'may it not be, in a great degree owing to this singularly severe feature of the Chinese law, that their government has continued for so many ages unchanged, as to the radical principles and great lines of it?' We venture no answer to the question. It is not with the home bearing of the subject that we have to do, and it is clear enough, in any event, that its extension to the foreigner is wholly inadmissible. He can be controled, corrected, tried, punished, without such odious compromises of distributive justice. If the guilty man cannot be awed or punished, in his own person, for his own offenses, by Chinese law; he can be reached by his own country's pains and penalties. He needs not to be restrained, or made to suffer at second hand, through the medium of his unoffending relatives. It remains for the powers intrusted herein, to put a period to such unjust liabilities; tendering at the same time to the Chinese, such aid as may ensure the attainment in all cases, of the ends of substantial justice. We must not again see a community of innocent men and women, broken up and flying before edicts which hold them responsible for crimes committed at forty miles distance. The delicate female, the helpless child must not again expiate in flight and exposure, the atrocious brutalities of every drunken homicide. Unless Great Britain make the late proceedings, to which we refer, the occasion for procuring those securities, along with public and private satisfaction

for the wrongs sustained, she will release all her absent subjects from any further confidence in her sympathy or her protection. If war be ever justifiable in this age and under the dispensation wherein we live, the denial of such reparation, of security against such injuries, surely goes far to sanction its declaration.

Our limits forbid our entering further into the catalogue of rights, civil, commercial, and diplomatic, which has often been made out of late, for presentation to the court of Peking, as an ultimatum. To one only will we advert, and that because every day gives painful experience of its value, viz. the possession of a true copy of the Chinese fiscal code and tariff, under the sanction of the supreme authority. For the private merchant to obtain this, is, and has always been, impossible. He has never been able to gain such a definition of his duty. Even now, no diligence of inquiry, no sincerity of obedience, no sacrifices, can satisfy his own sense of right, or raise him above the taunts of the malicious. The time of public interference is now at hand, and the longer sufferance of this great abuse, will convict western governments, to say the least, of small regard either for the happiness of their people, or for their own honor.

Finally, we repeat our opinions, formed long ago, as to the mode of acting on this empire. *Every peaceful resort must be exhausted, before force is employed against China.* The cause of peace, the enlightened sentiments of the age, demand this; it is enforced by the recollection of the vast usurpations, already pushed forward by Europeans upon the soil of Asia. Military movements here must awaken the worst suspicions, and arm all there is of love of country, and pride of independence against their authors. Such movements, if strong enough for irritation and yet too weak for success, tend directly to force this government, upon the stricter exclusive policy of its eastern neighbor. If powerful enough to shake the Mantchou dynasty, they endanger the disruption of the political tie, and may let loose again the very demons of confusion and anarchy. Every reader of Chinese history, remembering those long reigns of terror, which abound in its ancient annals, will unite in warning western governments to be careful how they throw down a polity they cannot reconstruct, or seek to conquer what they cannot govern.

Here we have the Scylla and the Charybdis of foreign interference with China;—on the one hand—the introduction of an exclusion as rigorous as that of Japan; on the other—the overthow of the dynasty, and the substitution of lawlessness and anarchy. The first cannot but be deprecated by the friend of peaceful intercourse; the

second must awaken the far more serious alarms of every friend of humanity. Here is room for political wisdom to show itself, viz., in so steering, as to avoid these opposite dangers. The improbability that this degree of wisdom will be possessed by the conductors of ordinary military movements, or indeed by any single negotiator, sent hither, added to the love of peace, have made us long since feel and express a strong desire, that a combined mission from the western governments in commerce with China, should be the instrument selected for pressing their common suit at the bar of this empire. To this course, we have never heard an objection, except this, that western states cannot, and will not, move and work together. To this we reply, the cause is common; and peaceful unanimity in its pursuit cannot fail to make a deep impression. A joint guaranty against the violation of the Chinese territory, and a joint tender of a treaty like that we have already cited, are almost sure to disarm distrust and pave the way to confidence and freedom. Union is itself proof of disinterested aims, or at least, of aims resting on broad foundations, and not on the basis of national pride, cupidity or retaliation. If such union be not due to China, it is yet due, in our estimation, to western interests. Are these combined motives too abstruse, or too feeble to be felt and admitted by western cabinets? If they be, yet let generosity touch them, and while they exhaust every expedient for pacific success, they may rely, that if heaven will that the Ta Tsing dynasty be overthrown, it will provide a way for that end, in its haughty rejection of all advances; realising once more in the history of Taoukwang, the ancient saying, *quem Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*

It remains once more to advert to those purer principles, which are just beginning, in our day, to be recognised, as laws for public, as well as private conduct. The time is fast drawing on, when 'the spear shall be cut in sunder, and the war chariot burned in the fire.' The best, the divinely appointed agent of amelioration upon earth, is the Bible, and not the bayonet. It is still left in part to us, however, to employ or reject the proper instrument. Or rather it is permitted to men to do the part assigned to them by Providence, under motives worthy or unworthy, disgraceful or meritorious. So will it be in this exigency, and in this country. Western states will be used, as the instruments of certain predicted changes here, and these they will work out, as their real characters may be, from lofty and pure respects, or from cupidity, revenge, and ambition. There is a pure influence, a commanding superiority, in their keeping; and

if they are wise and good enough to use it, the work will be done, and done to their immortal honor in the sight of earth and heaven. But if these noble motives are thrust out by angry, selfish, and cruel passions, then however complete the success, no merit will attend, no blessing hallow, the instrumentality. As citizens of western states, as humble sharers in their failures or their triumphs, we earnestly hope and pray, that they will on this remarkable trial now before them, do their duty.

Note. It should be stated that this article was prepared for our December number; but was necessarily postponed.

ART. III. *Loss of the British bark Sunda, described by communications by survivors from the wreck, addressed to the editor of the Canton Press.*

SIR, On looking into your paper of the 14th inst., I saw an account of the melancholy loss of the bark under my command, and as that statement is not altogether correct, I hasten to give you an authentic account of the loss of that vessel. On the 7th of October, at 6 o'clock in the evening, the land of Tyloo was seen from the mast-head, bearing N. E. by N, distant about 35 miles; the weather at this time appeared very unsettled, the barometer falling fast, with all the appearances of an approaching gale of wind, which I prepared the vessel for, by furling topgallant-sails, courses, and jib, and double reefing the topsails; at 9 o'clock, the wind suddenly veered from N. N. W. to N. E. by E. and blew a strong gale; in attempting to close reef the topsails, they were both blown to pieces; also the fore topmast-staysail and mizen; the wind continued to increase, till three next morning, when it blew a perfect hurricane, accompanied with a tremendous sea; at 8 o'clock the wind abated a little, but the sea became more violent and tossing in all directions; at this time, the fore topmast and main topgallant-mast both went over the side, and sprung the main topmast; from this time the wind continued to abate, but it still blew a strong gale with a very heavy sea, until the morning of the 10th when it became moderate, the wind from the N. Eastward. All that day we were busily employed clearing away the wreck of the masts, and endeavoring to get the vessel into a working state, and getting new topmasts made. On the 11th, it continued fine, when we had succeeded in getting new sails bent, and the broken spars on board, and one new topmast ready to send up. At 4 in the afternoon, we saw the Taya Islands bearing W. S. W., distant about 8 miles, when finding there was not sufficient drift for the vessel till morning, I set the forcsail and run under the lee of one of

the islands, and brought up there. At this time 8 P. M., it was moderate weather, but at nine it began to blow, accompanied with a heavy swell; at eleven, it had increased to a gale; the vessel then began to drive with 90 fathoms of chain, I immediately gave her the whole chain being 120 fathoms, when she held on but capsized the windlass and started the bits from the deck; at one in the morning of the 12th, the chain parted about the hawse hole, and the vessel fell off with her head towards the coast of Hainan.

I then wore the ship round to the S. E., the wind at that time being about E. N. E. I then set the foresail and main trysail, and continued on the larboard tack, it blowing a heavy gale with a most frightful sea. At 3 A. M., the vessel touched the ground while in the hollow of a sea; I then set the square mainsail, the only remaining sail I had, when we deepened our water and kept off shore till five o'clock, when the vessel made a heavy plunge, burying her forepart into the sea as far as the foremast, carrying away the jibboom, fore topmast staysail, filling the forecastle with water, and washing everything off the deck; a short time after this, the main sheet broke and split the sail; I then gave up all hopes of being able to save the vessel, there being at this time five feet water in the hold, but kept reaching on with the foresail and main trysail, and anxiously looking for daylight. During all this time, the passengers were all in the cabin, I visiting them occasionally and comforting them in the best manner I could. At a little past five I discovered the land close to, to leeward, and extending to the S. E. about two miles, which part we were driving on; it appeared to be a very high rocky coast, and much like an island. I at this time communicated to the passengers our dangerous position, and my intention of bearing up, and running to leeward, in hopes that the land might prove an island with sufficient water between it and the shore to come too in, and if not, to run the vessel on the sandy beach which extended from it to the northward, for the preservation of our lives. At 5-30 kept the vessel away with the foresail; when within a quarter of a mile of the rocky coast, and two miles of the beach; during all this time it blew a heavy gale with a tremendous sea. In about fifteen minutes after keeping the vessel away she struck the ground, all hands were then employed clearing away the boats; we got the cutter on the booms ready for launching, when a heavy sea washed her off, and carried away the warp which had been passed aft from the lee bow, and made fast to her, to haul her up under the bow by, it being the most sheltered situation the position of the ship afforded; in endavoring to get the long-boat out, she was broken in pieces by the sea. About half an hour after the ship struck, the stern dead-lights were broken in, and the cabin filled with water; I then removed the passengers to the steerage in front of the poop, where I and part of the crew also took shelter; on failing to get the long-boat out, the rest of the crew took to the fore rigging. By this time, 8 A. M., the vessel had been driven much nearer the shore by the force of the sea, and had now begun to settle in the sand, the sea making a clear breach over her. About ten o'clock the companion of the steerage was washed away, when Mr. and Mrs.

McPherson with her female servant and myself, were washed out; I, in attempting to save Mrs. McPherson, had her infant child washed out of my arms which went overboard, and myself washed into the lee main rigging; we all succeeded now with great difficulty in gaining the poop and mizen rigging, excepting poor Mrs. McPherson and her servant, who were washed to the mainmast; Mr. McPherson in attempting to reach Mrs. McPherson, was washed forward to the main hatchway, and at the same time Mrs. McPherson and servant were washed into the body of the vessel, where they all remained but a short space, when they were washed overboard; the other passengers, myself and part of the crew, remained in the mizen rigging till 3 P. M., when the sea fell considerably, and after many vain attempts we succeeded in gaining the fore rigging: at this time the vessel began to work very much and soon became a total wreck. We continued on the wreck till evening, when I had no hopes of her holding together during the night; and thought the only chance of saving our lives would be by trying to get on shore before dark; there appearing at that time a current setting in shore, the cargo drifting rapidly towards it, we all succeeded in reaching the shore on pieces of the wreck; excepting Mr. Ilbery, Mr. Magnelius, and one of the crew, who were drowned in the attempt: six others of the crew remained in the foretop, Mr. Newbery being the only passenger who reached the shore in safety. On reaching the beach, we were surrounded by great numbers of natives, armed with hatchets and large knives, who were all busy plundering whatever came on shore, and carrying it into the country. At dark I succeeded by means of my cook who was a Chinaman, in prevailing on one of the natives, to conduct us to a place of shelter; he took us to a joss-house about four miles from the beach, where we remained for the night. The next morning, at daylight, I and my crew went down to the beach, to endeavor to get the remaining part of the crew on shore; on reaching it, we found that the ship still held together, but the main and mizen-mast had both gone during the night, and the sea still continued so high that all communication between the shore and the wreck was impossible, and continued so during the day. I then endeavored to learn from the natives if any of the bodies had been cast on shore, as none of them could be found by us, after searching the beach for several miles. I learned from them that one had been cast on shore, and to which they conducted me; it proved to be that of Mr. McPherson, which they had buried. This night we slept in a small hut on the beach; at daylight, I and my crew walked down to the beach; the weather was now quite moderate with very little sea; a great number of natives had got on board the wreck, and thousands of them were on the beach. At this time those of the crew who had remained in the top, got on shore on rafts constructed of broken pieces of the wreck. I now finding it was impossible to save any part of the cargo which drifted on shore, the natives being so numerous, determined on attempting to reach the wreck, and endeavor to save the treasure, and keep possession of it until some of the authorities might appear, the natives being under no control.

In the evening I succeeded in taking a boat from them, and myself, the doctor, and three of the crew got into her, and got on board of the wreck, and drove the natives from on board, and kept possession of it during the night. Next day the weather continued very fine, and finding that I had not a sufficient number of the crew with me to protect the treasure, as boats from several junks which had come and anchored close by, had attempted several times to come on board. I sent the boat on shore for part of the crew which were on the beach; on sending the boat several of the crew got in, and Mr. Newbery, who was with them, came on board. I sent the boat a second time for the doctor, and two others who were still on the beach. On the boat reaching the shore the natives swam out and cut the rope which had been made fast to her from the wreck to haul her off by, and took possession of her. I was now left with Mr. Newbery and three of the crew on the wreck, without any means of communicating with the shore. At 5 P. M. it began to blow fresh with a heavy swell from seaward; by ten o'clock it had increased to a gale; we were at that time obliged to leave the after part of the wreck and get forward, as the sea was washing over it. At eleven the wreck broke in two, and the poop part drifted several hundred yards from the forepart. The scene was now most terrific, as the sea had full power on the upper part of the wreck, and was tearing it to pieces. Soon after the foremast went over the side, and in a short time there was nothing left but the stem and part of the bows. Mr. Newbery, my carpenter, and I were standing in the head protected a little from the sea by the night heads, from which place I was washed about midnight. I was fortunate enought to get on shore but I scarcely know how, with my body most frightfuly cut and bruised by the broken pieces of wreck. I lay on the beach till daylight, when I succeeded in getting to the joss-house by the assistance of the crew who came to the beach. From the report of a sailor who was also washed on shore, it appears that on my being washed off the wreck, Mr. Newbery and the carpenter left that part and got on to the mainmast, which was still fast to the wreck by the rigging, and that a piece of wreck passed over his (the sailor's) head, and on looking round, Mr. Newbery, the carpenter, with another seaman, had disappeared, and there was no doubt but that they were carried off by the piece of wreck mentioned.

Next morning, Mr. Newbery and the carpenter's bodies were found twelve miles to the northward of the wreck, at which place they were buried; two days after the vessel broke up, there was not a vestige of the wreck to be seen, as what was not floated out to sea, was broken up by the natives and carried into the country. I remained with my crew at the joss-house three days, when two mandarins visited me, and next day we commenced our journey to Canton. I am happy to say that on our travels from Hainan, we were very hospitably entertained by the Chinese and kindly provided, by the mandarins of the different cities I visited, with provisions for myself and crew, and also conveyances for those who were not able to walk, until I arrived at Canton, where after a few days detention, I had an interview with the yun-

chae who was very familiar and kind, in sending presents of five large roasted pigs, and an immense number of loaves; and on our being dismissed, he gave orders for two boats to be provided for the crew, one for myself and officers, and other two for a mandarin and linguist who were to conduct us to Tungkoo, where we arrived on the 19th instant, after a lapse of 59 days from leaving the wreck.

I beg also that you insert in your paper, that I and my crew are grateful to the American gentlemen resident in Canton, and more particularly to Mr. Snow, the consul, W. Delano, esq., and the houses of Russell & Co., and Wetmore and Co., for their prompt and kind administering to our several wants on our arrival at that place, and their unabated kindness during our stay there.

Dr. Hill's account of the visit of the survivors to the commissioner, we also extract from the Canton Press.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 14th ultimo, we were requested by one of the linguists to proceed immediately to the consoo house, as his highness the imperial commissioner intended honoring us with a visit that afternoon. On reaching the head of Old China street, we found a large concourse of people assembled in the neighborhood of the consoo house, and numerous palanquins entering its interior, where several officers and most of the hong-merchants had already assembled. Several American gentlemen were likewise in attendance, anxious to get a sight of the great yumchae. After waiting, however, for nearly two hours we were informed that his highness would not honor us with his presence that afternoon, but that in all probability we would be admitted to an audience on the following Monday. On Sunday afternoon one of the linguists called, and said that the yumchae wished to see us within the city early on the following morning, whither he requested us to be in readiness to proceed by eight o'clock.

Accordingly, after partaking of an early breakfast, we went to the consoo house, when we were told that the hong-merchants had already gone on before us. Without loss of time, therefore, we marshaled ourselves in pairs, and marched towards the city, escorted by the linguists and a motley group of attendants. Shortly after entering the city gates, we found the streets lined on both sides with soldiers, presenting rather a formidable appearance. We were conducted to a large joss-house or temple dedicated to the Queen of Heaven, distant about 300 yards from the gates, the outer court-yard of which was completely filled with palanquins and horses belonging to the mandarins and hong-merchants already in attendance. After waiting for about an hour, we were told that the commissioner had gone to breakfast with the governor, immediately after which he would visit us. On this the linguists took the opportunity of redoubling their exertions in order to persuade us to bend the knee to his highness, which we still persisted in refusing to their great mortification. They said "this not all same one other day. To-day yumchae all same emperor, all that mandarin have come, all that hong-merchant, must crook foot litty." About ten o'clock, a considerable bustle was observed at

the outer gate of the temple, occasioned by the coming of the treasurer and one of the judges, at whose approach the hong-merchants and linguists simultaneously bent the knee. The tedium of waiting so long was somewhat relieved by the conversation of the linguists and their assistants, one of whom appeared a very intelligent young man, and had been in London for nearly eight years along with the late Mr. Elphinstone. He speaks English remarkably well, much better, indeed, than any Chinese whom I have ever met with, and I regret much that he did not act as our interpreter with the yumchae, as Atung stammered so much, and was so flurried, that we had great difficulty in understanding him.

A lady likewise came to present an offering to the Queen of Heaven, a short account of the ceremony attending which may not be unacceptable to some of your readers. The offering was first placed upon the altar, and consisted of a roasted pig, boiled fowl, pork chops, a plate of crabs, two plates of ornamented cakes, two plates of oranges, one pot of spirits, one pot oil, and a quantity of incense paper. The oil was then poured into a large lamp, which is constantly kept burning, when the lady bowed three times, knelt three times, at the same time kissing the ground, she then burned the incense paper, while an attendant beat a gong. She then knelt and kissed the ground three times, presented the priests with a cumshaw of fifty cash, and removed the offering, already somewhat diminished by the hands of one of our boys, who made love to some of the cakes.

About the hour of eleven o'clock, the firing of cannon, beating of gongs, and shouting of a host of ragamuffin attendants announced the approach of the yumchae, upon which the hong-merchants arranged themselves in a row upon one side, and the linguists with their assistants on the opposite, in readiness to receive him, while the the mandarins proceeded to an inner apartment behind the temple. Our party at the same time went inside the temple, where we conveniently obtained a peep of his highness without being observed. Four palanquins containing the commissioner, governor, lieut.-governor, and hoppo, now proceeded up the court-yard in the order mentioned. The commissioner first made made his exit, upon which the hong-merchants, linguists, &c., prostrated themselves for a short time, his highness at the same time bowing most condescendingly. The same ceremony was repeated towards the others in succession, differing only in the length of time during which they remained on their knees, in the latter cases being only for an instant. In about ten minutes we were informed that his highness was ready to receive us, when we were conducted to the hall of audience, situated behind and to the left of the temple, though forming part of the same range of buildings; it consists of a large quadrangular room, having a small recess at its upper part in which were placed two tables covered with books, papers, &c. Several mirrors and a few paintings were arranged round the walls, and from the roof two crystal chandeliers were suspended; at the sides were two tables and a few chairs, and the floor was covered with an English carpet. The yumchae was seated at the upper part of the room, having the

governor on his right, the lieut.-governor on his left, and the hoppo second on his right, also seated. The treasurer sat on the right side of the room, and one of the judges on the left. In person the yumchae is rather stout and short, and apparently about 45 years of age, his countenance has rather a pleasant expression, with a small, dark, and piercing eye, and a fine intelligent forehead. His voice is strong, clear, and sonorous; he was very plainly dressed, while the other dignitaries were invested with all their insignia of office.

On being conducted into his presence, we uncovered, and made a polite bow, which he returned, and immediately after commenced the conversation. He began by stating his regret at our melancholy shipwreck, and hoped that we had been treated kindly by the different mandarins on our journey to Canton. He then asked when we left England? And whether any account of the disturbances in China had reached England previous to our departure? When and where did we first hear of them? How many days' sail is Anjier from China? Whether it is usual for vessels to call there on their way to China? What was the nature, and value of our cargo? And whether the vessel had been to China before? He then said that he was very sorry on account of the differences which at present existed between England and China. That for the last 200 years, the Chinese and English had been on the most friendly terms, during which time everything had gone on smoothly for the interest of both. He regretted that these happy days had fled, and would rejoice to see them back again. The English had caused these disturbances by deluging the country with opium, the importation of which, they knew to be strictly prohibited by the Chinese law. He then dwelt at considerable length on the injurious effects of the use of opium on the system, and the iniquity of our introducing it into China being doubly aggravated from our knowledge of the severe penalty inflicted upon those found making use of it, or in any way engaged in its traffic. He then mentioned the dreadful extent to which it had increased of late years, and the determination of his sovereign to put a stop to it. That he had been sent down by the emperor for that purpose, and was firmly resolved not to return until he had effectually done so. (Here he became very animated.) He was well aware, he said, of the handsome profits made by us upon other articles of merchandise, and why should we not be content with those, but introduce a poisonous drug? He would appeal to our own hearts, if it was not a monstrous crime to engage in the opium trade? He was certain that the gods could not approve of it, and that the conscience of any one engaged in it would never allow him to be at peace on this earth. He then instanced the melancholy fate of Mr. M * *, and said that other similar cases were not uncommon. In order to show us the iniquity of the opium trade, and its increase during the last few years, he handed us Mr. Thelwall's pamphlet, and a work upon China, from which the titlepage was torn (Davis' I think), a few extracts from which he requested us to read. Several portions of both works were translated into Chinese, and pasted on the corresponding pages. He

also had five or six E. I. Company's cards, showing the quantity of opium sold during the season. One of them which he handed us was marked Patna opium 12,046 (?) chests. March 1839, and signed, Trotter.

He next adverted to the murder of his countryman, Lin Weihe, and expressed his great dissatisfaction at the murderer's not having been delivered up. He could not conceive how we were unable to find out the murderer, especially as we knew five men who were engaged in the affray, and one of whom he said, ought in justice to be delivered up to atone for the murder. He next alluded to captain Warner's having come up to Whampoa in the Thomas Coutts, and asked, why others had not done so. His own impression was that captain Elliot was afraid of the officers and crews being beheaded, and the property confiscated, which we would perceive was entirely groundless, as we were then completely in his power, and he had not the slightest wish to do us any injury, but on the contrary had the greatest compassion for us, and wished to deliver us in safety to our own countrymen. He would like to see all our vessels at Whampoa, but they could not now be permitted to go up, even although they signed the bond, until he received further orders from Peking. He had not the slightest enmity towards the English, but only towards those of them engaged in the opium trade. No distinction would be made between them and the Chinese, if caught with it in their possession. Hitherto, we had been dealt leniently with, but now no mercy would be given, as he was determined to put a stop to it at all hazards. He then alluded to captain Elliot's conduct, with which he was by no means pleased. "At Macao," he said "captain Elliot very proper man, at Canton no proper." He then asked if we had heard any reports in Canton as to the state of his health, as he had been informed that in Tungkoo it was currently reported of his being in a very bad state of health, and not likely to survive many days, upon which he laughed most immoderately, and asked what we thought of the state of his health? When we congratulated him upon his robust appearance, with which he was highly delighted. He then handed us a letter addressed to the queen of England, written in their usual high flowing strain, at which I could scarcely command my gravity, which he observing, immediately asked if it was all proper? We said that it was only a few mistakes at which we smiled, whereupon he requested us to take it into an adjoining room and correct any errors we might find in it, and whither tea and refreshments would we sent us. The letter was a pretty long one, and written in a fair legible hand with a hair pencil. The subject of it was principally a lengthened disquisition on the opium trade, and its evil effects, and a hope that H. B. majesty would interfere and assist in putting a stop to it. Some parts of it we could make neither head nor tail of.

During the time we were engaged in the perusal of the letter, the crew got a blow out of roast pig, &c., with four of which we were presented on our departure. On our return to the hall of audience, we found the yumchae and the other dignitaries seated round a circular table, having divested themselves of most of their insignia of office. They were amusing them-

selves with one of our boys (who was likewise a good deal taken notice of by several of the mandarins on our journey), and asking him a number of questions such as the following: his name, age, were his father and mother alive, was he fond of the sea? &c. They likewise made him read a page or two of English, at which they were highly pleased. He then asked the names of the places from whence the different kinds of opium were brought, and requested me to write them down for him which I did. On mentioning Turkey, he asked if it did not belong to America? Or form part of it? And seemed a good deal astonished on being told that it was nearly a month's sail distant. During the rest of the time he remained standing, as also did the viceroy, &c., and conversing with us with the greatest familiarity, and laughing and joking with his friends about the different parts of the English costume, which he minutely examined. He seemed highly amused with our chief officer, and desired his secretary to show him round, first in one direction and then in another, in order to get a proper view of him, when he put on his spectacles and "hey-yaad" at a great rate. He lastly informed us that boats were in readiness to convey us to our countrymen at Tungkoo, to whom he hoped we would give a favorable report of him, which we promised to do; he then "chin-chinned" us and bade us good-bye.

ART. IV. *Commands of the emperor, in reply to the engagement at Chuenpe on the 3d November, and approving of the entire stoppage of British trade.*

IN answer to a joint memorial, addressed to the emperor, on the 21st of November, detailing the circumstances of engagements with English ships-of-war at Chuenpe and at Hongkong, the following commands, in the imperial handwriting were received, on the 3d of January, 1840.

"The imperial pleasure on this subject shall be hereafter declared. Respect this."

And, in the form of marginal comment on the memorial:

"This is in the highest degree praiseworthy."

On the words, "The admiral himself remained standing by the mast,"—it is remarked, "He should not have done so, lest the dignity due to his station be lost sight of."

On the words, "If they become repentant, they may be allowed to turn again,"—it is remarked, "Such violence will not be found well adapted for long continuance."

On the words, "Then strengthening our force, and making firm our bulwarks, we quietly waited for them, and like them also took our stand upon our strength,"— it is remarked: "The views taken were very right; in the proceedings there cannot, however, but have been a tendency to raise opposition."

On the words, "Those obeying the laws, are drawn to us; *those who break them are repelled,*"* it is remarked: "Though there be exhibited the different dispositions of dutiful compliance and contumacious resistance, yet the men being all of the *same nation,* matters should not have been so arranged."

On the words, "We commanded our subordinates to find out whither she (the Royal Saxon) had gone, and bring her up to Whampoa,"— * * * (the remark seems to be intentionally omitted, for the reason that it is incorporated in the full reply which follows.)

Despatch from the court to Lin, Tăng, and Kwan (the commissioner, the governor, and the admiral), covering, under date of the 13th of December, the following imperial commands:

"Lin and his colleagues have reported the circumstances of engagements had with foreign vessels. We have duly perused and are well informed upon the contents of their report.

"The English foreigners, since ever it was resolved to put a stop to the opium trade, have been twisting and turning, and changing inconstantly. Previously to this, having audaciously presumed to commence firing, they afterwards, when sharp-cutting proclamations were issued, turned about and made a pretence of being dutiful and compliant. But, again, they joined to them vessels-of-war, and sought occasion to take revenge. At that time, again, they met with condign punishment; but their trade was not immediately cut off altogether, so that our terrors failed to be carried home to them.

"On this occasion, Smith, in his cruizer (the Volage), again dared to come forward and commence firing; and, upon the public stream,† assumed possession of a place of cover for himself, whence, six several times, he gave battle. Our forces successively came off victorious; and from Hongkong they drove away all the foreign vessels.

"Had the bond been given, 'twere yet hard to insure that there would not have been some twisting and turning. Now, when there has

* So underlined by the emperor. (Copyist's note.)

† There are some doubts regarding this rendering. It has been otherwise rendered, "and, at Kwanyung, assumed a place of cover for himself, and six several times, gave battle." Kwanyung is a military post near to Hongkong. *Translator.*

been such repeated opposition; should a continuance of trade be allowed them, it would be highly inconsistent with the requirements of dignity. And as to the petty, trifling, duties, how can they merit a moment's calculation or discussion!

"Our dynasty, keeping in peaceful and quiet order the outer foreigners, has most richly imbued them with its favors. These foreigners, by their ignorance of the claims of gratitude, and their unruly resistance of those over them, have shown, to the conviction of all, whether within or without the empire, that the wrong is on their side, and the right on our's. It being so, what pity can be felt, when they thus put themselves out of reach of the means of living and increasing?

"Let Lin and his fellows, taking into consideration existing circumstances, put a stop at once to the trade of the English nation. Whatever ships there be of the said nation, let them immediately drive out and expel the port. It is unnecessary to take bonds from them. And the murderer, whose blows caused the death of one of our people, let them not care to demand the delivery of. Towns' ship (the Royal Saxon) they need no longer seek after.

"Let them also issue to all nations a proclamation, plainly making known to them the several acts of guilt committed; and let them promulgate these to all foreigners, that they may understand that the English have alienated themselves from the celestial empire; that the thing affects none of those other nations; and that so long as these continue dutifully to comply, they shall still be allowed to carry on their trade; but that if they dare to give shelter to the English, and introduce them into the port, so soon as such conduct shall be discovered, they shall meet condign punishment.

"To the important places of passage along the coast, and the islands not far removed from the foreign ports, let Lin and his colleagues, weighing their several importance and necessities, dispatch in secrecy officers and troops, for the strict defense and protection thereof. Let them not permit the least degree of remissness.

"The conduct of the admiral, Kwan, on this occasion,—the bravery with which he advanced foremost, leading on the forces in his own person, is in the highest degree worthy of praise. In reward thereof, let the title of *Fahailinga Pátulu** be conferred on him;

* "These words are in the imperial handwriting." (Copyist's note.) They are two Tartar words, the precise meaning of which is unknown to the translator. *Pátulu* is an honorary distinction, conferred on military men, and somewhat resembles our knighthood. *Fahailinga* is the adjunct, distinguishing one Pátulu from another.

and at the same time let the Board of War consider liberally what shall be done in reward and encouragement of his meritorious conduct. The officers engaged in the affair and who exerted themselves,—upon a statement regarding them being presented to us,—we will graciously reward. Let Lin and his colleagues also send to the Board a statement of the killed and wounded in the action, that they may receive the treatment enacted by law. Make known all these commands. Respect this."

In respectful obedience the above is forwarded in this dispatch.

ART. V. *Naval battle of Nov. 3d at Chuenpe described, in a communication written by an eye-witness. Extracted from the Singapore Free Press, Nov. 28th,* 1839.

SIR,—As the public mind of India must be deeply interested in the present posture of our affairs in relation to the Chinese empire, and matters having been driven, as you will learn, to that extent where supineness can no longer exist,—I feel the ideas of one upon the spot, who has no further interest in the matter than the sustainment of his own national honor, and so far as his consistent with that, the maintenance of all international rights—I feel, I say, that such ideas may be entitled to a place in your excellent journal.

A collision has taken place between the force of her majesty protecting the trade of her subjects, in this part of the world, and such power as the local government of this part of China could collect to resist that force.

The public press of the country will inform you, that negotiations had been going on between captain Elliot, her majesty's chief superintendent of trade here, on the one part; and the high commissioner of the emperor of China on the other. You will be, by the same medium, moreover informed, that these negotiations had so far advanced on either side, that the British inhabitants had deemed themselves secure in returning to Macao; when the commissioner thought fit to turn round, break from every previous arrangement, and require such terms, as honor and humanity should for ever forbid us for a moment to listen to; and had accompanied such requisition with threats, which his previous acts clearly point out to us, he wants not

the will; however deficient he may be in the power, to enforce. These threats consisted in driving away from a neutral territory such British inhabitants as dared to remain there — the Portuguese territory of Macao. To fullfil which, 800 Chinese troops were collected and encamped at the Barrier, separating Macao from the Chinese territory. He required, that a man should be handed over, guilty or not, to be put to death in expiation of an unfortunate homicide, which occurred here in July last. He required a recognition on the part of the British government here, of a bond, which it should be necessary that the master and crew of merchant ships trading here should sign — the nature of which bond was, that they, or any of them, should be put to death, and the vessel and property confiscated, should any particle of opium be found on board the ship, and that under such terms, they should proceed to Whampoa to trade; having previously submitted to such search as he might order; and in case of non-compliance with these orders, he stated, that unless the ships left the country within three days, measures should be taken for their destruction by fire.

Now, surely, these were terms that could not be endured, much less submitted to: though the Thomas Coutts had gone up, signing the bond, and even had expediency pointed out a temporary acquiescence in the signature of such bond, it is with reason believed, he only wanted to get within his power sufficient life and property to insist upon the other, and more atrocious conditions. It was on all hands agreed, that no act of the government should place within his power the British lives and shipping.

Well, unless we complied, he had threatened to destroy our fleet. We knew well, that on the ocean our small force rode triumphant over all the power that he could collect, but we also knew, that his war-junks were passing and repassing with impunity, and perhaps congregating in some spot, unknown to us, whence in the darkness and silence of night, they might pour upon our dense and compact fleet, and throw their fire ships on us, with vast destruction of property and life.

Such an idea could not be tolerated, and consequently on the morning of Saturday, the 2d of November, her majesty's ships Volage and Hyacinth, anchored off Chuenpe, distant from the Bocca Tigris, the entrance to the Canton river, about seven or eight miles. Captain Elliot the superintendent of trade, went up in the Volage. A letter was dispatched by captain Smith of the Volage to the Chinese admiral, with an enclosure for Lin, the imperial high commissioner,

requiring him to withdraw his chop threatening the annihilation of the British fleet, and also to allow the British inhabitants to remain unmolested at Macao, until such time as the two governments might arrange the larger questions at issue. Now surely, no one could imagine any thing unreasonable in these requests. The letter was taken on board the admiral's ship, which was lying below the Bocca forts, with from 30 to 40 war junks, by a commissioned officer of the Volage, accompanied by Mr. Morrison, first interpreter to the commission. They were received politely by the admiral, who took the letter, and stated that an answer should be sent on the morrow. In the evening, a boat approached the ship, and asked permission to come alongside, which was granted, and it proved to contain a Chinese linguist and pilot, who said they had come from Canton, and that a proper chop in reply to capt. Smith's was on board the admiral's ship, and requested that Mr. Morrison should go and fetch it. This of course was not acceded to, and without further communication they were dismissed, asking, if they would be again allowed alongside during the night, which was assented to. They did not, however, come till the following morning, when they came out in a larger boat, and again from her in a smaller one, to the Volage. They now stated the chop to be in the larger boat, again requesting it might be sent for, which was again declined. They returned to the boat, finding all to fail, and brought it themselves. They brought it, and what was it? Why, the identical dispatch which had been sent from the Volage, returned apparently as it was sent! While this was going forward, we observed the Chinese fleet to be getting under way, and standing towards us, and at the same time the Royal Saxon was passing us, apparently going through the Bocca, as we had previously learnt was her intention; being an English ship, a shot was fired across her bow, on which she hove to, and anchored. The Chinese fleet were still standing towards us, and both the Queen's ships rapidly weighed anchor, and were under commanding sail. The messengers were again dispatched with the original letter, and as the movement of the fleet could be taken as nothing less than a hostile demonstration, a letter was sent to the admiral peremptorily requiring him to return to his usual anchorage. To this he quickly replied that no terms could be maintained until the homicide was delivered over to the Chinese. This was an awful answer; and an anxious moment. What was there to be done? The junks picked up a berth in line, along the line of coast, stretching to the southward from Chuenpe point. The number of war-junks here anchored was 16;

and they had outside of them, that is between themselves and H. M. ships, 13 vessels as fire-rafts, each with a black flag flying.

Could the British authorities, with the threat of annihilation before them — could they, with the recollection of all the wrongs, and the insults, and hardships, which, during the last six months, had been indiscriminately heaped upon their fellow subjects — could they, in the recollection of the murderous, and piratical act, which but a few weeks before, had been committed on the Black Joke, under the favor if not the counsel of the mandarins, as there is reason to believe — in the recelliction of the burning of the Spanish brig, under the impression that she was British; of the barbarous treatment of her crew, under the same impression — could they, I say, under all these circumstances, withdraw, to leave the Chinese government to work out its plans for our destruction — to return to our fleet, with all this unnoticed, and unchastized?

Surely not. The moment had arrived, that we must either have basely succumbed, and told the fleet they must remove, that we could not protect them; or the dreadful alternative of proving to these people, in the only way they seemed capable of taking a proof, the power of our arms. Every attempt at conciliation had been made, and each in its turn had failed. The latter alternative was only left to us, and the firing began.

The first vessel to receive our fire was one of their fire-rafts; we threw a few shot upon her in passing, and in a few seconds observed her to settle in the water, and almost immediately go down. One of the war-junks was now on the beam of the Volage, and fired a couple of guns at her, which passed over. These we immediately returned, several of the shot telling on the junk, and almost instantly we heard an explosion, and on looking round saw through the envelope of the smoke, the fragments of the unfortunate junk, floating as it were in the air. She had blown up. When the smoke cleared somewhat off, out of whatever number she might have had on board, we could see but three about the wreck. When blown up she was not distant from the Volage more than fifty yards. Pieces of the wreck fell on board, and the cover of the pinnace was set on fire. A boat was sent to save what offered on the wreck — but was fired at by the Chinese, and returned. The Hyacinth came in astern of the Volage, passed her, and got among the denser part of the junks. And an awful warning they must have had from her, of her force! The firing was now indiscriminate upon any vessel where the guns would tell, and the admiral got his full share; more particularly from the

Hyacinth, she being further to the northward, and nearer to him. Vast destruction of life not being so much the object, as a wholesome chastisement, the Volage kept more to the southward, to prevent the junks escaping in that direction, and drive them back to the anchorage, to which in the morning they had declined to go; but towards which by this time, they were all too glad to get, by every means in their power. The first shot or two, was the signal to many of them to be off, but the admiral and a few others kept their station longer, firing with more spirit than we had been generally led to expect. Their guns and powder must have been good from the distance they carried, but not being fitted for elevation or depression, all their shot were too high to have any effect, except on the spars and rigging. The Volage got some shot through her sails, and the Hyacinth was a good deal cut up in her rigging and spars; a twelve pound shot lodged in her mizen mast, and one went through her main-yard, requiring it to be secured. Their wretched gunnery hurt no one. The firing commenced about twelve, and at one, they were all sunk, dispersed, or flying. About one the Hyacinth was ranging up alongside the admiral, and would soon have sunk him. The chastisement was already severe, and she was recalled.

The result of the whole was, three junks sunk, one blown up, many deserted, and the rest flying. The last that was seen of the admiral's junk, she was standing in for the land, and apparently settling in the water. But those on board would reach the shore. It is to be hoped the lesson they have had has not been given them in vain. The ships moved to Macao for the security of the defenseless inhabitants there. On the morning of Monday, the Volage went to Hongkong to the merchants fleet, leaving the Hyacinth at Macao. At Kowlung, a neighboring bay to Hongkong, they have been erecting batteries.

On Sunday evening an attack was made upon some of the officers of the merchant ships—the evening of the day of their chastisement, when they could not have heard of the affair of the Bocca, and the mate of the Shaw Allum was stabbed in two parts of the head.

On the whole we trust that an earnest has been given to them of what we can and may do. Still, many rumors are afloat, the truth or untruth of which can only be disclosed by the progress of time. Much might be said on the general state of matters here. But I look upon the late affair as in many points distinct from them, and involving other considerations. I am sir, your obedient servant,

A British Subject.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences; review of the month; captain Elliot's correspondence with the governor of Macao; destruction of a village; Mr. Gribble arrives in Canton; dispatch from Peking; a Chinese killed in Macao; notices of blockade; Mr. Gribble released; naval preparations; smuggling on the coast; Spanish envoy; new governor of Canton.*

JANUARY, 1840, has passed without any essential amelioration of public affairs, and without opening any fairer prospects. There is now, at the close of the month, an apparent calm, but nothing is settled except the determination to persist. Long ago, in view of the unsatisfactory state of relations between this and other governments, negotiations directly with the court were strongly recommended. What now is to be done? Will petitions or force avail aught for good here? Have they done this during the last year? Towards the annihilation of the traffic in opium, what has been accomplished? If opposition is provoked, and hostilities are gendered, what can be done? We do not believe the Chinese desire an extinction of any part of the foreign trade — except only that in opium; but while *that is* being *forced* on them, as it now is, will they, can they, or *ought* they, to remain quiet? The Chinese believe, or affect to believe, that this traffic is countenanced by the British government. If this belief is unfounded, and can be made to appear so to them; and if, further, the Chinese can have assurance that the British government (after an adjustment of present difficulties) will coöperate with them in just and honorable measures for the suppression of all smuggling; will they not gladly renew that *ching king mow yih*, now declared extinct? We should rejoice to see a negotiator at Teëntsin, prepared equally to give and to ask what is just and honorable. We are heart-sick with sad tales of petty annoyances, outrages, and all *the etc.*, with which every day is filled.

Wednesday 1*st*. The British chief superintendent "driven to ask permission in the name of her Britannic majesty, to deposit the remainder of British cargoes in the warehouses of Macao, upon the payment of the duties fixed by the regulations of the place." The request was not granted. See Canton Register, Jan. 28th.

Under this date a correspondent writes, "In Tungkwan, the district east of the Bogue, was a village called Wankeächun, many of whose inhabitants had long been known as daring adventurers in the smuggling of opium. Although in the neighborhood of the commissioner's residence, yet they relaxed not in their contraband proceedings. About a week ago, the commissioner was informed that at Wankeächun a large amount of the drug was stored up. He immediately dispatched a body of soldiers to seize the whole, and bring the smugglers to justice; but they were met by the villagers and completely routed in open combat. When his excellency heard of this, he forthwith ordered several hundred more soldiers to proceed to the place, and to take or kill every opposer and burn every dwelling. The villagers, hearing that so large a force was marching upon them, deserted their houses and fled. The soldiers, after indiscriminate plunder, set the whole town on fire, and Wankeächun, once containing two hundred houses and one thousand inhabitants, no longer exists."

2*d*. Mr. Gribble, whose seizure off Chuenpe was noticed in our last, arrived at Canton, in a sedan, was shortly after taken into the city, judged and pronounced a "good Englishman," and sent to the consoo house to await a second examination.

3*d*. A dispatch was received, by the high officers, from court, approving the entire stoppage of the British trade. See page 486.

5*th*. Early this evening a Chinese was killed by an Italian sailor in Macao, who was immediately arrested and imprisoned by the Portuguese. The following proclamation, issued in Canton, we copy from the Register.

Lin high imperial commissioner, viceroy of the two Keäng provinces, &c., Tang, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, &c., E, a

vice-president of the Board of War, lieutenant-governor of Kwangse, &c., hereby conjointly proclaim to all men that they may thoroughly know and understand:

Whereas on the 19th year of Taoukwang, 11th month, and 29th day (January 13th), we received an imperial edict to the following effect:—

[A part of the dispatch given on page 487 is here quoted; after which their excellencies again proceed.]

We, the commissioner, viceroy, and fooyuen, having with deep respect received the imperial commands, find that the English superintendent Elliot has many times disobeyed and opposed the laws, and been constantly shifting and changing. We (the aforesaid high officers) had already made our clear report to the great emperor, that from the first day of the 11th month (December 6th, 1839), we had stopped the English trade, and now we have again respectfully received a fresh imperial edict, commanding us to draw up a statement of the said English nations's crimes, and disseminate it among the foreigners of all other countries, and at the same time to drive out their ships, not permitting them to cast anchor in the Chinese seas. We ought therefore to give due compliance to the imperial commands, in summing up the crimes of the English and laying them before all men, and forasmuch we now proclaim the following, that ye, the men of all foreign nations, may thoroughly know and understand!

Elliot, after having delivered up the opium (May 1839), and gone down to Macoa, earnestly entreated that a weiyuen (or specially appointed officer) might come to Macao for the purpose of deliberating upon, and fixing certain regulations, so as to cut off the opium (evil). Successively he begged that (export) cargo might be sent down to Macao, and then forthwith opposed and broke with the said weiyuen, and at the same time prevented the whole of the ships of his nation from signing the duly prepared bond, and entering the port. These (the English ships) by remaining a long time anchored at Tseënshatsuy (Hongkong) on the high seas, led to a number of sailors going ashore and raising a riot, when, getting drunk, they committed an act of homicide. The said Elliot screened the murderer and would not deliver him up, and day by day only grew more stupid and obstinate! At first he took up Douglas' merchant vessel (late H. M. S. Cambridge) and falsely disguised her as a man of war—afterwards he leagued himself with the two cruizers Smith and Warren (H. M. S. Volage and Hyacinth) and got these to come to Canton (?) to give him assistance. Then these were so bold as to go to Kowlung, and there were the first to smear the altars with blood! (i. e. to commence the horrors of war). Next they went to Chuenpe on the high seas, and fired off their great guns in direct opposition to the imperial troops! With the same breath they received under their protection the boats of our native bandits, these they placed in the middle of their fleet, and, if our government cruizers came near to examine or seize them, then (the English) forthwith fired off their guns and muskets! This most unprincipled procedure of theirs showed people who had no fear before their eyes, and plainly demonstrates that it is the said English who have put themselves out of the pale of the laws! At this present time, then, even were these said English to repent of their crimes, and beg for mercy, and be willing to give the duly prepared bond, yet even then, we, the commissioner, viceroy and fooyuen, could not upon any account memorialize the emperor in their favor! This then is all brought about by the said English themselves! They have outlawed themselves, and the case has no reference to any of the foreigners of other countries.

Do ye then, oh, all ye foreigners of other nations, look up with awe to the great emperor, and as you receive his foolishly tender and unbounded goodness in permitting you to continue your commercial intercourse as of old, know that, in order to preserve in safety your persons and properties, ye must reverently observe the laws and prohibitions! If ye dare, however, clandestinely to give ear to the insidious counsels of the English, or convey up the goods brought on in their ships, or dispose of the said goods for them, the moment that such clandestine procedure is discovered, will your crime be visited by the severest punishment! We shall also duly memorialize the emperor, that the trade of the said offending nation be in like manner put a stop to! What then will your after repentance avail you? Let every one tremble and obey! Do not oppose!

A special proclamation. Taoukwang, 19th year, 12th moon, 1st day. Canton, 5th January, 1840.

7th. Some foreign letters were brought to the factories in Canton, having been intercepted by the Chinese authorities.

Soon after the seizure of Mr. Gribble, a demand for his release was presented at the Bogue; which not being granted, occasioned the following notices.

PUBLIC NOTICE. The British ships Thomas Coutts and Royal Saxon having entered the Bocca Tigris, in violation of my public notice to the serious prejudice of general and permanent British interests: notice is hereby given that persons shipping produce of this empire on board either of the said ships for any port in her Britannic majesty's dominions, till the British trade has been declared open under my hand and seal of office, will expose themselves to serious inconvenience. Given under my hand and seal of office on board her majesty's ship Volage, off Chuenpe, this 7th day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty. Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief superintendent &c.

2. OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE. Notice is hereby given that the intended blockade of the river and port of Canton, declared in my public notice under date of 15th September 1839, and suspended in my public notice of the same month and year, is bereby annulled. Given under my hand, on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor off Chuenpe this seventh day of January, 1840. Signed) H. SMITH, Captain, and senior officer of her Britannic majesty's ships in China.

3. OFFICIAL PUBLIC NOTICE. Whereas, a British subject, seized by the officers of the Chinese government on the 27th ulto., has been detained in captivity without cause to this date, notwithstanding formal demands in her majesty's name: Notice is hereby given that it is my intention, at the requisition of the chief superintendent of British subjects in China, to establish a blockade of the river and port of Canton on the 15th instant. Given under my hand on board her majesty's ship Volage, at anchor off Chuenpe, this 8th day of January, 1840. (Signed) H. SMITH, Captain, and senior officer of her Britannic majesty's ships in China.

14th. Mr. Gribble, and also five lascars, were released from Canton; and about noon, next day, Mr. G. came on board the Volage, without the Bogue, and the blockade was raised.

16th. Rumor says, thirty new pieces of iron cannon, 3000 catties in weight, six feet long, were this day inspected and approved by the authorities in Canton. It is also said that a new fort is being erected at Hongkong, and other military preparations for defense being carried on at other places along the coast.

17th. A poor tailor in Canton, in distress for *six dollars* to pay his debts, took a drachm and a half of opium to cancel the same. About an hour after, Dr. Parker was called, and the application of the stomach pump afforded effectual interference, to the great joy of his family—a wife and three children.

19th. Two edicts were issued: one by the high provincial officers, stating that 18 months had been allowed opium smokers to break off the habit, and that now more than two thirds of the time had elapsed, and therefore warning them that on the expiration of the 18th month, seizure and capital execution will await those who change not the vile habit. The other edict was issued by the tsotang at Macao, threatening vengeance on the police if they dared to molest the fishing boats, as they come into the harbor to spend the holidays of new-year.

22d. We are glad to hear that an envoy is expected from Manila, to seek reparation for the loss of the Bilbaino, and the release of her officer. In the mean time, her consignee is endeavoring to effect these ends.

24th. "Startling rumors, alas, too well authenticated," says a correspondent, "of bloodshed and the cool deliberate murder of arrested Chinese officers, on the coast, by *foreign smnggglers.*" Several sharp encounters we hear there have been between the Chinese cruisers and the said foreign vessels. In the words of another, "we hope these latter carry the flag of no civilized nation;" but of this we are not sure.

31st. The number of vessels now at Whampoa is reduced very small, say to ten or twelve, and there may be some forty without the Bogue. It is rumored that the Chinese are about to man some foreign vessels for naval service. It is also rumored that commissioner Lin is to be governer of the Leäng Kwang. It is likewise said that warlike stores are on their way from India to China. The *Ariel* is hourly expected with dispatches from the home government.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. VIII.—FEBRUARY, 1840.—No. 10.

ART. I. *Letter to the queen of England, from the high imperial commissioner Lin, and his colleagues. From the Canton Press.*

LIN, high imperial commissioner, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Keäng provinces, &c., Tăng, a president of the Board of War, viceroy of the two Kwang provinces, &c., and E, a vice-president of the Board of War, lieut.-governor of Kwangtung, &c., hereby conjointly address this public dispatch to the queen of England for the purpose of giving her clear and distinct information (on the state of affairs) &c.

It is only our high and mighty emperor, who alike supports and cherishes those of the Inner Land, and those from beyond the seas—who looks upon all mankind with equal benevolence—who, if a source of profit exists anywhere, diffuses it over the whole world—who, if the tree of evil takes root anywhere, plucks it up for the benefit of all nations:—who, in a word, hath implanted in his breast that heart (by which beneficent nature herself) governs the heavens and the earth! You, the queen of your honorable nation, sit upon a throne occupied through successive generations by predecessors, all of whom have been styled respectful and obedient. Looking over the public documents accompanying the tribute sent (by your predecessors) on various occasions, we find the following:—"All the people of my (i. e. the king of England's) country, arriving at the Central Land for purposes of trade, have to feel grateful to the great emperor for the most perfect justice, for the kindest treatment," and other words to that effect. Delighted did we feel that the kings of

your honorable nation so clearly understood the great principles of propriety, and were so deeply grateful for the heavenly goodness (of our emperor):—therefore, it was that we of the heavenly dynasty nourished and cherished your people from afar, and bestowed upon them redoubled proofs of our urbanity and kindness. It is merely from these circumstances, that your country—deriving immense advantage from its commercial intercourse with us, which has endured now two hundred years—has become the rich and flourishing kingdom that it is said to be!

But, during the commercial intercourse which has existed so long, among the numerous foreign merchants resorting hither, are wheat and tares, good and bad; and of these latter are some, who, by means of introducing opium by stealth, have seduced our Chinese people, and caused every province of the land to overflow with that poison. These then know merely to advantage themselves, they care not about injuring others! This is a principle which heaven's Providence repugnates; and which mankind conjointly look upon with abhorrence! Moreover, the great emperor hearing of it, actually quivered with indignation, and especially dispatched me, the commissioner, to Canton, that in conjunction with the viceroy and lieut.-governor of the province, means might be taken for its suppression!

Every native of the Inner Land who sells opium, as also all who smoke it, are alike adjudged to death. Were we then to go back and take up the crimes of the foreigners, who, by selling it for many years have induced dreadful calamity and robbed us of enormous wealth, and punish them with equal severity, our laws could not but award to them absolute annihilation! But, considering that these said foreigners did yet repent of their crime, and with a sincere heart beg for mercy; that they took 20,283 chests of opium piled up in their store-ships, and through Elliot, the superintendent of the trade of your said country, petitioned that they might be delivered up to us, when the same were all utterly destroyed, of which we, the imperial commissioner and colleagues, made a duly prepared memorial to his majesty;—considering these circumstances, we have happily received a fresh proof of the extraordinary goodness of the great emperor, inasmuch as he who voluntarily comes forward, may yet be deemed a fit subject for mercy, and his crimes be graciously remitted him. But as for him who again knowingly violates the laws, difficult indeed will it be thus to go on repeatedly pardoning! He or they shall alike be doomed to the penalties of the new statute. We presume that you, the sovereign of your honorable nation, on pouring out your

heart before the altar of eternal justice, cannot but command all foreigners with the deepest respect to reverence our laws! If we only lay clearly before your eyes, what is profitable and what is destructive, you will then know that the statutes of the heavenly dynasty cannot but be obeyed with fear and trembling!

We find that your country is distant from us about sixty or seventy thousand miles,* that your foreign ships come hither striving the one with the other for our trade, and for the simple reason of their strong desire to reap a profit. Now, out of the wealth of our Inner Land, if we take a part to bestow upon foreigners from afar, it follows, that the immense wealth which the said foreigners amass, ought properly speaking to be portion of our own native Chinese people. By what principle of reason then, should these foreigners send in return a poisonous drug, which involves in destruction those very natives of China? Without meaning to say that the foreigners harbor such destructive intentions in their hearts, we yet positively assert that from their inordinate thirst after gain, they are perfectly careless about the injuries they inflict upon us! And such being the case, we should like to ask what has become of that conscience which heaven has implanted in the breasts of all men?

We have heard that in your own country opium is prohibited with the utmost strictness and severity:—this is a strong proof that you know full well now hurtful it is to mankind. Since then you do not permit it to injure your own country, you ought not to have the injurious drug transferred to another country, and above all others, how much less to the Inner Land! Of the products which China exports to your foreign countries, there is not one which is not beneficial to mankind in some shape or other. There are those which serve for food, those which are useful, and those which are calculated for re-sale;—but all are beneficial. Has China (we should like to ask) ever yet sent forth a noxious article from its soil? Not to speak of our tea and rhubarb, things which your foreign countries could not exist a single day without, if we of the Central Land were to grudge you what is beneficial, and not to compassionate your wants, then wherewithal could you foreigners manage to exist? And further, as regards your woolens, camlets, and longells, were it not that you get supplied with our native raw silk, you could not get these manufactured! If China were to grudge you those things which yield a profit, how could you foreigners scheme after any profit at all? Our other articles of food, such as sugar, ginger, cinnamon, &c.,

* That is, Chinese miles—from 20 to 23,000 British statute miles.

and our other articles for use, such as silk piece-goods, chinaware, &c., are all so many necessaries of life to you; how can we reckon up their number! On the other hand, the things that come from your foreign countries are only calculated to make presents of, or serve for mere amusement. It is quite the same to us if we have them, or if we have them not. If then these are of no material consequence to us of the Inner Land, what difficulty would there be in prohibiting and shutting our market against them? It is only that our heavenly dynasty most freely permits you to take off her tea, silk, and other commodities, and convey them for consumption everywhere, without the slightest stint or grudge, for no other reason, but that where a profit exists, we wish that it be diffused abroad for the benefit of all the earth!

Your honorable nation takes away the products of our central land, and not only do you thereby obtain food and support for yourselves, but moreover, by re-selling these products to other countries you reap a threefold profit. Now if you would only not sell opium, this threefold profit would be secured to you; how can you possibly consent to forego it for a drug that is hurtful to men, and an unbridled craving after gain that seems to know no bounds! Let us suppose that foreigners came from another country, and brought opium into England, and seduced the people of your country to smoke it, would not you, the sovereign of the said country, look upon such a procedure with anger, and in your just indignation endeavor to get rid of it? Now we have always heard that your highness possesses a most kind and benevolent heart, surely then you are incapable of doing or causing to be done unto another, that which you should not wish another to do unto you! We have at the same time heard that your ships which come to Canton do each and every of them carry a document granted by your highness' self, on which are written these words "you shall not be permitted to carry contraband goods;" (the ship's register?) this shows that the laws of your highness are in their origin both distinct and severe, and we can only suppose that because the ships coming here have been very numerous, due attention has not been given to search and examine; and for this reason it is that we now address you this public document, that you may clearly know how stern and severe are the laws of the central dynasty, and most certainly you will cause that they be not again rashly violated!

Morevoer, we have heard that in London the metropolis where you dwell, as also in Scotland, Ireland, and other such places, no opium

whatever is produced. It is only in sundry parts of your colonial kingdom of Hindostan, such as Bengal, Madras, Bombay, Patna, Malwa, Benares, Malacca,* and other places where the very hills are covered with the opium plant, where tanks are made for the preparing of the drug; month by month, and year by year, the volume of the poison increases, its unclean stench ascends upwards, until heaven itself grows angry, and the very gods thereat get indignant! You, the queen of the said honorable nation, ought immediately to have the plant in those parts plucked up by the very root! Cause the land there to be hoed up afresh, sow in its stead the five grains, and if any man dare again to plant in these grounds a single poppy, visit his crime with the most severe punishment. By a truly benevolent system of government such as this, will you indeed reap advantage, and do away with a source of evil. Heaven must support you, and the gods will crown you with felicity! This will get for yourself the blessing of long life, and from this will proceed the security and stability of your descendants!

In reference to the foreign merchants who come to this our central land, the food that they eat, and the dwellings that they abide in, proceed entirely from the goodness of our heavenly dynasty:—the profits which they reap, and the fortunes which they amass, have their origin only in that portion of benefit which our heavenly dynasty kindly allots them: and as these pass but little of their time in your country, and the greater part of their time in our's, it is a generally received maxim of old and of modern times, that we should conjointly admonish, and clearly make known the punishment that awaits them.

Suppose the subject of another country were to come to England to trade, he would certainly be required to comply with the laws of England, then how much more does this apply to us of the celestial empire! Now it is a fixed statute of this empire, that any native Chinese who sells opium is punishable with death, and even he who merely smokes it, must not less die. Pause and reflect for a moment: if you foreigners did not bring the opium hither, where should our Chinese people get it to re-sell? It is you foreigners who involve our simple natives in the pit of death, and are they alone to be permitted to escape alive? If so much as one of those deprive one of our people of his life, he must forfeit his life in requital for that which he has taken:—how much more does this apply to him who by means of opium destroys his fellow-men? Does the havoc which he

* We have been obliged to guess at the names of some of these places.

commits stop with a single life! Therefore it is that those foreigners who now import opium into the Central Land are condemned to be beheaded and strangled by the new statute, and this explains what we said at the beginning about plucking up the tree of evil, wherever it takes root, for the benefit of all nations.

We further find that during the second month of this present year (i. e. 9th April, 1839), the superintendent of your honorable country, Elliot, viewing the law in relation to the prohibiting of opium as excessively severe, duly petitioned us, begging for "an extension of the term already limited, say five months for Hindostan and the different parts of India, and ten for England, after which they would obey and act in conformity with the new statute," and other words to the same effect. Now we, the high commissioner and colleagues, upon making a duly prepared memorial to the great emperor, have to feel grateful for his extraordinary goodness, for his redoubled compassion. Any one who within the next year and a half may by mistake bring opium to this country, if he will but voluntarily come forward, and deliver up the entire quantity, he shall be absolved from all punishment for his crime. If, however, the appointed term shall have expired, and there are still persons who continue to bring it, then such shall be accounted as knowingly violating the laws, and shall most assuredly be put to death! On no account shall we show mercy or clemency! This then may be called truly the extreme of benevolence, and the very perfection of justice!

Our celestial empire rules over ten thousand kingdoms! Most surely do we possess a measure of godlike majesty which ye cannot fathom! Still we cannot bear to slay or exterminate without previous warning, and it is for this reason that we now clearly make known to you the fixed laws of our land. If the foreign merchants of your said honorable nation desire to continue their commercial intercourse, they then must tremblingly obey our recorded statutes, they must cut off for ever the source from which the opium flows, and on no account make an experiment of our laws in their own persons! Let then your highness punish those of your subjects who may be criminal, do not endeavor to screen or conceal them, and thus you will secure peace and quietness to your possessions, thus will you more than ever display a proper sense of respect and obedience, and thus may we unitedly enjoy the common blessings of peace and happiness. What greater joy! What more complete felicity than this!

Let your highness immediately, upon the receipt of this communication, inform us promptly of the state of matters, and of the measurse

you are pursuing utterly to put a stop to the opium evil. Please let your reply be speedy. Do not on any account make excuses or procrastinate. A most important communication.

P. S. We annex an abstract of the new law, now about to be put in force. "Any foreigner or foreigners bringing opium to the Central Land, with design to sell the same, the principals shall most assuredly be decapitated, and the accessories strangled;—and all property (found on board the same ship) shall be confiscated. The space of a year and a half is granted, within the which, if any one bringing opium by mistake, shall voluntarily step forward and deliver it up, he shall be absolved from all consequences of his crime."

This said imperial edict was received on the 9th day of the 6th month of the 19th year of Taoukwang, (19th July, 1839), at which the period of grace begins, and runs on to the 9th day of the 12th month of the 20th year of Taoukwang (15th January, 1841), when it is completed.

ART. II. *Memorial, proposing to appoint an intendant of circuit to reside at Macao.*

POSTSCRIPT to a memorial, from the commissioner, governor, and lieutenant-governor.

Again, your majesty's servants have humbly perused your high commands here following: "Lin has been put into the government of the Leäng Keäng. Though just now intrusted with the special care of this matter, yet how can he remain constantly in Kwangtung? And Tăng has the general control of the public business of two provinces — business not small and uncomplicated: and he must not in attention to one thing neglect the rest; but still must care for and retain in due order the whole field of action, preserving all sound and sure; so that, hereafter, when the roots of evil are wholly cleared away, he may be able to speak of eternal rest of the fruit of one effort of labor. Respect this."

Perusing these commands, we look up and behold our imperial sovereign's intelligent conduct of the machinery of affairs, and his high desire of stooping to give effect to his servants' labors. We have, at present, left the Bocca Tigris and returned to the provincial ca-

pital,—having, in obedience to the pleasure of your majesty, cut off the commercial intercourse of the English foreigners,—and purposing here to take further measures for setting at rest all these affairs.'

The reflection occurs to us, that mere laws cannot operate of themselves; and that, taking measures—such as may be suitable for forming vessels and instruments of use,—it is our duty to select the more valuable, that we may have the means of ruling men aright.

'We find, that, on the foreign merchants of every nation coming to Kwangtung to trade, the vessels with their merchandise all proceed inwards to Whampoa, while of the merchants and their assistants, who have charge thereof, many procure residences at Macao. To learn the condition of the hongs, and to settle their accounts, this indeed affords opportunity. But it also affords opportunity to stand out for exorbitant profits, and to put in operation crafty schemes.—Thus Macao is in fact a general place of concourse: and sly craft and cunning abounding, traitorous Chinese herd there together, seducing and enticing, and stopping short at nothing.

As regards the Portuguese foreigners, though declaring themselves respectfully obedient, yet they neither plough nor spin, but diligently pursuing schemes of improper gain, they abound in ever varying tricks. And now that we have stopped the trade of the English, it is more than ever difficult to insure that they will not clandestinely intrigue with them, receiving from them commissions to convey and dispose of merchandise for them. An opening for such crafts and illegalities being once formed, the leak will remain unstopped as of old. It is therefore of bounden necessity to search therefor, and to take careful preventive measures.

We find, that, in the 8th year of Yungching (1730), an assistant was appointed to the magistrate of the district Heängshan, to reside at the village of Mongha, within Macao. And that in the 8th year of Keënlung (1743), there was further appointed for Macao, a joint prefect, who shall reside in the encampment of Tseënshan, about 15 *le* (5 or 6 miles) distant from Macao; and whose special function should be the administration of foreign affairs. In their origin, these measures were abundantly sufficient in extent and in precision. But of late days, the varied crafts and deceits of the foreigners have so numerously broken out, that the affairs of Macao have become increasingly important. And at the time of utterly extirpating the evils so abounding, it is of the first importance to have men able to check and rein them in. It is requisite that there should be a somewhat higher officer, else the means will not be adequate to dry up the

source of the evils; or to hold under restraint the proud and the unbridled.

Our investigations have pointed out to us the newly appointed intendent (taoutae) of the circuit of Kaou-Leën, by name Yih Chungfoo, as a man of well-regulated mind, and under self-control, able to bear toil and trouble, bold and courageous in the transaction of affairs, and who has gained for himself a name to be feared. He has now surrendered the seals of office of the prefecture of Chaouchow, preparatory to repairing to his new office over the Kaou-Leën circuit. We, your majesty's servants, have with one consent resolved to depute the said taoutae to reside for a time at Macao, and, with the joint-prefect and assistant magistrate under his direction, to observe and regulate all the foreign affairs; to keep careful watch over the licensed Macao vessels, and put a stop to any transactions under false names on behalf of the English; and to search after and apprehend any traitorous Chinese who may furnish them with supplies: in all these things to lay upon the said officer the responsibility of acting, always in accordance with precedent.

The affairs of the government of the Kaou-Leën circuit — his present office — are comparatively simple, and may all be managed by dispatches sent to and from Macao: except only the autumnal trials of the two prefectures of Kaouchow and Leënchow, which having hitherto been subjected to the personal observation of the intendant of that circuit, he may, on the approach of the period, repair to his circuit, requiring not more than a month or so ere the business will be completed.

As to his abode at Macao, there has long been a traveling office of the superintendent of maritime customs, which remaining unoccupied, may be borrowed as a residence for the said officer, during his stay at Macao for the transaction of the public affairs.

But Macao being a place occupied by the Chinese and foreigners intermingled, it is of importance, while administering the government with goodness, to make also an imposing appearance. In small matters, the civil power inflicts punishment: in larger affairs, the military must be called into action. This is indeed often required. Having then charged him with authority in affairs, we should give to him also a military guard. In the encampment of Tseënshan, there is stationed a body of 363 men, under command of a naval toosze (commander), belonging to the river force, and hitherto under the authority of the commodore on the Heängshan station. It behoves us to request that this body may be placed under the direction of the

said taoutae, that whenever the urgency of affairs may require, he may send them wherever they may be needed. And the circuit of Kaou-Leën being actually one to the intendant of which military powers are accorded, this arrangement will be quite consistent with the established forms.

After he shall have discharged the duty of putting affairs in order for one or two years, if it shall be found that all the foreigners conform themselves to our rule, and that opium is thoroughly purged away, the said taoutae can then be recalled within his own circuit, to give more close attention to the duties of his office.

These — the obscure views of your majesty's servants, are humbly submitted — the lieutenant-governor, Eleäng, uniting in this supplementary memorial — with the intreaty that their correctness or otherwise may be determined, by the casting thereon of a sacred glance. A respectful memorial.

Art. III. *Abuse of opium: opinions on the subject given by one long resident in China, W. Howitt, Mr. Bruce, and the Calcutta Courier, Mr. Davis, and sir Stamford Raffles.*

When we plead for the extinction of the traffic in opium, it is chiefly because of the injurious effects that are known to result from the *abuse* of that drug. It may be that we know not one hundredth part of the evils which it produces; yet enough is known to make it plain to every reflecting mind, that, even if no laws existed rendering it contraband, the traffic ought to cease. Good and honorable men have been engaged in this business: and such, it may be, are still concerned with it. The honorable the E. I. Company has been declared, "*the father of all smuggling and smugglers.*" But it is supposed by many, and some of them very competent judges, that the Indian monopoly will erelong be given up, and the traffic on the coast of China will 'fall into the hands of the reckless, the refuse, and probably the convicted, of all the countries in our neighborhood.' On the 23d of December, 1838, the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China said, in an address to the governor of Canton; "Deliberating on those serious risks to which the lives and properties of many innocent men, both native and foreigners, are

presently exposed, he considers that it is his duty to lay his thoughts before your excellency. Seeking for the immediate source of this dangerous state of things, he finds it in the existence of an extensive opium traffic, conducted in small craft within the river. From one condition of undisturbed lawlessness to another and still more hazardous, the course is sure and rapid. Illegalities will be committed more and more frequently, the difficulty of distinguishing between the right and the wrong will daily become more difficult; the foreign interests and character will suffer increasing injury, violent affrays will be of frequent occurrence; life, and probably the lives of innocent men, will be sacrificed, some general catastrophe will ensue, and there will be employment, profit, and impunity, for none but the reckless and the culpable. The government of the British nation will regard these evil practices with no feelings of leniency, but on the contrary, with severity and continual anxiety."

This, though said of the traffic within the Bogue, was and is equally applicable to it on the coast, and the lapse of thirteen months has shown the correctness of the judgment given above. The smuggling of any article, under any circumstances, is to be deprecated. If it be sin to rob our neighbor, is it not equally wrong to defraud the government? For ourselves, we have no doubt that good men will soon free themselves from this traffic, not only because it is contraband, but especially because opium is misused to the great injury of multitudes of our fellow-men. The *chief* merits of this question do not turn on the mere legality or illegality of the drug, considered simply in a commercial point of view. The subject should be considered in all its bearings. The use of opium, and the traffic in it, should be contemplated in all their consequences, as they are known to affect health, morals, &c., and then the inquirer should decide whether or not opium is beneficial to the Chinese, or injurious to them, and whether it is right to engage in this traffic or to abandon it.

Regarding the extent to which the drug is used in China, the statistics kindly furnished us by capt. Gover (now deceased, but many years engaged in the traffic), are the most complete of any we have yet seen. They may be found on page 303 of volume VI. The number of smokers, at three candareens per day, as estimated by captain Gover, was 2,039,998 — consuming 21,677 chests, valued at $19,769,111; this was given as the average of three years, ending on the 31st of March, 1835.

In a controversy on this point, — conducted by two of our readers, with much good humor, and no small care, they being next-door

neighbors to each other, one extensively engaged in the traffic, and the other strongly opposed to it—the following particulars were elicited, abridged from volume V. page 565.

One Reader stated, that, for the year ending March 1837, there were 33,200,000 taels weight of the smokable extract prepared from the opium imported, and that a tael each per day for 300,000,000 people would give 912,000 smokers. Another Reader, instead of a *tael* took a *mace*, (nearly 57.984 grains Troy,) which is, as the Chinese say, and as one would think, a good allowance. This made 9,120,000 smokers of the Indian and Turkey drug. To this he added one fourth, for opium grown in the country, and that brought overland, which gave a total of 11,400,000. Besides, this consumption is but of the first smoking; yet the drug is not thus destroyed, it being sometimes used *twice* or *thrice* over, each time losing in flavor though not much in strength. Each *rifacimento* is cheaper than the former one, till the worst mixed with tobacco, or jaggary, or some other substance, is placed in the reach of the very poorest people. This will permit a great extension of the number of consumers, say a total of 12½ millions. Of the 300,000,000 people in the empire, according to the known laws of population, about one half are females. Of the 150 millions of men, he assumed that three fifths are under 20 or over 60 years of age, which leaves sixty millions, among whom are the consumers of the 33,200,000 taels of smokable extract. We shall thus find, said he, *one in every five of men* in the prime of life, or verging to old age, *an habitual opium smoker!*

This extensive and indiscriminate use of opium is its abuse; for there is no doubt that the quantity, named by a Reader, has been consumed; and we believe it quite true that few smoke beyond the age of sixty, since the habitual opium smoker dies before he reaches that period. The number of those who commence before they are twenty is not very large; but there are instances of youth and young men, at fourteen and sixteen, who have been habitual smokers. The fair sex, too, are by no means free from this "vile habit." Opium *may* be used for useful medicinal purposes; and so it often is, under the direction of skillful physicians; but so, we believe, it is very seldom employed among the Chinese; as far as we know, it is chiefly used by them for the purposes of suicide and mere pleasure: to effect the first, it is eaten; to effect the second, it is smoked.

The first person we ever saw smoking opium was —— ——, partner in the ——— hong, now bankrupt for some millions of taels, chiefly due to foreigners. He was then (seven years ago) in the prime of life, prosperous in business, of good reputation, and surrounded with the best means he could command for making himself happy. It was a late hour of night, in winter, at a fashionable dinner, after the very numerous and rich courses usual on such occasions had

been handed up, and the dessert dishes began to thicken on the table, when the man said, with a very singular look, and which left no doubt of the sincerity of the invitation, "you kum long my litty teem, eh?" "Hai lo!" was the reply; and away we went, down stairs, and round about through a long dark path till we came to *the* place. A key, which he carried on his own person, opened the door we entered, followed by two attendants; and the door was again locked. By a lamp, brought in a dark lantern, the room was soon well lighted. Having had no intimation of what was coming, we began with no small degree of wonder and curiosity to survey the locality, and its several appurtenances, while our host immediately began his preparations. We may here remark, *en passant*, that Mr. Davis' picture, or the one in his book, differs from anything we ever saw in China: it represents a "mandarin" smoking opium, sitting erect and in his full robes. Our accomplished friend understood the matter better. Having thrown off his cap and disrobed, manifesting a considerable degree of impatience, he laid himself down upon a couch on one side of the room, and invited his guest to occupy another on the opposite side. The room was small, not more than twelve feet square, without windows, and sealed close all around and above. The couches were very broad and placed close against the wainscot on two sides of the room; between them, on the third side, stood a small low table, upon which the apparatus for smoking was spread out, not wholly unlike a small tea service. A little porcelain cup contained the delectable matter, nearly of the consistency and color of tar. There were also on the table a small glass lamp and a silver capped pipe, with a few other articles, as brushes, needles, &c., for cleansing and trimming the pipe. In length and shape, this is like an accountant's round ruler; and near one end of it there is a bowl, about the size of a small thimble. Scarcely a minute elapsed, after entering the room, before the smoking was begun. One end of a small rod was dipped into the opium, and a small quantity taken up, and, after being held for a moment near the blaze of the lamp, was crowded into the bowl of the pipe. The man now laid his head on a pillow, put the pipe in his mouth, and, lifting the bowl to the blaze of the lamp, commenced inhaling; this was continued for a few seconds, then the pipe was taken from the mouth to be refilled, and the fumes leisurely puffed from the mouth. The process was repeated some fifteen times, each more and more leisurely, the whole occupying perhaps half an hour. Before the scene ended, the room was full of smoke, and our host had become exceedingly loquacious, uttering all manner of things that

came into his head. On making our exit, the same key as before opened and closed the door, and we returned to our friends in the dining-hall. Some persons suspected he was a smoker of the drug; but the fact was not generally known. About *half a mace* was the quantity taken per day at this time. Afterwards the quantity probably increased. Be this as it may, his regularity in business did not long continue, his reputation began to wane, and bankruptcy soon followed. Whether the smoking of opium contributed to this issue or not, we leave our readers to judge.

In all the cases, of which we have been eyewitness, the process and the attitude of the smoker were the same as in the one here given. The quantity and the quality of the drug have differed. In respectable hotels, where we have seen the pipe, the room has always been in some retired quarter of the house, and so constructed as to escape notice of those not privy to it. In the factories of the merchants who bring teas from Fuhkeën and the more northern provinces, we have seen much less secrecy. So in the residence of the Siamese embassadors. In boats, belonging to officers of government, we have seen the opium pipe used as freely as that for tobacco. The last instance of this kind was in one of the boats which came with the literary examiner, who was from Peking. The boats remained opposite the factories, and close to the shore for two days; and in one of them we repeatedly saw the forbidden article freely used. In the spring and summer of 1838, the smokers were more bold than we ever before saw them in Canton. In the suburbs of the city, some sixty or eighty rods west of the foreign factories, there is a long street, which runs north and south, opening on the river; it is but little frequented, and the houses on both sides of it are small and poor. Several of these were occupied as opium shops; and there we have repeatedly seen, when passing along in the street, both the processes of preparing and smoking the drug. To these shops many of the poor people, who are employed as boatmen, resorted. Men of this description, receiving only four or five dollars a month, have declared to us that they were spending one third of their wages for opium, and that too when a family was depending on them for support. One young man, we remember in particular, who said he had repeatedly resolved, at the entreaties of his friends, to break off the habit; but to do this, he added, was impossible, and he would allow his friends to suffer, or even die himself, rather than go without his pipe! In temples also, among the votaries of Budha, we have seen smokers of the drug. Native doctors sometimes prescribe it in certain diseases as

a remedy, and the poor patient, confiding in the advice of his physicians, becomes so enslaved by this habit, that what was at first employed as a remedy, becomes at last itself the greatest disease. Finally, after all we have both seen and heard, we are inclined to give full credit to the accounts of those Chinese, who represent the habit as prevailing among *all classes* of the people.

As to the effects of using opium, we will cite here what has been written by some, whose testimony seems worthy of most careful consideration. Our first extract is from a letter, addressed to J. H. Palmer, esquire, signed by *One long resident in China*, dated London, August 10th, 1839. He says:

"But, say the anti-opium party, that traffic is pre-eminently sinful, and all who aid in it are involved in the sin, as are all who use or abuse the drug. I do not intend to advocate the use of this or any other stimulant; nevertheless, scarcely a nation exists which has not one or more commonly taken by people to exhilarate or inebriate, as their desires may prompt. Ardent spirits of various sorts, in Europe and America; crude opium in Turkey, India, and amongst the Malays; bang (a preparation of hemp-blossoms) in parts of India; in most countries, tobacco, wines, &c., are used, to the injury, often, of the health and morals of millions. It would be a blessing, indeed, could all men be induced to forego such indulgences; but since that is not to be effected, I boldly assert, from the experience I have had of Chinese habits, that I prefer, as a national vice, the use of opium, prepared in the mode prevalent in China, to the use of any ardent spirit, and a happy thing would it have been, [!!] since stimulants we must have, had the British people adopted the opium in lieu of gin, whiskey, &c. The *abuse of either*, no doubt, *leads to disease and death*, but a moderate use is quite compatible with the enjoyment of health and long life. The European spirit-drinking debauchee is a violent, often a furious madman. Crimes of all degrees of heinousness are committed by him, and he ends his days, perchance, under the just sentence of the law for those crimes. *The Chinese opium debauchee is a dreaming, quiet, and useless member of society. He, too, ends his days in a pitiable state;* but he does not superadd those violent crimes so injurious to others, which the former constantly does. *Each dies beggared and despised*, the former often causes the death or destruction of the property of his nearest relations. I have known many Chinese, who habitually used the watery extract of opium (the only preparation of it in their country) for smoking, without feeling the slightest injury. They were moderate men, like our gentlemanly wine-drinkers."

We have italicised two or three lines, in which the writer expresses *his opinion* regarding the *abuse* of the drug; his testimony is the more valuable, because he is laboring to extenuate its "sinfulness." Whether he is right in preferring opium to ardent spirits we will not try to determine. He may "boldly assert" his preference to the one,

and others may as boldly assert their preference to the other; but the assertion of preference weighs little against the plain and simple declaration that the *opium debauchee is a useless member of society.* In saying he has known many who have habitually used opium without "feeling the slightest injury," he no doubt affirmed what he believed to be true; he may have seen, too, many more who have been injured; but on this point he does not inform us. The first person we saw smoking opium, was then using it habitually "*without feeling the slightest injury*;" at least, so he thought, and so we supposed. We have seen many others in the same predicament. But we are constrained to entertain the most serious doubts whether any man can use the article habitually, except as a medicine when afflicted with disease, without injury. The injury may not be at once apparent, while yet it is making sure and steady inroads on the constitution, and the smoker becomes "victimized" ere he is aware of his danger. We have known some most melancholy instances of this kind. A bold avocate, in the Colonial Gazette, says truly, that the consumer of opium, in "that state of debility in which an excessive use of it leaves him, is more fit for his bed or *his grave,* than for an act of desperate physical exertion." The existence of a great evil in the use of ardent spirits, in western countries, and the melancholy detail of loss, ruin, and death caused thereby, is surely no extenuation of the same evil in China, because here it is caused by opium. The latter is not lessened, because the former is estimated to be greater.

Our second extract is from an article in Tait's Magazine, on the use of opium in England, from the pen of William Howitt, esq.

"I have contemplated with horror the rapid increase of the consumption of opium, and its spirituous laudanum, within the last ten years. The ravenous fierceness, with which opium-eaters enter the druggists' shops, when want of money has kept them from their dose beyond their accustomed time of using it, and the trembling impatience with which they watch the weighing of the drug, (every moment appearing to them an age,) and the avidity with which they will seize and tear off their wonted dose, and swallow it — are frightful to be seen; yet must have been seen by many on such occasions. The extent to which this drug is administered by poor women to their children, too, is another crying evil, of which the humane public has little notion; and it is one for which there never will be found any remedy but the abolition of the abominable restrictions on the importation of food. The wretched mother, while her husband is thundering away in his loom, for sixteen hours a-day, and her older children are gone out to the factory, or elsewhere, to help to increase the scanty family revenue, which altogether, does not reach the point of sufficiency, and with, perhaps, two, or three little half-clad and

half-starved brats about her, has also one in the cradle. She has no snug nursery—she has no nurse—she cannot afford even to keep at home an elder daughter for that purpose; but, on the contrary, she has to cook the family food, such as it is, to wash and mend the family clothes; and, very probably, besides this, to take in washing or other work. While she is busy at the wash-tub, the child wakes and cries. What shall she do? [illegible] night, while she and her husband should and *must* sleep, or they cannot go through their daily work, the child again wrangles and cries. What shall she do? There is nothing for it but to go to the druggist's shop for—'A Pennyworth of Peace;' and what that is anybody in Lancashire can tell you; and, if you are not in Lancashire I can—it is laudanum, or opium disguised in treacle, and termed in other places Godfrey's Cordial. It is in vain to remonstrate with the poor on this practice—they always ask you what they are to do, and think it unanswerable to add—"a pen'orth of peace is worth a penny." Thus are the constitutions of the poor sapped and stupified even in the cradle, and all the wisdom of England cannot point anv remedy but that of [illegible] the violent pressure on the means of existence; and, if that will not enable the poor of this country to live on bread and cheese and honest beef, instead of opium and quack medicines, then there will be nothing for it but their escaping to those new lands where they can."

Both in Europe and in America, especially in large cities and in certain fashionable circles, we have heard it intimated, and in part believe, that the use of opium, in various ways and with diverse names, is far more prevalent than is generally supposed. Let those whose duty it is look to this matter. Our next quotation is from the Calcutta Courier, 4th September, as given in the Canton Register of January 21st. The editor of the Courier says:

"In addition to the general interest with which Mr. Bruce's tea report is invested, as descriptive of the present condition of the tea districts, and the very valuable information which it contains relative to the cultivation of that most important article of commerce, it possesses great additional claim to our attention from the observations which it contains relative to the universal prevalence of the use of opium among the wretched inhabitants of Assam, to which, and we believe very justly, Mr. Bruce attributes the present debased character of a people who were once celebrated as a warlike and powerful race, enjoying all the blessings of civilization and good government—and of a fertile and well cultivated country. If the introduction of the poisonous drug into China were productive of the same effects as it is stated to have had in Assam, we need not wonder at the determination evinced by the emperor to put it down at all hazards, and we cannot sufficiently admire the paternal feeling which actuated him on the occasion, and for which the Chinese nation owes him a debt of immeasurable gratitude.

"Mr. Bruce says—'This vile drug has kept and does now keep down the population; the women have fewer children compared with those of other

countries, and these children seldom live to be old men, but in general die at manhood; very few old men being seen in this country in comparison with others. Few, but those who have resided long in this unhappy land, know the dreadful and immoral effects, which the use of opium produces on the native. He will steal — sell his property — his children — the mother of his children — [redacted] commit murder to obtain it. Would it not be the highest blessings, if our humane and enlightened government would stop these evils by a single dash of the pen?' &c. &c.

"We, and we may safely say, all who read this will respond in the affirmative — and we would add, with every feeling of respect for the government, that it is their imperative duty to put down the cultivation of opium in every part of our eastern dominions, and in that respect emulate the conduct of one, whom we are pleased to call a barbarian, in paternal solicitude for the millions who are injured by its continuance. If it cannot be done, as suggested by Mr. Bruce, by one dash of the pen, we would fain hope that, already, are steps taken for its gradual extinction; and in the case of Assam its cultivation — if cultivated in the country — might be put a stop to, and if not, the importation might be prevented. In support of this proposition there is not only the dictate of humanity — but that is backed by self-interest — for in restoring the healthful tone to the inhabitants of the province — increasing the population, and improving their condition, would result incalculable benefits to the state, and which, in a very brief space, would make up for the loss the revenue would sustain from the discontinuauce of the production of opium. We would therefore solicit the earnest attention of our government to this most important point. The mooting of the question of compensation to the owners of the opium seized by the Chinese commissioner will fix the attention of all men in our native land upon this destructive and wicked traffic, and whether the compensation be granted or not, the eyes of the nation will be opened, and the continuance of a trade, which is not less horrible in its ultimate effects than the traffic in human flesh, be denounced by all good men, and if not abandoned spontaneously by the governors of this country, the universal voice of England will compel the government at home to interfere for its speedy suppression."

Upon this, the editor of the Register remarks: "The Calcutta Courier appears of late to have adopted different sentiments, on the opium trade, from those formerly expressed in its columns, when under the management of former editors. In those days, all idea of diminishing the revenue of Bengal, by abandoning the opium monopoly, was scouted, until another source, which would supply the deficit, was discovered. From the decision of the Bengal government on the several periods of the public sales for 1840, it would appear that the opinions of the Courier, albeit it is the governmental paper, have little weight with the powers that be. We have, however, extracted the article on the use of opium in Assam; for we consider the more

elucidation that can be given to this crucial question, the sooner will sound and practicable opinions be formed." So too we think, and we are glad to see it frequently discussed. We do not wonder that the Courier has adopted sentiments on this trade different from those it formerly entertained, and we think it not improbable that many others will do so, when the merits of the case are more perfectly understood.—There is in one of our former volumes (vol. VII, p. 107.) a document, written by a Chinese in one of the central provinces of the empire, containing an account of the injuries of using opium, almost identical with that from the pen of Mr. Bruce.

Mr. Davis, after a residence of some twenty years in this country, almost invariably speaks of opium as a "pernicious drug;" and he says, "its consumption," previous to 1833, "pervaded *all* classes, and had spread with astonishing rapidity through the country." In his second volume, page 453, is a specimen of what he has put on record, touching this matter.

"The engrossing taste of all ranks and degrees in China for opium, a drug whose importation has of late years exceeded the aggregate value of every other English import combined, deserves some particular notice, especially in connection with the revenues of British India, of which it forms an important item. The use of this pernicious narcotic has become as extensive as the increasing demand for it was rapid from the first. The contraband trade (for opium has always been prohibited as hurtful to the health and morals of the people,) was originally at Macao: but we have already seen that the Portuguese of that place, by their short-sighted rapacity, drove it to the island of Lintin, where the opium is kept stored in armed ships, and delivered to the Chinese smugglers by written orders from Canton, on the sales being concluded, and the money paid, at that place."

Before introducing sir Stamford's testimony, we copy two short paragraphs from the Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette, of March 29th, 1832. Those who were acquainted with the editor of that paper, well know that he had no disposition to exaggerate the evils either of smuggling or using opium. He notices the different effects produced by opium in its different states — which seem not to have been observed by the writer in the colonial gazette.

"There are some sagacious observations in print lately relative to the mode of introduction and the effects of opium, with which we have been much amused, not from any facetiousness displayed in them, but from the particularly unsound arguments used on the occasion. Opium, it appears, is only nominally interdicted, and the 'chops' which are so frequently published by imperial and subordinate authorities, are mere matters of form. There is, according to these statements, no impediment to the introduction of the drug

into China, but it comes regularly as a foreign import, as it is to be found from the house of the private inhabitant of Canton to the palace of the governor. If this be so, it is a most remarkable piece of over-caution in the Chinese to visit Lintin, where the drug is delivered 'by stealth,' as they certainly do; doubly absurd for them to endeavor to avoid the mandarin cruisers, or to battle with them when escape is impossible; for what have they to fear in the exercise of a business which is declared to be carried on 'openly, freely, in the face of day!' But why is it no longer brought to Whampoa, and why do the dealers here so frequently take the alarm and secrete themselves from the vigilance of the police? Oh, precious logic! The fact of many of the officers of government addicting themselves to the use of opium, and neglecting the injunctions of the higher authorities to suppress the trade is quietly assumed as an evidence of its legality. It would be about as accurate to infer that smuggling in Europe or America was legal, because the custom-house officers were not proof against the bribes given them to connive at such delinquency.

As regards the effects of opium upon the human system, the denial of its dreadful operation might be pardoned on the score of pitiable ignorance. The drug prepared and administered as it is in China does not produce the same effect as laudanum or crude opium. The effects are directly applied to the nervous system as a sedative, not as the crude drug chewed, which acts when taken in quantity (as by the Malays) as a fierce excitant at first, and during its primary operation that frantic act, denominated running *a muck* is perpetrated. The operation of opium (materially changed in its character by the process it undergoes in its preparation for smoking,) is slow, but sure. It does not produce its baneful effect as rapidly as the drug taken in its other forms, but is equally dangerous to the system. Again — it must be admitted without reserve that what is called opium-smoking in *moderation* is rank nonsense. The slaves to this habit must wind up the system at particular times, or be wretched; they must increase the dose from 'moderation'(!) to excess in order to continue its power over them, and which, like all vicious indulgences, it requires daily an addition in quantity to maintain.' As to Chinese running a muck, the operation of the opium smoking is not one from which any such result could be expected; the smoker is entranced in a delicious dream, not infuriated like a maniac. A Chinese who smokes opium does not, like the Malay, destroy his fellow-men, but himself; his energies of mind and body are undermined, and he ultimately sinks from the effects of an unnatural condition of the system brought on by the constant use of this pernicious preparation. Wine, taken in health, is universally admitted (unless when used to excess) to be a grateful, healthy stimulant. It exhilarates and benefits the system, and leaves behind it no prostration of strength, no nervous irritability which hurries the smoker to renew his occupation in order to escape from the frightful lassitude and exhaustion which follows the termination of the effect produced upon his system by the use of opium.—Our 'gentle readers' must excuse this medical commentary; but we state these

facts in hopes of presenting the case in its real light, not obscured by sophistry, or supported by worthless argument. The Chinese, and all who have witnessed the effects of opium, admit unreservedly the pernicious consequences of its use, and that though idleness or folly may induce a man to smoke opium at first, yet he finds the habit fasten itself on him so rapidly, and so forcibly, that he who at the comencement of his [redacted]er determined never to commit an excess, is hurried away against his incli[redacted]and becomes in a short time inveterately addicted to it. As to the trade, we have nothing to say upon the subject at present. Each entertains his own opinion, and our observations are to be confined to the Chinese alone."

What the editor here calls a "nervous irritability," and "prostration of strength," are said by the *victimized* smoker to be horrible beyond conception. One, who had used the drug four or five years, and is now dead from its use, likened the sensations, he felt when the stimulus was gone, to "worms crawling in his stomach [redacted] rats gnawing at his shoulders."

Sir Stamford Raffles, in his History of Java, after much experience and observation, says —

"The use of opium is reckoned disgraceful; and persons addicted to it are looked upon as abandoned characters, and despised accordingly. It has struck deep into the habits, and extended its malignant influence to the morals, of the people, and is likely to perpetuate its power in degrading their character and enervating their energies, as long as the European governments, *overlooking every consideration of policy and humanity, shall allow a paltry addition to their finances to outweigh all regard to the ultimate happiness and prosperity of the country.*"

This opinion was published in 1817; and had its author lived to this day, no doubt every year's experience and observation would have strengthened that opinion. His remarks, made with reference to Java, are applicable to China.

If all foreigners had given heed to the imperial prohibitions first issued in 1800, as they ought to have done; if the soil of Hindústan had been used only for beneficial purposes, and the Turkey drug had never found its way out of the Mediterranean, how different would be the condition of China from what it now is! and how different, too, the state of foreign relations with this country! And yet, after all the evils that have been experienced during these forty years, there are men who scout and ridicule every serious proposition that is made for the amelioration of these evils! In giving prominency to this subject, we do not wish other minor evils to be forgotten; but we do wish, if it be possible, the dreadful scourge of opium may be averted from this land. Even to the limited extent to which we are perso-

nally acquainted with its pernicious effects, we cannot contemplate them without grief and sorrow. Having conversed freely with the Chinese on this subject, after all we have seen among them, we are unable to free ourselves from the consciousness that the traffic, as it is now carried on, is exceedingly sinful in the sight of God, and every way calculated to render the name and character of foreigners odious in the eyes of this nation; and with the utmost earnestness we would warn and intreat all men, especially our friends and fellow-residents, to beware how they deal with, or give countenance to, this forbidden thing.

Here we cannot forbear making allusion to the prospectus of the provisional committee, for forming a British India Society for bettering the condition of the natives of British India. A most excellent spirit pervades every part of that paper; a paragraph or two of which we must be allowed to quote.

"It is admitted in Great Britain, and known to be but too true by all who have had personal experience of the real state of India, that although a commercial intercourse has existed between the British Isles and India, for more than two hundred years, and the government of this empire now rules over a hundred millions of the inhabitants of the east, there is nevertheless a general want of information upon Indian affairs, and an almost total indifference felt respecting them. It must be obvious to all who reflect upon these facts that such a state of things contrasts strangely with the duty we owe to our distant dominions, with the extent, the value, and the importance of our East Indian possessions, and with the many and vast interests involved in the question. British India is an empire as large as Europe (exclusive of Russia), with a population, including tributary states, of *more than one hundred and fifty millions.* Over this empire and people, a sway is exercised wholly British, and consequently, the want of an accurate knowledge of Indian affairs, and the absence of a proper concern in the public at large for the welfare of the natives, must operate prejudicially upon their minds, since they cannot but feel that their destinies are influenced by the disposition manifested towards them in the parent country. From the perusal of a variety of official and other documents of recent date, it appears that ignorance, poverty, crime, and disaffection prevail to a distressing and alarming extent, throughout the British Indian territories. It also appears, that during the last *twenty years,* though a period of profound peace, there has been *a succession of famines of the most desolating description.* It has been estimated that the famine of 1837-38 in the upper provinces of Bengal, *swept off more than half a million of the inhabitants.* These calamitous events are rendered the more mysterious and affecting, when viewed in connection with the statement, that the soil of India, is a soil of unequalled fertility, and that a very large portion of it (by some authorities, computed at one-half) is unappropriated, and covered by

unsubdued jungle. Information on the subject has, within the last few months, been laid before the public in various parts of the kingdom. The result has been a deep feeling of compassion in the minds of many humane and influential persons, and the formation of several associations for promoting the welfare of the natives of India. * * The committee entertain no doubt, that when the vast importance of our Eastern possessions is understood, when the claims of one hundred millions of British subjects are recognized and felt, and when the responsibility and moral obligation of this nation towards them are considered, a great and generous effort will promptly be made, to benefit a country, which contains within itself, the means of returning a hundred-fold into the bosoms of its benefactors, all the blessings they can possibly confer upon it. The committee prefer to make their appeal to the just principles and Christain feelings of the country. They are not ignorant, however, of the extent to which they might address themselves to the loyalty, the patriotism, and the interests of their fellow-citizens. But they believe that such an appeal is unnecessary. They are convinced that no argument is required, to demonstrate the inseparable connection between the bettering of the social, moral, and intellectual codition of the countless millions of India, and the accomplishment of those ends which are sought by the promoters, and patrons of legitimate commerce, and the advocates of the honor, the stability, and the prosperity of the British empire, at home and abroad."

Attached to this prospectus are the names of major general Briggs, lord Brougham, sir Charles Forbes, William Howitt, esq., and others of like character. We have been told that the British government will not root up the poppy in India. *That* is unnecessary, for were the sowing of the seed neglected for a single season there would be no plants to root up. We have been told that the cultivation is often *compulsory:* advances are made by government, through its native servants, and if the ryot refuses the advance, what then? Why "the simple plan of throwing the rupees into his house is adopted; should he attempt to abscond, the peons seize him, tie the advance up in his clothes, and push him into his house. The business being now settled, and there being no remedy, he applies himself as he may to the fullfilment of his contract." Vast tracts of land, formerly occupied with other articles, are now covered with poppies, which require a very superior soil in order to produce opium in perfection; hence its cultivation has not extended over waste and barren lands, but into those districts and villages best fitted for agricultural porposes, where other plants, "grown from time immemorial," have been driven out before it. (See Kennedy, Stark, and others in evidence on E. I. affairs; Thornton's State and Prospects of India; Mr. Fleming's papers on Revenue; Singapore Free Press, &c) We have been

told, moreover, that the cultivation is still on the increase; and that new advances have been made this very year; and during this month and the next, another full crop will be gathered, unless divine Providence prevent. Thus one year's crop is just now being sold in Bengal, and another is ripening for the harvest. And who are to be the consumers of these forty thousand chests, with all that from Malwa, and Turkey? When and where will the cultivation and consumption of the article cease? Taking into view the extensive famines that have afflicted India during the last twenty years on the one side, and on the other the great evils caused by the consumption of opium in China, and the strong interdicts against its introduction, would it not be wise to desist from the cultivation of the poppy, and to substitute other articles necessary to supply with food the famishing inhabitants of the land? The Society for bettering the condition of the natives in India will, we hope, early take this subject into consideration.

Art. IV. *Three Years Travels from Moscow overland to China, through Great Ustiga, Siriania, Permia, Siberia, Daour, Great Tartary, &c., to Peking; containing an exact and particular description of the extent and limits of those countries, and the customs, &c. of the barbarous inhabitants. Written by his excellency Evert Ysbrant Ides, embassador from the czar of Muscovy to the emperor of China. Illustrated with a large map of the countries drawn by the embassador upon his journey, and many curious cuts. To which is annexed an accurate description of China, done originally by a Chinese author, with several remarks by way of commentary. Printed in Dutch by the direction of Burgomaster Witzen, formerly embassador in England; and now faithfully done into English. London, W. Freeman.* 1706. *pp.* 210, *quarto.*

We have not been able to ascertain any further particulars of Ides than those he himself gives; that he was a German in the service of Peter the Great, by whom he was dispatched on this embassy to Kanghe to carry with him the ratification of the treaty negotiated in September, 1689, between Chinese and Russian plenipotentiaries, of

which we have already given a brief notice, on page 417. The work before us is, however, most studiously silent as to the object of the mission, and the nature of the embassador's credentials, and it is only by the inferences fairly deducible from the time when he was sent, joined to what passed between the negotiators at Nipchú, that lead us to think that such was the object of his mission. Sir George Staunton* says, he "was sent to Peking with a view of improving the commercial advantages stipulated for by that treaty." Both objects were probably included in his mission. Notwithstanding this reserve, the work is worthy of notice, as supplementary to our account of those negotiations.

It commences with the author's dedicatory epistle to his czarish master, written in the most fulsome style of adulation, setting forth his puissant magnificence, and the extent of his domains, and ending his incense of praise by "imploring the Almighty to preserve his throne for a looking-glass to the world that has not a parallel." It is a dedication worthy of a Chinese or Japanese courtier, for the slavish obsequiousness of its expressions.

Having prepared his equipage and retinue, Ides left Moscow on the 14th of March, 1692, and directed his course to Tobolsk, and from thence, passing by lake Baikal, he reached Tsitsihar, the first Chinese town of note on that frontier. So unsettled was the state of the country from Tobolsk eastward, and so difficult did he find it to provision his large train in the half settled wilds of the Tungusians and Samoieds, that eighteen months were occupied in the journey from Moscow to Tsitsihar in Mantchouria. The journey through their lands was lengthened by his endeavor to get well to the eastward of the great desert of Shamo; for this town lies 420 miles east of the meridian of Peking, as well as many hundreds north of it. Here he met an officer from Peking, who had been deputed to salute him, and who, on being informed of his approach, went out to receive him with an escort of eighty men. At this place, he tarried for a few days to refresh himself, being well feasted by the Chinese officer the while, and he inviting him in return. Speaking of the dinner he gave in return, he says, "I entertained him in the European manner, and put a glass of good sack briskly about, causing the trumpets and other music to play, all which wonderfully pleased this gentleman, so that he and his company returned home pretty mellow."

Leaving Tsitsihar, on the 28th September, 1693, Ides and his retinue, accompanied by the Chinese officer, took their way in a

* Chinese embassy to the Tourgouth Tartars, page 12, note.

southwesterly direction, through an almost uninhabited country, and reached the Great Wall on the 29th of October. He was highly pleased with the sight of this gigantic work, partly it may be supposed from the prospect of meeting better accommodations beyond it, and he describes it in proportion to his admiration.

"It really seems to be one of the wonders of the world. About 500 fathoms from this famous wall [at the place we passed it] is a valley, each side of which was provided with a battery of hewn stone, from one of which to the other a wall about three fathoms high is erected with an open entrance. Passing through this fore-wall, we came to the entry of the great wall, through a watch tower, about eight fathoms high, arched over with hewn stone, and provided with massy doors strengthened with iron; the wall runs from east to west, across the valley up the extraordinary high rocks, and about five hundred fathoms distant from the other, hath on the rocks on each side of it a tower built. The foot of this wall was of large hewn quarry-stone, for about a foot high, and the remaining upper part was composed of brick and lime, but as far as we can see, the whole was formerly built with the same stone. Within this first port, we came into a plain full one hundred fathoms broad; after which we came to another guard-port, which had a wall on each side, and like the first wall, was carried quite across the vale; and this as well as the first port, was guarded by a watch of fifty men. On the first or great wall stands an idol temple, with the ensigns of the idol, and the emperors flying on the top of it. The wall is full six fathoms high, and four thick, so that six horsemen may easily ride abreast on it, and was in as good repair as if it had not been erected above twenty or thirty years since; no part of it being fallen, nor annoyed by the least weed or filth, as other old walls are observed to be."

The first city he reached beyond the great wall was Galchan or Galge, where he was "welcomed by the discharge of three iron guns," invited to sup with the governor, and amused with plays. From this place, he passed through Shantooning and Xungunxa (Tsunhwa chow?) to Ke chow and Tang chow. The last he describes as a place of considerable trade, at which the produce for the capital is landed, and where also he was invited to a noble entertainment. Our traveler is not a whit behind more modern ones in expatiating again and again on his fare, and telling his readers with what good things he was feasted. From Tang chow to Peking was one day's journey, and as he approached the metropolis, he remarked the gardens fenced with stone walls, the cypresses and cedars planted along the paths, and adds with much naïveté, "the gates of the finest gardens were set open, I suppose purposely on my account." He describes the country between the wall and Peking "as plain and good

arable ground, on which grows rice, barley, millet, wheat, oats, pease, and beans, but no rye." On his entry into the capital, with his convoy of ninety persons, the crowd was so dense as to give some interruption to his progress, which we can easily suppose if the streets of Peking are as narrow as those of Canton. On reaching the embassador's court, he "was instantly stored with all manner of provisions and refreshments." And adds, that, "we every morning returned thanks to the great God, who after a long and difficult journey of one year and eight months, had at last conducted us safe and well to our desired place, without the loss of any more than one man."

After a repose of three days, the emperor gave him a welcoming feast at the palace, which he minutely describes; after inventorying the dishes, he says the "table appointed for me alone was about an ell square, upon which the dishes were all of silver, and piled one upon another, amounted, as I told them, to the number of seventy." In tantalizing contrast to this minuteness worthy of an epicure he simply says, when describing his audience: "I found a great number of mandarins at the court, all clothed in their richest embroidered robes, such as they wear in the emperor's presence, who waited for me." After we had mutually exchanged compliments, the emperor appeared on his throne; upon which I delivered his czarish majesty's credentials, and after the usual ceremonies and a short speech, was conducted back." This silence was probably kept by order of Peter, who, in common with his successors, seems to have endeavored to keep Europeans in a measure ignorant of Russian diplomacy with Asiatic courts.

Four days after, the embassador was invited to a banquet in the palace, where he was obliged to sit upon his legs to his great inconvenience. In reading Ides' narrative, one cannot avoid noticing the self-satisfaction and complacency, with which he narrates what he did, and what was done to him; he is so well pleased with himself, his czarish majesty, and his office and dignity as embassador, that he has but little leisure to describe much else. He says, speaking of the invitation to the present entertainment, "I was informed that I was invited to eat before the emperor; wherefore, accompanied by the mandarins thereto appointed, and my retinue, I rode to court. As soon as I entered, the emperor mounted his throne. . . . . The emperor sent the viceroy to me with the utmost respect, to ask after the health of their czarish majesties; to which I returned the proper answer." At this feast, he saw some of the Jesuit fathers, who were called in to interpret.

"The emperor sent me from his table, a roast goose, a pig, a loin of very good mutton, and soon after several dishes of fruit, and a sort of drink composed of boiled tea, fried meal, and butter, which looked not unlike bean or coffee decoction: having received all which, with due respect, his majesty ordered the viceroy to ask me, what European languages I understood. To which I answered, I could speak the Muscovite, German, Low Dutch, and a little Italian. Upon which he immediately dispatched some servants to the hinder part of the palace, which done, there instantly appeared three Jesuits, who approached the throne. And after kneeling, and performing their reverence to the emperor, he commanded them to arise. One of these was father John Francis Gerbillon a Frenchmen; and the two others were Portuguese, one of them called father Anthony Thomas. The emperor ordered father Gerbillon to me; who coming towards me speaking Italian, asked me in the emperor's name how long I had been traveling from Moscow to Peking, and which way I came, by waggon, on horseback, or by water. To which I returned satisfactory answers: on which returning to his majesty, he informed him: who immediately answered, *gowa, gowa*, which is very well. The emperor then ordered the viceroy to acquaint me that it was his most gracious pleasure that I should approach nearer the presence, by coming up to the throne; upon which I arising, the viceroy taking me by the hand, after having led me up six steps, set me at the table opposite to the emperor. After I had paid my most humble respects to his majesty, he talked with father Gerbillon, who again asked me how long I had been on the way hither, in what manner I traveled, and in what latitude Moscow was situate, and how far distant from Poland, France, Italy, Protugal, or Holland. To all which I observed my answer proved very satisfactory. Upon which he gave the viceroy a gold cup of Tartarian liquor called kumis, in order to hand it to me; which with due respect I accepted, and having tasted, return it. This kumis, according to the report of the attendants, is a sort of brandy distilled from mare's milk. After this the emperor ordered my retinue to advance within three fathoms of his throne, and entertained them with the same liquor; which being done, I paid my compliment in the European manner, and the viceroy took me by the hand, conducting me to my former place, where after sitting for a quarter of an hour, I was desired to rise.

"The throne is placed opposite to the eastern entrance, against the hind wall, and is about three fathoms broad, and as many long; before it are two ascents with six steps each, and adorned with rails and cast representations of leaves very well gilt: on the right and left sides were also rails of cast imagery, which some report to be gold, and others silver; which are also extraordinary well gilt. Exactly in the middle of this raised place is a throne somewhat like an altar, which opens with two doors: and in it the emperor's seat about an ell high, covered with black sables, on which he sat with his legs across under him. This monarch was then aged about 50 years, his mien was very agreeable, he had large black eyes, and his nose was somewhat raised; he wore small black mustachies, but had very little or no beard

on the lower part of his face; he was very much pitted with the small pox, and of a middling stature. His dress consisted of a common dark-colored damask waistcoat, a coat of deep blue satin, adorned with ermines, besides which he had a string of coral hanging about his neck, and down on his breast. He had a warm cap on turned up with sable, to which was added a red silk knot, and some peacocks' feathers hanging down [illegible]wards. His hair, plaited into one lock, hung behind him. He had no gold nor [illegible] about him. He had boots on, which were made of black velvet."

After receiving these attentions from the emperor, the governor of the city and other high officers entertained him with the performances of play-actors and jugglers, which highly amused him.

"Others so nicely played with round glass-balls as big as a man's head, at the point of a sharp stick, tossing them several ways, without breaking or letting them fall, that it was really surprising; After this, a bamboo cane about seven foot high, was held upright by six men, and a boy, about ten years old, crept up to the top of it as nimbly as a monkey, and laid himself on his belly upon the point or end of it, turning himself several times round; after which, rising up, he set one foot on the bamboo, holding fast to it with one hand, and then loosing his hold, clapped his hands together, and run very swiftly down, and shewed several other feats of agility which were very wonderful."

Similar diversions were played before Ismayloff, which Bell of Antermony describes. The governor also gave him a dinner, at which, among other delicacies handed to him was, "a larger dish of tea than ordinary, in which was put peeled walnuts and hazlenuts, with a little iron spoon, to take them out on occasion, which tasted very agreeably." While dining, "a play was acted, interlaced with songs and dances by little boys dressed in girl's clothes." By the kindness of this officer, he was conducted over the city, and the surprise he expresses at the elegance of those manufactures he examined, the contents of the imperial dispensary, the beauty of the gold fish, and other things which were shown him, betokens a great ignorance of China at that time among the Russians.

On the 7th of January, the Chinese new year occurred, which was celebrated with their usual hilarious clangor, insomuch that from ten at night till next day at noon, "there was as great a noise as if two armies of one hundred thousand men were in the heat of battle." For three days the shops were shut, "and all merchandising forbidden on penalty of severe punishment." In this last particular, he was probably misinformed or mistaken, for the period of new year is a holy day, which all classes willingly observe by cessation from all business. While at Peking, he visited the college of the

Jusuits, and was as usual "well satisfied with the entertainment of the fathers." He was also invited to see the imperial stables:

"About this time, two mandarins came from the cham, to invite me to take the diversion of seeing the city: accordingly I mounted, with my retinue, and these mandarins conducted me to the emperor's elephant-stable, where stood [redacted] of those beasts, one of which was white; having then seen them, that was not enough, but they must show several tricks, and, at the command of the master of the stable, they roared like a tyger, so dismally loud, that their very stable seemed to tremble: others lowed like an ox, neighed like a horse, and sung like a canary-bird; but, which was most surprising of all, some of them imitated a trumpet. After this they were obliged to pay their respects to me on their four knees; to lie down first on one side, then on the other, then to rise up. When they lie down, they first strike out their fore-legs forward, and then throw out their hind-legs backward, and by this means lie with their bellies flat upon the ground. One of them was not broken, and by reason he was very unruly, he was loaded with heavy chains on two feet, and, for the whole time he had stood there, had not been removed from his place; and a great pit was dug before his stall, that in case he broke loose, he should fall into it, and be prevented from coming into the court to do any mischief. All these elephants were extraordinary large, and the teeth of some of them were a full fathom long. The mandarins told me, that they came from the king of Siam, who annually sends several, by way of tribute, to the emperor of China. Their food was only rice-straw bound up in small truffles, which they take up one after another, with their trunk, and convey to their mouths.

"After a satisfactory sight of what I desired, I rode with the mandarins to my apartment; and as we were on our way, I observed, at the door of a considerable mandarin, and a great officer, some persons fleaing of a fat dog; upon which I asked the mandarin, wherefore that was done. Who answered, that it was a healthful sort of food, especially in summer, it being very cooling. After I had handsomely treated these mandarins, they went away."

The time for his departure approaching, he says, "the emperor sent two mandarins to desire me to be ready to receive my audience of leave two hours before day. At break of day, I was introduced among the mandarins, who were placed according to the particular rank of each of them; and after waiting half an hour, the emperor approached, accompanied with an agreeable concert of fifes, and a sort of lute. On each side of the throne were two great drums, placed on stools and curiously gilt and painted, each of them two fathoms and a half long.

"By his command, the herald which stood before the throne, went to the presence-chamber door, directed himself to the lords which sat without in the court, and uttering some words with a shrill voice, he thrice succes-

sively cried, stand up, bow to the earth! Whilst this was three times done one after another, the bells were rung, the drums were beaten, the lute was touched, and three pipes, made for that purpose, were very loudly sounded. Then two principal lords were, by the emperor, sent to acquaint me, that it was his majesty's pleasure, that I should approach nearer the presence; accordingly they led me, by the hand, from the place where I [redacted] about eight fathoms distant from the throne, where my retinue were left sitting [redacted] I sat down on one side, about three fathoms from the royal throne, betwixt two great lords; and after having paid a respectful compliment to the emperor, his great bell was rung, and the large drums, on each side, were beaten, which made as great a noise as a volley of guns; the flutes were also played on, and the before-mentioned pipes nine times sounded: upon which I was desired to sit down; which having done, a dish of coffee or bean decoction was presented to me, which I accepted, and drunk up. And after I had dispatched the affairs of their czarish majesties, with the emperor, I rose up, and having paid my compliment to him, he also arose from his throne, [redacted] went out at the west-door to his apartment."

From the expressions here and elsewhere used, it would appear that Ides made no objection in complying with the forms of the Chinese court, but performed the *kotow* (a thing, however, he does not mention). Sir George Staunton, quoting from the edition to the Tourgouth Tartars, page 12, of 1698, says, "the embassador being reconducted by the *adogeda* to his seat, the Chinese, all on a sudden, placed themselves on the right side upon their bended knees, knocking their heads against the ground three times, whilst the emperor was descending from the throne. We were led by the two adogedas to the same place, where we were obliged to perform the same ceremony." This sentence does not occur in the edition before us. According to Bell, Ismayloff made many objections and endeavored to avoid rendering this act of homage, but unsuccessfully. It was in his case, settled, "that the embassador should comply with the established customs of the court of China; and when the emperor sent a minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself in every respect to the ceremonies in use at that court." As if with reference to this stipulation, in his instructions to Tulishin, the envoy to the Tourgouth Tartars, Kanghe, speaking of an interview with the czar, says, "if he (the czar) happens not to be desirous to see you, and consequently sends no messengers to invite you to a conference, it is very immaterial. As to the order and ceremonial of your reception, it may be conformable to the customs and ceremonies of that country."*

* Staunton embassy to Tourgouth Tartars, page 12.

Having had his final audience with the emperor, Ides began to prepare for his return, which he did by purchasing a large number of extra camels and mules for carrying the baggage and merchandize through Siberia. He left Peking the 19th of February, 1694, "accompanied out [redacted] the city-gate with a numerous train of great officers of state, and also attended by a deputy as far as the confines of the desert, who had orders to furnish the whole company with everything they required at the emperor's charge. As soon as they left the Chinese territories, provisions and forage began to be scarce, and it was with much trouble, the party reached the river Sadun, where they halted two days to refresh. During this repose, he remarks that "a Chinese envoy, with a hundred armed men came up to me, who by command of the emperor, was by the viceroy of Tartary, dispatched from the city of Mergheen, with orders to accompany me to Nerzinskoy, there to treat concerning some affairs with the governor." This addition was a great relief to Ides, who was apprehensive of an attack from the "strowling parties of robbers" thereabouts.

Soon after he left this place, the whole encampment was endangered by the grass taking fire. It had been kindled to windward, and the smoke gave indications of its approach before it reached them, so that some time was afforded for the horses and camels to scatter. However,—

"Within the space of half an hour, the air was wholly darkened with the smoke, and the fire driven on by a stormy wind, flew swifter than a horse could run, into the vale, where the dry grass was about half an ell high; so that it was scarce possible either to escape or quench such a rapid flame: the fire flew, or rather flashed, by our camp, as swift as lightning, so that whilst I turned myself round, it was got to the short grass, and behind the brow of a hill: notwithstanding its speedy flight, we did not clearly escape it, for the flame laying hold of our foremost row of tents, immediately sent ten or twelve of them burning into the air: great quantities of our merchants goods were consumed, and fourteen men struck down by it, which were miserably burned, and some of them taken up for dead; but after necessary care was taken for their recovery, only one Persian died. I was myself in great danger, and if I had not in time run to a hill where there was scarce any grass, and been assisted by two servants, which covered me with a felt, to keep off the heat, I should not have escaped better than those above-mentioned. The flame was no sooner past us than it visited the Chinese embassador, who was encamped at some distance from us, amongst the hills, where, to his good fortune, there happened to be very little grass, so that the fire passed about and over the hill, but was not violent enough to catch hold of any thing, so that their horses tails only were a little burned, or rather singed."

Before they reached Argum, near Nerzinskoy, they were nearly famished. Indeed, the recital of the hardships endured for want of food, both for man and beast, their apprehensions of attack from the Tartars, and the losses by reason of the death of the baggage animals is in sad contrast to the plenty, safety, and expedition that attended them while in the limits of the Chinese empire. We are told nothing of the errand of the Chinese messenger from Mergheen at Nerzinskoy, and Ides summarily dispatches his journey from thence to Moscow, where he arrived January 1st, 1695, after an absence of two years and ten months.

ART. V. *Note on article second No. 9. for January—Progress of the difficulties between the English and Chinese, &c., by C. R.*

THE importance of the interests staked upon the controversy between the parties referred to in the above named article, the bearing it has on property and life, and the wide diversity of opinion prevailing on many of its points, are the chief motives to discuss the subject often and fully. It is not only allowable, but proper, that the residents should express their personal views, however differing; and having done this, leave the impartial and the intelligent elsewhere to decide. This was the design of C. R. His remarks were meant merely as the results of a calm review of an agitating question, and he adds this note, because some explanations have been asked, and some expressions misunderstood, if not offense taken.

As respects the resistance of the foreigners to the attempted execution in December, C. R's opinion was based on the conviction, that the ground so invaded, was leased property. This belief rests on the fact of its enclosure down to the time of the great fire (1821); the repeated proposals to reënclose it since that time; the claim to it set up, and the power exercised over it, by the holders of front factories; the reënclosure of it at present for the exclusive use of the foreigners, &c. If, however, these grounds are not good, then the resistance should not have been made, nor should it, in any case, have been marked by any violence.

The assumption, that the select committee would have sacrificed the opium trade, in March last, was taken up on the ground of their

constant disavowal of protection to it in China, and especially on the declaration of the committee in 1826, (quoted in Phipps' work on the China Trade:) of course, under opposite orders from the honorable Court, the committee would have acted differently.

C. R. did not mean to convey any imputation on British honor, by repeating, in the 12th paragraph, a very common quotation — as often applied to the government of his own as of any other country. No doubt the superintendent felt that the loss must be submitted to, and that being the case, it were best, the right of recovery, whatever it were, should be vested in her majesty.

When the article, under comment, was written, C. R. did not know that the superintendent disclaimed the stoppage of the British trade, and threw the onus of the same on the Chinese government. His argument upon this point is entitled to great consideration; indeed when full copies of his official papers come before the community, it may be a duty, as it will be a pleasure, not only to exonerate, but to approve this portion of his measures. Meantime we may be excused, if we make the same mistake on this head, which has been made by high legal authority in India.

C. R. did not know that any doubt rested on the point, that an exemption from bonds was held out, to induce the English to remain at their factories. If he is mistaken in this idea, he will at once withdraw a remark, which was, and still is, supposed to stand on the best authority.

The remainder of the 15th paragraph has not been understood or mistaken entirely. Indeed it is freely admitted, by C. R. on review, that, unexplained, it may become justly offensive, though not intentionally so. When the first bond was signed, the impression went abroad, that it was by the direct efforts of the resident merchants, its clauses had been made to operate only upon the masters and crews of vessels. Thus commodore Read complained at the time — "the merchants and supercargoes have succeeded in exempting *themselves*, from the penalties attached, but the bond is yet left to operate upon masters and crews of vessels, who, from their dependent situation, are obliged to comply, &c." This officer's opinion is here given, as before, because his name is a guaranty both for intelligence and friendliness, and to show that such an idea *did* find circulation. So far as it pervailed, it gave the impression, that the substitution was an unfair one. To repeat and reply to the inquiries then, and often made, why it was so done, was the object of the last sentences of the 15th paragraph. They are not to be understood as ascribing what-

ever may be unfair, in the transaction, to the residents, but to the senior hong merchant. He was required to arrange the bonds; he knew his employers, and he knew that if opium was ever detected, and a severe provincial officer demanded the offenders, it would be required of the cohong to search for him among the shipping. To neutralize opposition on the part of the residents, he probably saw no way so good, as to set them aside altogether, to make it in fact none of their business, and to fix all responsibility on the shipping. They took the exemption as it was — as a release from a most harsh demand; he, we suppose, meant it as buying them off, as getting rid of their resistance.

C. R. never believed that the residents would accept a bribe, much less that they would lend themselves to the surrender of a countryman. The word has no meaning, except as descriptive of the supposed design and management of the senior hong merchant. He acted because he was *compelled* to fix responsibility somewhere; and besides, he naturally chose to save friends and expose strangers. They accepted the exemption for themselves, and the only matter of regret is, that the failure to do as well for others, has laid them open, even with their friends, to sad misconstruction. This explanation, it is hoped, will be of use to do away an idea from which C. R. suffers, as well as others, his countrymen. In fact, he has been careful to make no exception in his own favor.

As concerns matters of trade since the retirement, C. R's argument is one for simple neutrality. More than once within a few years, the government of the United States has been brought to the verge of war, in consequence of acts committed by belligerent powers on its neutral citizens. With this experience before us, it becomes every one to beware of transactions tending to throw a doubt on the nationality of property, and so tempting belligerent invasion. Hence arise the objections, C. R. has stated, to agency for British houses, and still more to purchases of British shipping, in these times of expected hostilities. The late edicts of confiscation, the interference with the funds of several American ships, the prohibition to bring goods from British ports, &c., are all so many comments on the argument aforesaid, so many evidences of already awakened suspicion.

In commenting on the course of the superintendent, as well as on that of the American representative, C. R. has felt all the embarrassment that naturally arises on expressing a single opinion unfavorable to men for whom he feels the sincerest respect and friendship; he never intended to question the just and honorable intentions of those

gentlemen, or their perfect right to act upon their own judgment in the late emergencies. Indeed, the recent intelligence is much more favorable to their course, than to the views of C. R. The public acts of public men are, however, open, everywhere by common consent, to frank and calm discussion. On such points as deeply affect private interests, differences of opinion will always arise, and it is in fact for the interest of the public man that they be discussed early and fully. He is thus directed to the points where misapprehension has arisen, or cautioned where inattention or some like cause was leading him into error. As to the *manner* of such discussion, it should ever be calm and impartial; and if in any respect C. R. has offended against these rules, or has advanced what is erroneous or in any way unfair, he will be forward and happy to repair his inadvertency.

ART. VI. *Reply to article second, in the Repository for January, in a letter addressed to the editor, dated Canton February 14th,* 1840. By NON SINE CAUSA.

[In the article by C. R. in our last, and in that here introduced, there is somewhat which might well have been modified, or omitted. Our pages are designed for a Repository of facts, rather than for forensic debate. Yet when great and difficult questions are pending, it is desirable they should be freely and fairly discussed. To this no one will object. But there is danger of making partial or erroneous statements, or of making them in objectionable terms, liable to be misunderstood. We express our unfeined regret that any such should ever appear in our columns. In future, we hope our correspondents will be more guarded in what they write. Having admitted C. R.'s paper, we feel bound to admit the reply. How to remove existing evils, extend and secure honorable commerce, and open and establish friendly relations—such commerce and such relations as shall be mutually beneficial and satisfactory—are great objects—now, more than ever before, demanding from all careful consideration.]

DEAR SIR,—In the cunclusion of the leading article in your number for January, I observe that you allude to a long communication which had "just been put into your hands;" and you say that you "are encouraged to except more from the same and other writers," and that you expect by a comparison of the views of different persons, the "due medium" may be found out, and that, "order, peace, good will, and prosperity will be secured."

If you expect a comparision of the views of different persons, so that a "due medium" may be arrived at, you may be perfectly safe

in putting the article by C. R. upon the very extreme line on one side; no one can go beyond his Utopian ideas, nor arrive nearer the confines of truth and honesty of purpose; no one *professing* a Christian spirit, far less any one *possessing* a particle thereof, can go beyond C. R. Even admitting his statements to be correct, there is a spirit of jealousy stamped in every line, there is a degree of self-esteem, and arrogance in the language of the article, under notice, which renders it a harmless missive; its venom must recoil on the writer. The article would be entirely beneath my notice, or that of any American merchant in Canton, were your journal to stop its circulation here; but shall we endorse the cold blooded slanders of C. R. by permitting them to cross the ocean? Shall we see a respectable individual, like our consul, vilified, and shut our mouths? Forbid it, truth and justice! However, Mr. Editor, I shall confine my strictures, principally to the libels on the American merchants of Canton, leaving the consul and the superintendent to speak for themselves, if they consider C. R. worthy of flagellation. C. R. writes well; therefore he can claim no immunity from me on the score of ignorance; I need make no apologies for my style, for your readers will readly see that I am a plain man; and all who are acquainted with the subject, will say that the truths I write must put down error, however, homely the garb in which they are clothed.

I am quite amused at the temerity of C. R. in wishing to submit even the opium question, and the relation growing out of it, to the "papirs sensibles," for in close connection with that question, in some shape or another, would be found most transactions of the general trade, in which C. R. and all other American merchants have been successful operators. C. R. expects *praise* from one, *criticism* from another, and *abuse* from a third: he will be disappointed in the *first* most assuredly, and through he will have plenty of *criticism*, he will be spared *abuse*,—for on looking into "Webster" I find that "*abuse*" means "improper treatment," "perversion of meaning," "rude speech," &c., all these definitions it will be difficult to apply to anything that the English language is susceptible of in relation to the article of C. R. If he considers his tirade of thirty pages, "a brief rapetition of some opinions on the past stages of the controversy," spare us, I pray you, the infliction of his *full statements*.

In regard to the opinions of C. R., I would say briefly, in reply to his reasoning on paragraph 7th, that his position is a wrong one; for had the government been actuated by a sincere desire to put down the opium trade, it would have succeed; this is amply proved

by the fact, that the first sincere efforts for its suppression have been successful. In relation to paragraph 7th, I would say, that C. R. approves of the interference of the foreigners on the occasion of the first attempt to execute a Chinese in front of the factories, because he took an active part in that interference; the repetition of the act, or rather the carrying out of the attempt alluded to, was the *consequence* of that *very proper interference*, and not because the importers of the drug did not "lay the first lesson to their hearts." I pass over paragraphs 8, 9, and 10, leaving one of the many friends of the superintendent to notice them.

Paragragh 11th. C. R. says the honorable Company's committee would have ordered off the ships, and deported Mr. Dent. C. R. should remember that Mr. Dent was one of many, and was not particularly subject to the notice of the Chinese authorities until we were all prisoners; and then if the select committee had been here, it would have afforded him the same protection which captain Elliot did, and the act would have been equally praisworthy; and the individual who would hesitate, under similar circumstances, to do as he did would be subject to the censure of every honorable mind.

Par. 12th. All who know captain Elliot, will be slow to believe, that he estimated for a moment the value of the surrendered drug in comparison with the safety of his contrymem; this last was his primary object, and he never dwelt on any other consideration.

Par. 13th. I agree entirely with C. R. that the Americans pursued the wisest course in remaining in Canton, instead of retreating with their English friends to the great prejudice of their own interests, and the interests of their constituents; but I had a different feeling at the time, and would have retired had others been so disposed; this, as matters have turned out, would have been a great error; I do not agree with C. R. as to the *motives* for remaining; not a man remained here because he was unwilling "to stake his chance of sympathy and support on an opium quarrel," but *every merchant* remained here, I believe, because he felt himself personally secure from danger, and because he expected to reap the reward of his continued partial imprisonment, to say nothing of his duty to his constituents.

Par. 14th. C. R. attempts to show that the English committed a geographical error in going outside the Bogue; or, in other words, that they were no more safe outside than in! Most assuredly they "assumed, that life and property were unsafe within the Bogue, and safe at the outer anchorages," and the result has borne out those assump-

tions; the Chinese *did not* yield their claim to the jurisdiction over the various anchorages; but they *did* no more, they *dared* do no more, than annoy the ships, causing them to move a few miles on or about the day that they had previously meditated retiring; and the sanction of the commissioner to the then trade, between Brits[illegible]d Americans, was actually given, as also that of the superintendent, the *former* by chop to the United States consul, as C. R. tells us further on in paragraph 23d, and the *latter* by tacit consent, backed by the presence of the superintendent himself.

Par. 15th. The *bond!* The subject of the signature of the bond, has been publicly discussed before, and a *very near friend of C. R's*, has said, that the odium of first signing it, has been frankly assumed by the party to whom it justly belonged; but he forgot that the party assuming the responsibility at that time, did it only *on one condition*, namely, that if the sin thus committed should weigh too heavely, or rankle in the breast of *C. R's friend*, or any body else, that party would assume the responsibility; and as this said *friend* did endeavor to throw off what he considered an awful responsibility, he thereby addimtted that his conscience pricked him. C. R. knows full well, and knew at the time he so "reluctantly assented to the bond," that no one declined signing it because the thought it a dangerous document, but because it was well known that to yield one step to the Chinese, would give them an advantage.

C. R. can rest assured that many calm statements, in reference to the signature of the bond, were made; it is true that these were made without the especial sanction, and approval of C. R.; the unpardonable error was committed, of not consulting this paragon of human excellence, "this second Daniel!" C. R. was probably the identical "*American resident*," who had been promised a virtual immunity from the bond! We have his word for that, and nothing more; and it can easily be credited; that his vanity led him into the belief, that what he states was truth. In reference to this C. R. says, "unhappily these fair prospects were clouded over, a bond was signed, &c." I would ask him, what prospects? Did the *resident* publish, that if a little time could be gained, the bond would be quashed? No; he cherished the idea with characteristic vanity, equalled only by that of C. R., that *he individually* would be the favored one, all others might, from their *suspicious characters and knavish pursuits*, be compelled to sign bonds, but *he*, the *pure*, the *uncontaminated* '*resident*,' would proudly hold up his head, and say, "Lin knows whom to trust," "my word is as good as my bond;" if he ever had any reason

to expect such immunity, he fully expected to make a private use of it.

C. R. accuses the Americans, his neighbors, with *meanness* for making it necessary for the captains to sign the bonds, instead of themselves. He says, "were they the authors of these troubles?" "Had they been the chief encouragers of this traffic, &c." "No—the resident merchants." C. R. here assumes the false ground, that the resident merchants, then in Canton, were "*en masse*," engaged in the opium trade, and desired to carry it on, and shift the responsibility on the captains! I pronounce this to be neither more nor less than *most atrocious intimation*, conceived in malignity, and born with falsehood stamped upon its face. Surely, if there was any danger of opium being brought in, accidentally, or secretly, it must have been known to the captains; and C. R. with all his venom, will hardly go so far as to say, that the captains were to be inveigled into bringing in the drug by the residents, and afterwards be asked to sign the bond. The fact is, Mr. Editor, the captains knew the tenor of the bond before entering the port, and the captains under my control, as agent for their owners, were not (like C. R's captains,) servants of mine. C. R. knew perfectly well that his signature, or that of his agent in Canton, would satisfy the authorities as well as the name of the captain, and therefore if he considered it 'mean' to put the responsibility on the captains, *why did he do it?* And for the reason, why was it settled that the captains should sign the bond? "Because the wily head of the cohong knew whom he dealt with, and that, to subdue the opposition of hardy sailors, to have a victim forthcoming, when the time of sacrifice should arrive, it was necessary *to bribe the resident agents.*" This is truly a most rancorous, injust, and libelous sentence; but to any one acquainted with the Chinese character, it excites only laughter, and falls upon the too lofty head of C. R.

Par. 16th. C. R. tells you that there were reasons for signing the *first bond*, as a temporaly measure: I presume one of the most urgent, was that he had a ship at that moment in port, which he was extremely anxious to dispatch; and I will take this occasion to remark that, C. R. finds a good excuse for going just so far, in the measures leading to the heinous offenses committed by his countrymen, *as suits his own interest.* No man who signed the bond thought for a moment that by doing so he would keep opium out of his ship, he signed it because he was perfectly sure that, from other considerations, none could come in, and that by doing it, his cargo would certainly be on its way to its destination much sooner than if he declined. If

as C. R. says, and attempts to prove by stating that "no conviction could legally take place under the bond, and that there were reasons for signing the bond," why was it an act of meanness to ask the captains to do so? As to the *second bond*, C. R. knows perfectly well, that originated in the precedent established by the "Thomas Coutts," and not in any newly promulgated law; for it is clear, that the most lenient bond would have been quite enough, with the publication of the law; but I deny that there is any essential difference in the two bonds; if the Chinese are disposed to be sanguinary, we are equally at their mercy, bond or no bond.

Par. 17th. This has very little to do with the questions between C. R., and the Americans, whose course I am attempting to justify; but a very cursory survey of its contents affords me so good an opportunity to notice the inconsistency of C. R., that I cannot refrain from giving it a passing word. In paragraph 14th C. R. says, "The harsh requisition (to stop the British trade,) came from the British representative," "and the guardian of British interests, on this side the Pacific inflicted, with his own hands, the losses, &c.;" after this he tells you, in the article under review, that the English residents, having made their election to retire, were bound to stand manfully by the cruel injunctions of the superintendent; in one breath C. R. accuses him of "great official errors," and in the next, he gilds the pill, with a little flattery. Every American in Canton will readily assent to the sentiment of C. R., that the superintendent was particularly considerate to the Americans; thereby proving that he entertained for them a much better feeling than their fellow countryman C. R. did; and notwithstanding the "eager avidity," with which, he says, they began to look on the profits of this illicit gain, they may rest assured that if, C. R. and his cant, were put into the scale against the most humble of the Americans, and Elliot should hold the scales, C. R. would be found wanting. The idea of abandoning the means of procuring cargoes for our American constituents, and of refusing consignments from our English friends, because Elliot had issued precautionary injunctions to keep the crown aloof from further responsibilities, is too supremely rediculous to merit more than one of C. R.'s contemptuous sneers.

As to the opinions of the American commodore, if I had the desire, I would bring forward, at least as strong quotations, in favor of the trade, carried on in American ships as C. R. can against it. The worthy commodore was comparatively a stranger here, and did not profess, as C. R. does, to instruct his countrymen, and all the world

besides, as to what was best to be done with their own affairs. In this paragraph the 'cloven foot' shews itself again. C. R. says, (what I must confess I never heard of before,) that the superintendent sanctioned the purchases of British goods, with bills! This is new to me, and I should as soon have thought of asking the superintendent's permission to do this, as of asking him to allow me to consume the produce of England at my table.

As to the feeling of the English towards their American agents, "after they had yielded to their losses, and sent their property within the river:" I am unconscious of any such feeling towards me, but I can easily conceive, that C. R., who had reviled every opium agent, should have imagined, and perhaps justly conceived, that his English friends, with whom he exchanged bills for cotton, should have had a most contemptuous opinion of his principles, which carried him, strait along an imaginary line of his own creating; to go on either side of which, he considered a deadly sin in any other man.

Par. 18th. Is only a register of the consummate vanity of C. R., and requires no notice.

Par. 19th. Is rather a good one, and treats of the blockade notice of the 11th September; the only good results of which, *to Americans*, were the enhanced value of freights, and the opportunity of testing *principle versus profit*, in the person of an intimate friend of C. R., who on that trying occasion had a ship loading at Hongkong.

I pass over article 20th, and come to the 21st. C. R. asserts, what he certainly can have no proof of, and thereby subjects himself to the just imputation of a perverted heart, that "ship after ship was sold for nominal considerations;" this, I fully believe to be false, though I would not charge C. R. with a deliberate intention of uttering so grave an untruth; *I do distinctly charge him with an acrimonious feeling, a petty meddling and jealous disposition*; after giving full vent to these feelings he pounces upon the American consul, and to him, I leave the reply, fully satisfied that he will get his deserts from that gentleman.

Par. 23d. C. R. says, the affair at Chuenpe, "as it threw an additional doubt on the safety of British property, within the grasp of the Chinese, gave a new impulse to transhipments;" the oracle has told you that British property, *only nominally covered*, was illicitly being carried to Whampoa; he must have very strange ideas of the sagacity of the British merchants to suppose, that *the greater the danger* to their property *the more anxious* they should be to put it in jeopardy. C. R. has told you that the superintendent consented to the

transhipments, and he *now* tells you that the commissioner, had given his consent; wherein then (having the consent of both sides) was the sin of carrying British property to Whampoa? And what would have been the position of British and American trade at this moment, if the Americans had not committed these grievous sins, in the eyes of C. R., *sins only* when they passed the imaginary line drawn by himself. Having expressed his disapprobation of the course of his countrymen, having vilified them with no measured hand, having blended with his statements, just enough of facts, to give them the semblance of reason, he now comes out with his sage advice; beginning with the "American community," and at the head of this, the consul, and next the private residents.

I had determined to let the consul speak for himself, and I feel sure that he will; yet I should regret that his countrymen remain silent on a point involving the honor of that respectable gentleman; it is quite evident that C. R. has some covered and secret motive for decrying him, and this will be shown sooner or later; very probably he would accept the consulship himself, if it were *respectfully solicited of him by our government;* he has probably an eye to the "loaves and fishes," or perhaps he thinks he would acquire more influence with *his friend Lin* were he to come out in the cousular uniform; he could then sport the American flag before his own house; and if the commodores should dare to call on their private friends before they waited on him, he could haul down the flag at his pleasure, as a certain consular vice agent, did on a former occasion.

All I have to say in respect to the consul is, that his countrymen entertain the highest respect for his character, and they will doubtless be ready to resist any and all slanders and aspersions, when they are called upon; while he is at his post, this will be unnecessary, he is fully able to defend himself; and C. R. may consider it a compliment if he deigns to notice his late writings. If he ever refused to present petitions, it must have been because he felt sure they would contain matter offensive to the Americans generally; however, I say again, let the consul speak for himself; I do not profess to be encumbered with diffidence, at the same time, I enter on a few remarks in regard to C. R.'s advice to the American merchants, with some reluctance, feeling aware that there are others here who can much more readily do justice to the vanity and egotism of C. R. I have no authority to speak for the American community, no more right to give their opinions, than C. R. has to school them; I therefore speak for myself, and have only to hope that I speak the sentiments of the Americans generally.

The first grave and unfounded accusation is, that the Americans signed the second bond, "without protest, explanation or remonstrance;" *this is false;* the writer has some agency in the matter, and does nor speak without book, as C. R. does. The second bond was objected to most decidedly, and orders went to the ships *expected* (in duplicate) *by dispatch boats,* enclosing the copies of the old bonds, and requesting the captains of the ships then expected, to sign none others; but unfortunately, the "Thomas Coutts" had assented to the new bond, a precedent was thereby established; and the Chinese, with their usual art, presented similar documents to the captains *outside,* and they signed them; finding the step could not be retraced, remonstrance was used without success, and then *protests* were made before the consul, and every captain which the writer has had any control over has been recommended to protest; some have done it, and some have thought it unnecssary. So much for the truth of C. R.'s assertion; and whether he made so grave a charge ignorantly, or maliciously, he deserves censure equally. I have already said that the Americans did not sign the first bond "*to prove their sincerity in abjuring* the opium traffic;" they signed it, to *facilitate their legal and proper business, and because their duty to their constituents and their own interests demanded it;* they gave proof enough to their sincerity in the abandonment of the opium traffic, by issuing circulars to that effect, and above all, by *remaining in Canton.* C. R. assented to the *first bond,* or through his agent precipitated the signature of it, because he had a ship to load; but when the *second bond* was to be signed, he had no ship unsecured. I hold that our remaining in Canton, bond or no bond, gave *a tacit assent* to *any and all the laws of China;* the statement of C. R., that the Americans quietly swallowed the new bond, whatever might have been their opinion of its severity, "without efforts to effect an abatement," *is false.*

C. R. next attempts to put a petition into the mouths of his countrymen, the only sensible clause in which is the 6th; "the wily head of the cohong," would have looked to his safety by refusing *at once* to present such a document; and if C. R. had carried it to the city gates, he might have been sent back with an endorsement of bamboo. I do not offer any very strong objections to his statements in this petition, but one would suppose, that C. R. had just landed in China: what he says would be very well for a *private* letter, in confidence *to his friend Lin;* but officially, it would not do, he would return it as he did certain globes and books unperused; he would no more assent to the terms of C. R.'s petition, than to the absurd idea, which a

friend of "Lin's" endeavored to impose on him, namely, that the world is round and revolves on its axis. Then the idea of this rejected petition being placed in the archives of the province! I really begin to think, as I go on, that I have mistaken my man, and that C. R. is just imported: however, I believe I am not mistaken, and that C. R. can be neither more nor less, than that person who shakes his best friend's hand with the tips of his fingers, as if he would say, with a regal air, "touch but pollute not, this is a hand that never was engaged in any illicit trade." But this is a digression.

C. R. goes on to school the British community, the superintendent, and I dare say, before I get though, I shall find him giving his sage advice to the queen herself, and to congress. I have heard that "whoso humbleth himself shall be exalted," and I hope it is equally true for C. R.'s future welfare, that whose exalteth himself shall be humbled. C. R. gives his counsel to the *British community* "with all the freedom of friendship and sympathy;" they will doubtless say, in relation to this whole paragraph, "*perserve us from our friends.*"

C. R.'s views of the superintendent's conduct, in respect to the armed occupation of Chinese harbors, is very logical; he is truly a most disinterested person, but I suppose he would not have had the superintendent remove his protection from Hongkong, until after the due "exchange of bills for British merchandise" had taken place. Then comes some Latin; here C. R. has the advantage of me; I disclain all knowledge of the dead languages, yet I should like to put a spice of Latin or Greek into this long article. What shall I say? "*Non sine causa*" sounds well enough, and might afford an excuse for inflicting this penance on you. "*E pluribus unum*" looks pretty enough when seen on a golden eagle, and might express the feelling C. R. has of his own power! But to be serious, Mr. Editor, and who, let me ask you, would fail to be so, when noticing the rancorous absurdities of C. R. He tells you again, that the superintendent "hurried the residents from their homes without a sufficient notice," and yet he says just before, that they should manfully have supported him, or in other words "kissed the rod" which was inflicting heavy punishment on them.

I have nothing more to say in reference to Kowlung and the amusing "skrimish," which I had the pleasure of witnessing at a *most safe distance*, than that it is no affair of C. R. or mine. I now come to the last topic of C. R. article: he doubts not, that an American, and perhaps a French, and Dutch envoy, will be sent out; if he lives in China until he sees *either*, he will have had ample time to

repent of his sins, be they few or many. He says, the United States "will exhaust every peaceful recourse rather than leave their citizens, resident in China, longer exposed to loss and *contumely.*" I thank thee, C. R. for that last word, it is exactly what *the Americans have received at your hands;* may they never be exposed to more from others, than they reap from your well provided store.

I cannot trespass much longer on your valuable time and space, Mr. Editor, and I shall therefore overlook much of what C. R. says on the opium question, *as it once was;* it is quite sufficient *for me,* that the most enlightened company of merchants, chartered by the most enlightened Christian power, should have given its sanction to the opium trade, to acquit my conscience for having once dealt in the drug. C. R. says truly, that, "all the merchants who gave up their drug last March can ask for, is money," *this is all they want!*

Some of C. R.'s remarks on page 470 are very sane and proper, but as I have not taken up my pen to praise, but to punish, I will not say a word in favor of the sentiments I allude to; my praise would afford him little more satisfaction than my censure. I now come to page 473, where a hope is held out, like a beacon light on a vast desert, that the end of C. R.'s article is close by; this fills me with pleasure, until I turn over, and find, that there are several pages more of sage and learned matter; have a little patience, my good sir, for I will not keep you long. I find nothing in particular upon which to offer a remark, until the first paragraph on page 476 meets my eye. C. R. wants a true copy of the code of laws which govern this empire, and particularly (I presume) that part relating to commerce; he says, that "no diligence of inquiry, no sincerity of *obedience,* no sacrifices, can satisfy his own sense of right, or raise him *above the taunt of the malicious.*"

I am not aware of what he alludes to in the last part of this quotation, unless he means to say, that it has been intimated, that *he,* in common with all American merchants at Canton, has evaded (innocently of course) the laws in regard to duties; it has been "maliciously" said perhaps that he has transhipped cargo to Whampoa, with intent to save the duty: or the more heinous crime may have been attributed to him of shipping goods through Macao, for the same illicit end; or the still more unjustifiable accusation may have been brought against him, of having landed goods by night in Canton, for the same purpose; and I am by no means sure that he may not have been unjustly accused of bringing in a much smaller quantity of rice than the law allows. That he has ever given the "malicious" any

grounds for saying thus much, I am not personally aware. I have now come to the last page, and I dare say you are equally glad, Mr. Editor. I pass over the first part merely observing, that, if the queen, the superintendent, the American consul, the Dutch, and French envoys, the yumchae, the hong merchants, and last not least the British and American merchants, will only consent to put their business into C. R.'s hands, they cannot fail to come out well; notwithstanding it is somewhere said "put not your trust in *princes*." I finish by requesting C. R. to look into his own heart, and his own motives, and to refrain in future from casting the first stone, or courting attack by holding his head too high. Let him, if he sincerely desires the good will of good men, or if he desires to bring "the stray sheep into his fold," put off a little of his lofty tone, and endeavor to assume a respectful lenity towards the faults and foibles of his fellow men. I now take leave of C. R., and offer no apologies for the length, or quality, of my writing; if what I say is not acceptable to my friends here, I shall sincerely regret it; that it will be so to C. R. I cannot hope or wish. I am, &c., &c. NON SINE CAUSA.

ART. VII. *Official correspondence with regard to her Britannic majesty's ship Hyacinth's entrance into the port of Macao. From the Canton Press, for Feb. 8th.*

No. 1.

H. M. ship Volage, Macao Roads 4th February, 1840.

Sir,—I shall not attempt to conceal from your excellency that the atrocious edict lately promulgated by the Chinese authorities, and posted on the walls of Macao, has caused considerable anxiety and alarm to the British community residing there; and as you are well aware that I am charged, under heavy responsibilities, with the protection of the lives and property of H. B. M. subjects, I have felt it incumbent on me, at this momentous crisis, to move one of H. M. ships into the inner harbor,—a position that will not only afford full protection to them, but a place of refuge in case of emergency. As H. M. ship enters the harbor with no hostile intention, I feel assured that this measure will strengthen your excellency's hands in maintaining a strict neutrality, which I am convinced you are most desirous to do, and with the greatest respect, I have the honor to remain, your excellency's

Most obedient humble servant, H. Smith.

Captain of H. M. S. Volage and senior officer in China.

To His Excellency, Dom Adriao Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

No. 2.

Answer to captain Smith's first note.

Illustrious Sir,— Before I call the senate to meet, which, conjointly with me, is the legal authority to decide on all political matters, I declare to you, that I cannot but look upon the entrance of the sloop of war under your orders, into the port of Macao, as an act of declared hostily to the government of her most faithful majesty, because such entrance has ever been prohibited; nor can you have instructions from your government to attack well known and most ancient rights, no ship of war, even in admiral Drury's time, having ever entered the port of Macao. I therefore protest against you, as regards the consequences that may result from this step taken by you without justifiable motive, since your views were very different in November last, as I shall make known to the respective governments of Great Britain and Her Most Faithful Majesty. May God protect you.

Macao, 4th February, 1840. A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

No. 3.

H. M. S. Volage. Macao, Roads 4th, February, 1840.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this day's date; and I beg leave to put it plainly to your excellency, whether you are inclined to give protection to her Britannic majesty's subjects now residing under the flag of Portugal, or whether you will permit them to be harassed in the manner they have been, during the last six months. If your excellency will have the goodness to say at once that you cannot afford the required protection, and wish the British community to withdraw from Macao, her majesty's ship shall immediately leave the harbor, and I shall lose no time in making your sentiments known to my countrymen.

I have the honor to be with great respect your excellency's,

Most obedient humble servant, H. Smith,

Captain and senior officer of H. B. M. ships in China.

To His Excellency, Dom Adriao Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

No. 4.

Answer to the second note from captian Smith.

Illustrious sir,— With the clearness which it becomes the representative of Her Most Faithful Majesty's government in this country, I shall answer the questions you put in your second note of this day.

This eatablishment is very different from all other possessions of H. M. F. M.; it is only under peculiar circumstances that it can admit strangers, and their simple toleration cannot furnish you with an excuse to expose that establishment to the horrible consequences that threaten it. Have not the English on various occasions of trouble gone on board their ships, and done this notwithstanding the decided protection which, according to my means I was ready to afford them? This is most certain, and no gentleman will deny it, for on one occasion they did so under the recommendation of the British superintendent of commerce, and on another occasion by your own

recommendation, proceeding no doubt from an exact knowledge of the peculiar situation of this establishment, where every thing must perish if the Chinese were to withdraw our means of subsistence; nor need I mention the treaties entered into between the Chinese government, and that of H. M. F. M., treaties well known to you, so much so indeed that no vessel of your nation ever entered the port except for necessary repairs. I therefore require, as representative of H. M. F. M.'s government, that you will cause forthwith the sloop Hyacinth, under your orders, to leave the port, and with the assurance that I shall afford to H. B. M.'s subjects such protection as I am able; I shall not insist on their remaining in this city, should they not think it efficient, (and this besides would be very necessary for the quiet of the city,) for I cannot consent to the treaties which bind us to the Chinese empire being violated, in order to observe the strict neutrality of which you speak in your first note. The circumstances are delicate, and upon you will fall the weight of the enormous responsibility which must accompany the precipitate step you have taken, in opposition to the laws of this establishment.

This is written in the senate, where I am in session with the members that compose it. You point out the hardships suffered by the few British subjects resident here, and do not weigh the heavy losses and great sufferings which have fallen upon 5000 Protuguese inhabitants, to maintain their friendship with the English. Their commerce completely stagnated, since the return of the superintendent, and the heavy duty that has fallen to the Portuguese soldiers to watch over the safety of the English, ought to deserve some consideration on your part, if indeed you do not remember expressions called forth by truth. This government will make known to the whole world, whatever has occurred within the last nine months, and is certain that the whole world will do it that justice which it deserves. I finally impress upon you, that the step you have taken is as hostile to the Portuguese as to the English. May God protect you.

Senate House, 4th February, 1840. A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

No. 5. *Protest.*

The governor and the loyal senate, surprised at the act just committed by capt. Smith, commanding H. B. M.'s ship Volage, in causing the sloop Hyacinth to enter the port of Macao, who could not be ignorant, and ought to have known, that such entrance is denied to all vessels not Protuguese or Spanish from Manila, by virtue of special regulations of this port, based upon ancient treaties with the emperor of China: an entrance which threatens to compromise this city, and which, even were England at war with China ought not to have been made; resulting therefrom that the said commander committed this act of his own will, which can never be approved of by H. B. M. the intimate ally of H. B. F. M.; the government of this city, therefore, impressed with the greatest regret, judge it to be their duty, in order to maintain their own dignity, as well as the rights of the Protuguese nation in this country, and to obviate the responsibilities which follow such entrance,

should the vessel remain in port, to protest, as they hereby solemnly do protest, against all consequences that may result from this proceeding: against the Portuguese being compromised with the Chinese government;—the suspension of the trade, and withholding of provisions to the prejudice of the Portuguese, of strangers and even of those English themselves who are not proscribed, who are here under the protection of the Portuguese government; and against all other sinister consequences that may be foreseen. And as such proceeding of the said commander cannot but be considered as hostile, and directed against the well being of the Portuguese in China; a proceeding which, even under the name of protection, such as it appeared to be in the year 1808, cannot be consented to: a proceeding tending in its effects to disturb the neutrality which this government wishes to maintain; for all these reasons does this government, in the name of Her Most Faithful Majesty, protest solemnly against the forementioned proceeding of the said commander, and against all consequences, present and future, all damage, losses, and perils, public as well as private, and against all and every thing that may directly or indirectly result or have resulted from so arbitrary and impolitic an act; and finally they protest against all who have assisted in this act. And, in order that this protest may produce the due effect, let it be officially made known to the said commander, and also to the superintendent of British trade in China.

Done and extended in session of the loyal senate of Macao, under its seal on the 4th February, 1840. Signed by J. J. Barros, secretary. A. A da Silveira Pinto, governor; M. Gonzalves da Silva; Joam Joze Vieira; J. B. Gularte; F. A. Seabra, F. J. de Paiva; J. V. Jorge.

No. 6. *Edict.*

The loyal senate cannot but make publicly known to all the inhabitants of Macao, that H. B. M. sloop Hyacinth having entered the port of this city without the consent of this government; the governor and the loyal senate have acted under such unheard of proceedings as policy and their duty require, and hoping that the measures adopted will produce the necessary result, they call upon the inhabitants to remain quiet, and that they fully confine in them, the loyal senate, in the certainty that they will act as their national honor and their duty demand. To be posted up for the knowledge of all. Macao, in session, 4th February, 1840. *(Signed as above.)*

No. 7. *Another note from H. E. the governor.*

Illustrious sir,—In order that I may deliberate as circumstances require, it is necessary that you be pleased to answer my second note of this day; having to inform you that I and the loyal senate are in permanent session. May God protect you. Macao, senate house, 4th February, 1840.

A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. M. B. naval force in these seas.

No. 8. H. M. S. Volage, Macao Roads, 4th February, 1840.

Sir,—I have the honor to acknowledge your excellency's second dispatch of this day's date. I trust, sir, that the motives and circumstances under

which her Britanic majesty's ship was ordered into the inner harbor of this settlement, will vindicate the measure in the sight of my government, a satisfaction which it would be vain to hope for, except it can be shown to be consistent with my duty to my own country, and with the sentiments of the deepest respect for her most Faithful Majesty's just rights and authorities at Macao. Having now, however, received from your excellency a demand that the vessel should proceed outside, I hasten to state that orders will immdeiately be issued to that effect, and she will move out tomorrow morning, but I entertain no doubt her appearance within the harbor and removal at your demand, will have produced the salutary effect of strengthening your excellency's hands. Permit me to express the hope that the language in which your excellency will demand the immediate removal of the Chinese forces *declaredly* sent here to seize or destroy my countrymen (to the deep insult of the Portuguese crown) will be not less stringent, and as successful in its operation as that in which your excellency has been pleased to require the withdrawal of the Hyacinth. I will only make the further observation that H. B. Majesty's forces under my command are entirely at your excellency's disposal whenever and however you may see fit to require their services, and sincerely lamenting the sufferings of the settlement, and the injuries and insults cast upon it by the Chinese authorities,

I have the honor to be with the highest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient humble servant, H. Smith,

Captain and senior officer of H. B. M. ships in China.

To his excellency, Dom Adriao Accacio da Silveira Pinto.

No. 9. *Answer to captain Smith's third note.*

Illustrious sir,—At the moment of receiving the answer which I had sufficiently anxiously awaited, I hasten to assure you that I did not expect a different proceeding from an officer of your standing, belonging to the British nation, so intimately allied to the nation to which I have the honor to belong. You will have known, that of the Chinese troops who were marching and others that were near the Bar-Pagoda, the former did not proceed, and the latter retired in virtue of the requisition from the Macao authorities, to allow us freely to consider this business; this proceeding will convince you of the good faith of the Macao government. I expect that the sloop will leave at the time you mention, and I can assure you that in so doing a great many evils will be avoided. I equally expect that you will have understood well the second note I addressed to you this day, and that you will allow due weight to all therein advanced. Finally allow me to give you my best thanks for the friendly sentiments you were pleased to address to me. May God protect you.

Macao, senate house, 4th February, 1840, at 9. P. M.

A. A. da Silveira Pinto.

To capt. H. Smith, commander of H. B. M. naval force in these seas.

ART. VIII. *Report on the geographical, historical, and political state and relations of Bútan, by captain R. B. Pemberton, envoy to that country, in* 1838.

THIS volume of 212 pages is the sequel of a report made by the same gentlemen in 1836. His first gave a complete survey of Arracan, Cachar, Munipúr, and Assám, with the regions to the east of them; his second, the one last published, carries us on to the frontier line north of Lower Assám and Bengal Proper, and makes us acquainted with Bútan. It is in two parts, the first of which is divided into three sections.—The notices of the book, which we here give, are abridged from the Friend of India, for Nov. 7th, 14th and 21st, 1839.

The first section furnishes a brief history of the relations between the British government and Bútan and Tibet. In 1772, the rájá of Kúch Behar was compelled, by the aggressions of the Bútías, to seek the assistance of the British government. "His cause was taken up effectively; and his enemies were driven back to their own mountains. In their turn they applied for support to the tíshú lama, the guardian of the grand lama of Tibet; who, in consequence, dispatched a letter to the governor-general, Warren Hastings, requesting a cessation of hostilities against Bútan, and the restoration of the lands of which she had been deprived. A treaty of peace was, in consequence, entered into and ratified on the 25th of April, 1774; and to confirm the amity, Mr. George Bogle, of the civil service, was deputed in May that year, to the court of the tíshú lama. He reached his destination in October, and remained there till the following April. A singular proof of the confidence he had won was given by the tíshú lama, in entrusting to him a considerable sum of money, to be expended in the erection of a temple on the banks of the Hooghly, immediately opposite to Calcutta, for which purpose a grant of land had been made to the lama by a sunud of the British government. In 1779 the lama died at Peking, where he enjoyed high consideration. In 1781 the decease of the lama was communicated to the governor-general, in the expectation of his sympathy with the national sorrow; and soon after, intelligence having been received that the new incarnation of the spiritual chief had been discovered, captain Turner was deputed, in 1783, to convey the congratulations of the governor-general on the auspicious event — a strange commission for a Christian officer to bear. The reception of this mission does not appear to have been so cordial as that of the former. No British mission has since then found its way into Tibet, and none into Bútan till captain Pemberton proceeded thither in 1838. The fact is, that in 1791, the Gúrkhas having invaded Tibet, the aid of the Chinese was called in against them. The Chinese, in consequence, drove back the Gúrkhas to their own country, and brought them into subjection; and then openly assuming the sovereignty of Tibet, which had for years been virtually subject to their rule, they established a line of military posts along the whole southern frontier

of that country. By this means all intercourse between the British government and Tibet was closed. The communication with Bútan has also been exceedingly limited. In 1815, the late Mr. David Scott, when judge in Rungpore, deputed a native officer of his establishment, with the consent of government, to settle some boundary disputes with the deb rájá of Bútan; and since Assám has been added the the British territories, such disputes have multiplied, and at last the necessity arose for captain Pemberton's mission."

The second and third sections of the first part of the report contain a description of those tracts along the frontier of Bútan and the British territories, by which the two states are brought into collision, and a narrative of the chief occasions of dispute. These tracts (*dwars* or passes,) are eighteen in number—7 on the frontier of Assám and 11 on that of Bengal—forming a narrow territory from ten to twenty miles broad, and about 220 miles long from opposite the Dhunsíré river in Assám, to the Tísta in Bengal. The passes on the Bengal boundary are wholly under Bútan authority; and all disputes about their limits were settled in 1834, by lieutenant Brodie, in conjunction with Bútan officers. Those on the Assám boundary are held in various ways: two are subject to British and Bútan rule alternately for six months every year; five are always under Butan authority, but pay a small tribute in recognition of British sovereignity; and two are always under British rule, but pay "a fixed composition for black mail, to certain independent tribes of Bútías and Duphlas, to purchase exemption from their *raids*." The disputes concerning the passes have arisen partly out of arrears of tribute, but much more from the protection given by the authorities of Bútan to gangs of robbers, committing depredations on those under British protection. Letters of remonstrance to the deb rájá were intercepted by the border chiefs who attacked the passes; and hence the rájá himself was compelled to seek a renewal of diplomatic negotiation, which was the occasion of captain Pemberton's mission, an account of which forms the second part of his report.

"Bútan lies between 26° 30′ and 28° of north latitude; and between 88° 45′ and 92° 25′ of east longitude. It is, therefore, about 220 geographical miles in length, and 90 in breadth, and has an area of 19,800 square geog. miles, of which about 6,600 are allowed for the lowland tracts of the *dwars*. Giving to the lowland tracts the average population of Assám, which is ten to the square mile, they will contain 66,000 souls. To the hill country of Bútan, captain Pemberton thinks it a liberal allowance to suppose the population amounts to six to the square mile, or 79,200 in all. He reckons, therefore, that 145,200 must be rather a high estimate of the population of the whole country. The people are divided into classes, which, however, have but little in common wtth the castes of the Hindús. They are eight in number. The first two are denominated the Wang and Kampa, and are considered to be the descendants of the Tibetan conquerors of the country. The highest offices are theoretically reserved for the Wangs: the inferior are enjoyed by the Kampas, but

not to the exclusion of the next two classes, called the Bhutpa and Kúshí. The next three orders, the Rangtang, Sanglah and Tebula, are of very inferior rank; and from the hand of the Tebula it is said none of the others will eat. The eighth is a religious tribe, generally permitted to marry; but those of it who pretend to peculiar sanctity, or undertake sacerdotal functions, repudiate marriage altogether.

"The deb and the dhurma rájáí are, the secular and spiritual princes of Bútan. The former obtains his office by the election of a supreme council, and holds it for three years, or as much longer as by force and intrigue he can keep possession. The dhurma rájá is esteemed a perpetual incarnation of deity, a sort of younger brother to the grand lama of Tibet, whose appearance is recognized a year after the decease of the previous *avatar*, according to certain indications of precocious holiness, which the priesthood are able to recognize. He likewise has his council, which is composed of twelve gylongs or monks, who reside habitually in his palace. The province of the dhurma rájá and his council is to regulate the affairs of religion and literature, or the worship and education of the people. But as they furnish several members to the secular council of the deb rájá, they have ample scope for the same spirit of intrigue which other ecclesiastics generally exhibit. But, in fact, the chief power lies with neither the deb nor the dhurma rájá or their councils. There are two great chieftains who nearly divide the country between themselves, and are too powerful to submit to any controul that crosses their own inclination, and yield such a measure only of regard to the ostensible rulers of the land, as is prudent for their own interests. These are the paro and the tongso pilos; themselves entitled to a seat in the supreme council, whenever they visit the capital. The paro pilo is governor of Western Bútan; and his jurisdiction extends from the Tísta on the west, to the right bank of the Tchinchú, which, under the name of the Godhadur, falls into the Brumhapútra, about twelve miles below Rangamutty, in Bengal. Under him are six zúmpons, in Mahommedan usage called súbahs, with inferior officers called chang dúmpas, and dúmpas; and as the patronage of these appointments belongs to the pilo, and not to the supreme government, all the power derived from the country under his authority is likewise in his hands. The tongso pilo rules over the eastern part of Bútan, and, therefore, has under his authority the dúars on the Assám frontier."

Bútan has nothing that deserves to be called an army; its revenues are extremely limited: the country is poor in every sense — the nature of the surface precludes the idea of fertility. The manufactures are rude and few in number. In itself, Bútan is of very little importance. "Yet," says the journal from which we quote, "its position on our frontier, and the facilities it might afford to other states to annoy our provinces, gives it a strong claim to consideration." Moreover, "within the last few days, rumors have reached us of proceedings, on the part of Nepál towards Bútan, which give the political relations of that country an immediate interest and importance."

The most intimate relations of Bútan are those which connect it with Tibet and China. Since 1791, Tibet has been a province of China, occupied by its troops, and having its affairs administered by its officers. Once a year, messengers come from Lassa, bearing an imperial mandate from China, addressed to the deb and dhurma rájás of Bútan, and the pilos and zúmpons under their orders, containing instructions to be careful in the government of the country, to quell promptly all internal tumult and rebellion, and report any apprehended invasion from external foes. With this mandate twenty-one gold pieces of coin are sent. A reply is dispatched by special messengers, with presents. Presents also pass between the dhurma rájá of Bútan and the dalai lama of Lassa; and three lamas, on the part of Bútan, are constantly in attendance at Lassa. Immediately to the west of Bútan is the little territory of the Sikkim rájá, said to be a tributary of the dalai lama. "We have just heard," says the Friend of India, "that the court of Nepál has actually demanded from our government a passage through Sikkim for its troops, for the conquest of Bútan." "Perhaps the audacity of Nepál may yet be the very means of opening our way to Lassa." There is, doubtless, something worth seeing in that sacred city.

"The information obtained during my residence in Bútan," says captain Pemberton, "would lead to the belief that the agents of Russia have found their way to that celebrated capital of Central Asia, and with what views they have been sent, may be safely inferred from their proceedings in a still more conspicuous field, farther west. Three or four merchants from Lassa, whom I met in Bútan, expressly said that there were foreigners residing there very much like us in dress, appearance and manners; who sat at tables, and were constantly engaged in writting and reading in books, similar to those they saw with the officers of the mission. That they were not Chinese was equally explicitly stated, and the inhabitants of Lassa are too intimately acquainted with their military conquerors, to have been mistaken on this point. No nation of Europe, that we are aware of, has for the last century, sent forth even her messengers of peace to the turbulent races of of Central Asia, und the widely extended diplomatic influence of Russia, may, at this moment, be moving in Lassa the wires which agitate Nepal."

ART. IX. *Journal of Occurrences: arrival in Macao of the new intendant of circuit; edict for the expulsion of the English; Chinese new year; entrance of the Hyacinth into the inner harbor; local officers; the Bilbaino; news from England; the Chinese navy; rumors; the opium trade.*

On the 31st ult. the new intendant, "the taoutae made his entry in Macao, and was received with the honors due to his person. After his arrival at the house of the hoppo on the Praya Pequena, which is reserved for his residence, he was visit-

ed by the procurador, accompanied by the two interpreters, who was very well received. He intimated to the procurador, that his coming to Macao was positively to exclude the English from the city; that he derived orders from his superiors to this end, and that he held an edict from his excellency for publication; in which order it was, that all the Chinese should be made to leave Macao within five days after the suspension of Portuguese commerce; and that he should use force against the English; but that he should give ear to the request of the mandarins to suspend its publication for five days, to give time to the Portuguese to deliberate about making the English retire from the city. At the end of which, he must see to it, that in case of a negative, he must fulfill his orders." From the *Portuguese na China, Feb. 2d.*

Feb. 1st. An edict was published, by the taoutae, ordering the British superintendents and subjects to leave Macao.

Monday the 3d was the Chinese new-year's day; it passed with much less than its usual joy and hilarity.

4th. About noon H. B. M. sloop Hyacinth, captain Warren, moved into the inner harbor of Macao, and anchored near the shore, just off above the temple Amákok. She left the harbor about 10 o'clock next morning.

6th, The late governor, Tang Tingching, left Canton, and was succeeded by Lin Tsihseu, late high imperial commissioner. Several other changes have taken place in the provincial city, and throughout the province.

An envoy from the Spanish government of Manila has arrived in Macao, in order to effect the liberation of two Spanish subjects seized on board the Bilbaino, and to ask reparation for the destruction of that vessel.

The recent news from England has somewhat inspirited the foreign community. A new era, no doubt, is at hand.

The strange project of increasing the Chinese navy, by the purchase and confiscation of foreign ships, seems at last to have exploded: it is said the *Cambridge, Norden,* and *Danske Konge* have been given back to their owners.

Rumors during the month have been current, in Canton, that Tsang Wangyen a native of Heängshan, and now censor in Peking, has recommended to the emperor the suspension of all foreign commerce.

To the editor of the Canton Register we are indebted for some corrections of statements, made in our last number respecting the *opium trade*, "All branches of British trade, to speak in the most favorable terms, are languishing; except one; and that branch the high commissioner was commissioned to root up forever; but H. E.'s proceedings have caused it to *flourish in more than pristine vigor.*" Again, "The opium trade was pushed on outside *with greater vigor and success than it had been for a year previous.*" With these statements before us, in the Register of the 7th ult., supported by current reports from various quarters, we said the number of vessels engaged in the illegal traffic on the coasts was *probably* as great as at any former period, perhaps greater. According to the Register of the 11th inst. there is not *one fourth* the number. We have been told that the vessels now or very recently engaged, are not less than fifteen in number.

The editor of the Register says "the average price for the last six months may be quoted at from seven hundred to seven hundred and fifty to eight hundred dollars" per chest. The amount delivered is, we are told, more than 10,000 chests, since July last.

Further, with regard to the *murder*, the editor of the Register says: "we have made particular inquiries of a party nearly connected with the captain of the vessel whose name has been brought in question in those "rumors," and their origin appears to have been this: some time ago the brokers on board an English vessel pointed out to her captain a Chinese boat, and warned him to beware of her, as she was a *pirate.* After some suspicious manœuvres on the part of the pirate, the captain of the English vessel boarded her; in the act of boarding one of his crew (a Frenchman) was speared through the foot; the Frenchman shot the pirate who speared him. The English then took possession of and burnt the pirate boat, cut off the tails of the pirates, and landed them on their own coast. Such is the origin of the "too well authenticated rumors." The seaman who gave the false information had been discharged from one and received on board another schooner, from which he was also discharged after having been punished,

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ART. I. *Cave of Camoens, in Macao: notices of his life and works, especially of his Lusiad. Communicated for the Repository*, by H. S.

A WRITER, who visited the tree under whose spreading branches Pollok composed the larger portion of his Course of Time, in closing his description of the spot, exclaimed, "I felt that I was in verity on classic ground." Macao, situated on an extreme isthmus of the beautiful island of Heängshan, or the 'Fragrant Hills,' may also be regarded as 'classic ground,' inasmuch as in this city was composed a portion of the renowned Lusiad; which, though not enriched, like the Course of Time, by the hallowed spirit of religion, will never cease to be admired while genius is respected. It is the production of a master mind, and an invaluable contribution to poetic literature. As in contradistinction to the Iliad and Æneid, the Paradise Lost has been called the epic poem of religion, so the Lusiad may be styled the epic poem of commerce. It celebrates the discovery of India. We have never seen any very complete or satisfactory history of Camoens. Many particulars of his career have been published; but few of them, however, are well authenticated. The following notices we have gathered from various sources. They are brief and incomplete, yet not without interest.

Luis de Camoens is generally known as being the most renowned of the Portuguese poets. He possessed talents of no ordinary character, and on the page of history his name will long live in all the brightness of its deserved glory. He was born at Lisbon, about the

year 1524. His life is noted for the many misfortunes and difficulties to which he was exposed, some of which commenced in his infantile state. His father, to whom he was tenderly devoted, was shipwrecked at Goa; and with his life, the greater part of his property was lost also. Luis, however, was provided for by his widowed mother, who placing a proper estimate on education, felt that it was of the greatest importance to her son; she therefore placed him at the university of Coimbra, where the natural talents with which he was endowed were cultivated with care and assiduity, as his literary productions of after life abundantly testify. He is described as being handsome, of fine form, with eyes glowing full of life. To the natural ardor and vivacity of his disposition, he added the accomplishments of a scholar, and the refinements of a gentleman. After the completion of his studies at the university, he returned to Lisbon.

As he was remarkable for his genius, so was he also for the strong passions of his heart. Unfortunately for him, he aspired above his rank, and bestowed his affections on Catharina de Atayde, to whom (from causes which to us are unknown) he could not be united, and in consequence of his attachment to her he was banished from court. Despair indeed now filled his bosom; but his mind being strong, he rose above its baneful influences. At that time the Portuguese were sending a fleet against Morocco, and he engaged as a soldier. During some hardfought battles, he received many wounds, among which was the loss of an eye. Yet in the midst of all the cares and toils of life, his love for poetry clung most tenaciously to him, and in such situations he composed some very beautiful and striking stanzas. In speaking of himself, on one occasion, he exclaims—

"One hand the *pen*, and one the *sword*, employed."

But the talents of this noble hero were by no means appreciated while he lived; he was envied, and treated with contumely, even by his countrymen, whom he had so indefatigably assisted through so many dangers on the land and on the sea. Jealousy is a monster, and has resentments which know no bounds; and Camoens, finding himself the object of this dire intruder in the human breast, deemed it no less than prudent to abandon his country, which he did in 1553, fully determined in his own mind never again to revisit its shores. Leaving the Tagus he repeated, with indignant emphasis, these words—

"*Ingrata patria, non possidebis ossa mea!*"

Unacquainted, however, with the evils and privations which await

an isolated individual in a foreign land, he thought that any spot in the wide world would afford him more happiness and peace of mind than the one which gave him birth. After a voyage of nine months, he landed at Goa, and immediately joined an expedition to revenge the king of Cochin on the king of Pimenta. In obtaining the victory, the poet bore a share of the merit. One year afterwards he accompanied Manoel de Vasconcellos, in an expedition to the Red Sea. His sword being useless to him there, he gave all his power and attention to poetry. He visited Mount Felix, and the adjacent regions of Africa, which are so strongly pictured forth in his 'Lusiad.'

After he returned to Goa, the tranquillity, which for a time he enjoyed, was well adapted to his inclination for the muses, and there his epic poem was commenced.* But by his own imprudence this season of tranquillity was soon interrupted. In consequence of some satires which he wrote, he gave offense, and was again banished;† and the place of his banishment was *Macao*. Here his engaging manners and accomplishments soon won for him many true and warm-hearted friends, notwithstanding he was under the disgrace of banishment; and he received an appointment as "Provedor dos Defunctos," and continued his Lusiad with unabated ardor.

The spot where it is said that Camoens used to sit, while composing this poem, is in a beautiful garden, which at present is the property of L. Marques, esq., situated on the elevated ground in the northern part of Macao, just beyond the church of St. Antonio. The retreat of the poet is not a cave, in the common acceptation of the term. On the surface of a gently sloping hill, and between two huge rocks, which seem to have been originally one, but now sundered a few feet apart by some one of nature's freaks, is the spot where Portugal's noblest poet used to sit. Above the cleft rocks, and on them, rests a mass of granite, which served the poet as a covert from the noonday's sun and stormy winds. There have been several additions made about the place. A balustrade has been built on one side of it, and on the top of the upper rock a small quadrangular building has been erected, commanding a fine view of the surrounding country. Towards the east you behold the sea and the blue outlines of Lantao and other islands. Southward and westward you view the Typa and Inner Harbor, with the Portuguese shipping and various native craft. To the

* It has been supposed by some that the Lusiad was commenced before Camoens left Portugal.

† It has been denied that he was the writer of those satires, although they were the cause of his banishment — which he always called '*unjust*.'

north is the Barrier, which forms a line of demarcation between the foreigners and celestials, and beyond it Tseënshan or Caza Branca, a small walled town and military post, where Mr. Flint was imprisoned in 1760–62, and behind which, stretching away in the distance, is a meandering river and innumerable inlets. The little *Ilha Verde* is hardly worthy of its name; however, it has a convenient summer house, and is a pleasant retreat for a hot summer's eve. The scenery altogether is romantic and charming. An ornamented niche now incloses the identical spot where Camoens sat, while the rocky seat itself is decorated with a bronze bust of the poet, upon the base of which, in letters of bold relief, are the records of his birth and death. It may very reasonably be made a question whether it were not better to leave all such spots, rendered notable by the renowned of past ages, just as the occupants themselves left them.

The retreat of Camoens, at present, wears altogether a different aspect to what it did in the days when the "poet hallowed the spot," and the attempted improvements, though well meant, go far to violate our preconceived associations of thought. This spot is often visited by foreigners resident at Macao, who are permitted free access to the garden; and by Mr. Davis, formerly among their number, some neatly written Latin verses were composed on it. These, as they have several times been published, we omit; but instead of the original, we introduce a translation made by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, who visited Macao in May, 1839, as chaplain of the United States frigate Columbia.

Among these recesses of rock and of shade,
Where the sun's mild beams on the rich foliage played,
The genius of Camoens in beautiful verse,
Poured forth its sweet lays which ages will rehearse.

And here the fair marble once breathed in its grace,
To tell of the poet that hallowed the place;
And the seat he loved most, while his eye was yet bright,
Was known by the bust in the cave's mellowed light.

But time with its years has betrayed the fair trust,
And crumbled the rich marble, alas, in the dust;
And stillness now reigns profound as the grave,
Through the rocks and the shades of Camoens' Cave.

But the fame of the poet in brightness is streaming,
And his name on the page of glory is gleaming;
While his works as the models of genius yet live,
And seek not from marble her praises to give.

So ever lives genius through time's crumbling power,
Till ages shall cease to chronicle their hour,
And spurns the crushed marble its story would boast,
And triumphs, yet deathless, when monuments are lost.

But to return to the life of Camoens. He lived happily and contentedly in Macao during the space of five years; during which time he visited some of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and amassed a small fortune; and wishing to add to it, he freighted a ship and embarked in her for Goa; but, ever doomed to misfortune, he was shipwrecked near the river Mekon in Camboja. His little all perished in the waters, and on setting his foot on the unknown shore he found himself possessed of nought but his poem, which fortunately he saved by holding it with one hand above the billows whilst swimming to the shore. The natives, among whom he fell, treated him kindly, as is noticed in the Lusiad. In speaking of his lost property he feelingly says:

"Now blest with all the wealth fond hope could crave,
Soon I beheld that wealth beneath the wave
Forever lost; * * * * *
My life, like Judah's heaven-doomed king of yore,
By miracle prolonged."

After undergoing numerous other difficulties, he felt, what at one time he never expected to feel, pantings for home; and he returned to Lisbon. His Lusiad was not published till 1572. It was dedicated to king Sebastian, who took a lively interest in the gifted author. But the king did not long live to protect him. In the demise of the monarch, all the fond hopes and resources of Camoens, were for ever blasted. He was now reduced to extreme poverty, so much so that an attached servant, who had lived with him many years, was compelled to beg from door to door in order to seek a subsistence for his master. Though in so destitute a condition, almost on the borders of the tomb, his genius for poetry still existed, bright and powerful; and it is said that he wrote some lyric poems which contained bitter and moving complaints. This man of talents, the hero of his country, disregarded and slighted by many, came to his end in the year 1579, in the hospital at Lisbon. No monument told the passing stranger of his worth, till fifteen years after his decease. Now, however, a splendid one perpetuates his memory.

The Lusiad * celebrates the great voyage of Vasco de Gama, in

* Os Lusiades, in the original,—the Lusiads, from Lusus, the Latin name of Portugal, who, Pliny says, was a companion of Bacchus, and who founded a colony in Lusitania (Portugal).

which he discovered the passage to the East Indies, round the Cape of Good Hope. That brilliant achievement laid the train of those mighty events which now link together so intimately the Eastern and Western hemispheres. Although the Lusiad has been termed the 'Epic poem of Commerce,' yet the developments of those discoveries which it describes, are no less interesting to the Christian philanthropist than to the Christian merchant.

After some patriotic addresses to Portugal and her princes, the poem opens with Vasco and his fleet, appearing on the ocean between the Ethiopian coast and the island of Madagascar.

> "Right on they steer by Ethiopia's strand *
> And pastoral Madagascar's verdant land.
> * * * * *
> "Where black-topt islands, to their longing eyes
> Laved by the gentle waves in prospect rise."

From here they —

> "Eastward steer for happier climes:"

When suddenly —

> "A fleet of small canoes the pilot spied."

After many fruitless endeavors to effect a landing on the African coast, they are finally welcomed, and hospitably entertained, by the 'swarthy chief' of Melinda. Vasco relates to the chieftain the adventures of his voyage, and recites an historical account of Europe, and especially of Portugal. He tells the astonished king of a huge and terrific monster, which appeared to the fleet amidst storms and thunders, while doubling the Cape of Good Hope. With a peering head, which reached the clouds, and a countenance of terror, this mighty ocean-phantom ordered Vasco to lead back his invading fleet, and with fearful menaces proclaimed himself as sole guardian of these hitherto unnavigated seas. After telling them of the woful calamities which should befall them if they dared to advance, he with a mighty noise disappeared beneath the raging waters. This is regarded by Mickle and Blair as one of the finest and most striking conceptions of which epic poetry can boast.

Leaving Africa the poem confines itself to the adventures and distresses of the voyagers, their landing and excursions on the coast of Malabar, and finally their return homeward.

Referring to the voyagers, now homeward bound, the poet exclaims in these beautiful lines,—

> "How sweet to view their native land, how sweet
> The father, brother, and the bride to greet!

* See Mickle's translation.

While listening round the hoary parent's board,
The wondering kindred glow at every word,
How sweet to tell what woes, what toils they bore,
The tribes and wonders of each various shore!
These thoughts, the traveler's loved reward, employ,
And swell each bosom with unuttered joy."

The following apostrophe to the realms of the Indus and the Ganges, embodies true poetic description, as well as characteristic beauty.

"Vast are the shores of India's wealthful soil;
Southward seagirt she forms a demi-isle:
His cavern'd cliffs with dark-brow'd forests crown'd,
Hemodian Taurus frowns her northern bound:
From Caspia's lake th' enormous mountain spreads,
And bending eastward rears a thousand heads;
Far to extremest sea the ridges thrown,
By various names through various tribes are known:
Here down the waste of Taurus' rocky side,
Two infant rivers pour the crystal tide,
Hindus the one, and one the Ganges named,
Darkly of old through distant nations famed:
One eastward curving holds his crooked way,
One to the west gives his swol'n tide to stray:
Declining southward many a land they lave,
And widely swelling roll the sea-like wave,
Till the twin offspring of the mountain sire
Both in the Indian deep engulphed expire.
Between these streams, fair smiling to the day,
The Indian lands their wide domains display,
And many a league, far to the south they bend,
From the broad region where the rivers end,
Till where the shores to Ceylon's isle oppose,
In conic form the Indian regions close."

That Camoens should so frequently associate Christian and pagan ideas is a source of just censure — often giving to the latter the pre-eminence, although he celebrates the voyage of his hero as a Christian enterprise against Mohammedanism. Blair, in his analysis, points out several defects in the Lusiad. It has been translated into many of the European languages, and has been received with great popularity. Voltaire's criticisms have been shown by Mickle to be perfectly absurd and unjust. One of the best editions in the original language is that published by J. M. S. Borelho, 1809. The first English translation was by sir Richard Fanshaw, English embassador to

the court of Lisbon, in 1655, but it is said to be by no means faithful. Mickle's translation of 1776 is very spirited, and no doubt fairly accurate. Of the various French translations of the Lusiad, that by J. B. F. Millie, Paris, 1825, in 2 vols. is said to be the best. There are four Spanish, and two Italian translations of the Lusiad. It was translated into Latin by Thomas de Faria, bishop of Targa in Africa; but in what year we are not informed. A learned Jew named Luzzetto, who died in the Holy Land, is said to have translated it into Hebrew with great elegance. Memoirs of the life and writings of Camoens were published in London, in 2 volumes, in 1820, by John Adamson.

Art. II. *Proposal presented to the emperor by Tsang Wangyen to stop the whole foreign trade with China, excepting that of the Portuguese.*

An express from the Board of War has brought a dispatch from the high ministers of the general council, addressed to the governor of the two Kwang, Lin, the lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, E, the naval commander-in-chief, Kwan, and the commander-in-chief of the land forces, Kwŏ, by them to be enjoined on Yukwan, the superintendent of maritime customs. It is to this effect:

"Upon the 4th of Jan. 1840, we received the following imperial commands.

"'This day a memorial has been presented, by Tsang Wangyen, on the fickleness of the foreign character, and requesting that the ports be closed, and that sea-going be prohibited, that measures also of extermination be adopted, in order to purify the source where our evils spring forth. And, in a supplementary memorial, he further requests, that the interchange of goods by the foreigners of Macao be placed under determinate restrictive enactments.

"'Let Lin and his colleagues give their whole minds to the careful consideration hereof, and then report thereon. And let a copy of the memorial be made, and sent for their perusal.—Make these commands known to Lin, E, Kwan, and Kwŏ, to be also enjoined by them on Yukwan, that he may know them. Respect this.'

"In obedience to the imperial pleasure, we (the ministers of the council) send this dispatch."

MEMORIAL of Tsang Wangyen, showing the fickleness of the foreign character, and requesting that the port may be closed, that seagoing may be prohibited, and that measures of extermination may be adopted, in order to put an end to all covetous expectations, and to purify the source whence our evils spring forth,—on which respectful statement of his servant's views it is humbly solicited that his majesty's sacred glance may be cast.

Opium, it seems to him, had flowed onward, in a baneful stream, within as well as without the empire, until the evil was almost beyond remedy or cure. To our august sovereign all eyes were then turned, trusting in him, in his celestial penetration, singly to determine. His ministers of the various Boards received his commands to deliberate in reference to the enactment of severe ordinances; and the several governors and lieutenant-governors exerted their utmost strength in searching after and apprehending offenders. . . For a year past, fear and alarm have become universal among the natives of the empire, and eight or nine in every ten have already learned to abstain and wean themselves from the use of opium.

A high imperial commissioner was also specially named, and directed to proceed with speed to Kwangtung, to examine into and arrange the affairs of the seaports. . . In the days of his first arrival, the foreigners, trembling with dread at the celestial terrors, delivered up more than twenty thousand chests of opium, and gave voluntary bonds that they would not dare again to come. It seemed as though these foreigners were very loyal and dutiful, and that there was no ground for fearing any further and unlooked for evil.

But your minister has heard, that the English foreign chief, Elliot, upon the new arrival this year of the foreign vessels, kept back in the outer seas those having opium, instead of requiring them to deliver it up; and has continually had vessels of war cruising about within the inner seas, even presuming to join battle with the governmental forces. This makes it plain, that the said foreigners, when before they gave the voluntary bonds, viewed them as mere empty forms; and that their real purpose and design were, to scheme and contrive to give a specious gloss to their conduct for the time, waiting till the high imperial commissioner should leave Kwangtung, then to resume the introduction of opium, for sale to depraved people of the inner land. This crafty and deceitful purpose is plainly to be seen. But when they found that the prohibitions were most strictly enforced by examinations, and that unless the opium should be delivered up, no admission into the port could be obtained, they then gave

free license to their irregular and perverse dispositions, casting off all obedience to restraints, and even presuming to fire at and wound our officers and soldiery. Such offenses would be punished too lightly even by death.

It is stated, that the vessels with cargoes, several tens in number, are still anchored at Hongkong, in the outer seas, looking about in the indulgence of idle expectations, and not going away. Their idea is, that, the duties of the maritime customs of Kwangtung being a million and some hundreds of thousands, all the ministers of government on the spot will of a surety be solicitous about the national imposts, and may perhaps contrive to bend things to conform to their wishes. They know not our celestial empire, endued with all the wealth that is contained within the four seas, superabounding and most affluent in productions!—have we indeed to borrow the petty, dribbling dues paid by these foreigners, in order to meet our expenditure? But what is *essential* to these foreigners for their lives' sake, what they cannot for a day dispense with, is the tea and the rhubarb of China.

According, then, to your minister's poor obscure views of the important measures to be adopted, the first thing should be, the closing of the ports, not allowing mercantile intercourse with any of whatever nation the foreign ships may be. These, then, when they find the goods, brought by a hundred and some scores of vessels, all unsaleable, and long on hand, must become excited in mind; and, by utterly withholding from them the rhubarb and tea, not allowing our merchants and people to have dealings with them, we shall still further be able to hold their lives in our power: they will then be, beyond doubt and exception, brought in terror to seek unto us.

Is it said, that the depraved foreigners have long been feeding their scheming purposes; and that the rhubarb and tea before taken away by them will suffice for the consumption of ten years or more? It is replied,—the objector forgets, that, though rhubarb may indeed be kept for a long time, tea, however, never fails, after two or three years, to become musty and lose its flavor, so as to be useless.

Again, is it said, that it is the English alone who have not yielded obedience to restraints, and that the foreign vessels of other countries should yet be allowed to trade? It is replied,—the objector must be ignorant that there is no nation whose vessels have not brought opium; and if the vessels of all other nations be allowed to trade, how shall it be known, that they do not bring opium, and leave it on board English vessels, in the same manner as it was before the prac-

tice to leave it on board the store-ships at Lintin? And when they take their goods into the port, and bring our tea and rhubarb out, how shall we assure ourselves that they are not merely carriers for the English?

It is right and fit to solicit our august sovereign to grant distinct commands, that whatever nation it may be that shall bring any opium in its vessels, it shall not be allowed any commercial intercourse. Thus shall all, within and without, ministers and people, fully perceive, that the sacred purpose is fixed, and that the entire cutting off of the source of the incoming opium is sworn to; that the confirmed evil *shall* forcibly be removed; and that the petty dribbling custom-dues, can without difficulty be entirely remitted and relinquished.

The ports being closed, however, if the interdicts against sea-going be not strictly put in operation, it will be as though the ports were not closed.

Your minister has been informed, that, in the seas of all the provinces along the coasts, thieves and robbers have not yet been entirely put in fear and quieted: and that in Kwangtung there has hitherto been a class of 'crab-boats,' of which it is the special employ to smuggle. In the days of commercial intercourse between the Chinese and foreigners, these lawless folk dared to give themselves all license, fearless of the laws; and recently, it is said, since the very severe measures for the discovery and seizure of those connected with opium have been adopted, all that are life-forfeited and desperate put themselves into these fast-crab boats, and go out to sea, robbing and plundering the merchant traveler, and clandestinely bringing rice and flour, to supply the depraved foreigner. If utmost efforts be not directed to their utter extermination, then these lawless folk will be enticed by the depraved foreigner, will all become his instruments, and will be the bringing forth of some great disaster.

It is right and fit to solicit that the imperial pleasure be declared to the governors, lieutenant-governors, generals-in-chief, and commanders-in-chief of the provinces of Kwangtung, Fuhkeën, Chĕkeäng, Keängsoo, Shantung, and Fungteën, requiring them strictly to direct the naval vessels, that they use their determined exertions to destroy or seize, in the first instance all the piratical folk; and, at the same time, to select and appoint high officers, generals of divisions, or intendants of circuits, for the strict observation of the sea-ports, who, excepting from prohibitions, the vessels sailing to and fro *within* the ports, shall lay an interdict on all other vessels of every kind, large or small, forbidding them to go to sea; and allowing

those even whose livelihood is found in fishing, to fish only in the more adjacent waters. If they discover that any, taking shelter under a pretended character, clandestinely go forth to give supplies to the foreign vessels, let such be immediately apprehended and executed. And let any naval officers or men who shall receive bribes to shelter and connive at them, be punished in like manner. Further, let them learn at what places along the coasts fresh water is to be obtained, and there set a station of military to hold possession thereof; not permitting the foreign vessels to get of the water to drink: The people residing in villages and hamlets near the sea, should be collected into bands, composed of their choice valiant men, for their self-defense; that whenever any foreigners land they may immediately attack them. Should any clandestinely hold intercourse with them, the offense should be severely punished. And these measures should not be confined to the one province of Kwangtung, but should be extended, in likewise, to all the provinces along the coast: all should be equally strict and closely-guarded; and then, the channel of supplies to these foreigners being cut off, fuel and water too being no longer procurable, they will be brought to repentance, and with downcast head will attend to our commands.

Should there yet be any remaining indulgence of idle expectation; restraining from submission, should they dare yet to offer resistance; —our measures must look to what they put confidence in — the height, and size, and strength of their vessels, their skill in gunnery, and long habitude to the seas, things which induce the fear that our naval vessels must fail of efficiency should they go far out to cut off or make seizures. But are we ignorant that the craft and guile; the pride and presumption of these foreigners, have led them habitually to look with contempt on the laws of government, and to refuse obedience to restraints, till in Kwangtung the soldiery and people have consequently long felt strong animosity towards them, regarding them as enemies, and every one desiring to wreak on them his heart's content? The successive governors and lieutenant-governors, fearful of giving rise to a frontier conflict, have strictly withheld the soldiery and people from going forth to meet them in contest; and thus they have borne their grudge in secret until now.

Your minister's humble opinion is, that, we being lords, they but guests,—we being on shore, they merely in ships,—it is unnecessary that the naval vessels should be required to go far out to combat with them. These foreigners, when their intercourse shall be wholly cut off, and their supplies rendered scanty, will not find it possible to

remain long anchored in the outer seas, and will be led to come cruising about in the inner seas, to spy about them. We may entice them by our naval vessels still farther, and causing that a previous call should be made upon the people residing on the coast — such of them as are expert in swimming, and possessed of courage and strength, some hundreds in number,— these may be sent off at night, in separate parties, to pass through the water and straightway ascend the vessels, so taking them at unawares, and cutting off and killing them without sparing. Or several hundred fire-vessels may be prepared, and manned in like manner with men expert in swimming; and, taking advantage of a fair wind, these may be allowed to run before it, the naval vessels following close in their wake.

Proclamations, too, might be issued beforehand to the soldiery and people, telling them that if they should make seizure of any foreign vessel, all the goods in her should be given to them as a reward. Then none will fail to jump and run, contending to be foremost; and what confidence will longer be left to those foreigners, that they should still refuse to fear?

May it be permitted to solicit the expression of the imperial pleasure to the high commissioner, and to the governor and lieutenant-governor of Canton, that, acting in accordance with what circumstances shall dictate, they adopt some such plan of extermination? Can there be any of the foreigners that will not come begging to us with fear and trembling?

Then, after this, on ascertaining that they have really learned with sincerity to repent them of their misdeeds, the celestial favor may again be implored, permitting them to trade and hold commercial intercourse once more. Still should rhubarb and tea be regulated by restrictions, not permitting more than a certain quantity to be exported: thus they will be held, as it were by *nippers*. Should they yet again introduce opium,—on the one hand, it would be to be requested that the new law should be put in operation against them, on the other hand their trade should be again prohibited and cut off. Thus it is to be hoped their clandestine covetous seekings will be disappointed, and the source of collected evils will be for ever cleansed.

The correctness or otherwise of your minister's humble, feeble, views, are submitted to his august sovereign, imploring a sacred glance to be cast on this respectful memorial.

Supplementary Memorial.

Further,—it appears that the Portuguese foreigners, residing at Macao in the district of Heängshan, have, for more than two hun-

dred years, enjoyed during successive ages the tender care of the celestial empire. And these foreigners gain their livelihood by trade alone, having no other employment. If in cutting off wholly the commerce of the English and other nations, we do not permit *these* either to trade, it is to be feared these foreigners will have no means of livelihood left; and this is surely not the way to show a just compassion. If however they are negligently left free from restrictive regulations, it will be hard to prevent them from becoming carriers for the English and other bad foreigners. It is right and fit then to request, that henceforward all such articles as are found in the commerce of Macao should be placed under restrictive regulations, not allowing any excess beyond the amount that may be fixed. If the said foreigners plainly are guilty of offense in the clandestine furnishing of supplies to the various outer foreigners, then let the mercantile people in Macao be called on at once to disperse and retire, and to hold no commerce with them.

It has further occurred to your minister, that, when these affairs shall be settled and put to rest, should the foreigners of the English and other countries indeed learn to repent, and pay the homage of sincerity, these Macao foreigners should then be made to become sureties (or guaranties) for them. And should they yet again bring opium with their other goods, at the same time that the foreigners offending should be punished according to law, and be denied commerce, these Macao foreigners should also be cut off from trading, and driven away back to their country. If the laws be rendered thus severe, these Macao foreigners, who have so long had their houses, families, wives, and children, remaining in the country, will infallibly look well to themselves, and will not venture on offering any contumacious resistance.

May it be requested that the imperial pleasure be declared to the governor and lt.-governor of Kwangtung, requiring them to determine carefully on the regulations proper to be adopted as fixed enactments, humbly awaiting the sacred discrimination of them? Respectfully is this supplementary memorial addressed.

Corrections in the translation of a part of the imperial reply to the report made of the action at Chuenpe, on the 3d of November, 1839. See page 486.

(The marginal comments were misunderstood, from the circumstance of the emperor's comments being made to precede the extracts from the memorial, of those passages commented on by him: and the want of pronouns, and distinctions of number and tense, countenanced this error, until it was pointed out by a Chinese. Of these marginal comments the subjoined is a corrected version.)

"This is in the highest degree praiseworthy"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"The admiral himself remained standing by the mast."

"It should not so be, lest the dignity of government be lost sight of"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"If they become repentant they may be allowed to return again."

"Such violent proceedings will not be found well adapted for long continuance"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"Then strengthening our force, and making firm our bulwarks, we quietly waited for them, and like them also took our stand upon our strength."

"The views taken are very right; in proceeding thereupon there cannot, however, but be a liability to contradictory conduct"—(is the remark made on the words:)—"Those obeying the laws shall be drawn towards us; *those who break them, repelled.*"*

"Though there be exhibited the different dispositions of dutiful compliance and contumacious resistance, yet the men being all of the same nation, matters should not so be arranged"—(is the imperial comment on the remark that:)—"We commanded our subordinates to find out whither she (the Royal Saxon) had gone, and to bring her up to Whampoa." M.

* So underlined by the emperor. (Copyist's note.)

ART. III. *Catholic missions in Corea. From the 'Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.'* Communicated for the Repository, by J. T. D., Singapore.

THE Coreans are supposed to be of Tartar origin, though their manners, their customs, their arts and sciences, are the same with those of China. They have also the same religion, and the same written character, but differently pronounced.[1] They preserve the ancient costumes of China, as they were under the former dynasty, and have never admitted the changes introduced by the Mantchou Tartars. They wear their hair like the Cochinchinese.[2] The king of Corea is a vassal and tributary of the emperor of China. He does not assume the name of king till the emperor has conferred investiture. Every year he is required to send embassadors to Peking, to do homage to his *suzerain*, and present the customary tribute.[3] With this exception he is an absolute sovereign, and accounts to no one for the exercise of his power.[4] It is impossible to ascertain the number of inhabitants. The estimates that have been made have varied from twelve to twenty millions.

The gospel was published for the first time in Corea towards the close of the sixteenth century. When Taiko sama, emperor of Japan, invaded the country, the greater part of the generals and soldiers of his army were Christians. These zealous converts, after having subdued the Coreans by their valor, undertook to subject them to the gospel by their instruction.* The kindness and the correct conduct of the chiefs and soldiers made a deep impression upon the minds of the Coreans, and gave weight to the preaching of the missionaries; a considerable number were converted, but the light of the gospel was soon extinguished. The ferocious emperors Xogun sama and To-Xogun sama, persisted in the massacre of their Christian subjects, who had reached the number of two millions, till Christianity was extirpated.[5] It is probable that those among the Coreans who had professed the same religion were included in this proscription.

About a hundred and sixty years after this period, Christianity reappeared in Corea, under circumstances of peculiar interest. In 1784, a young Corean noble of the name of Li, came to Peking with his father, who was embassador from the king to the emperor. This young man having an inclination for mathematical studies, applied to the European missionaries for books. The missionaries, in furnishing him, took advantage of the occasion to place Christian books, with those on mathematics, in his hands. Struck with the sublime doctrines and the pure morals of Christianity, he wished to examine this new religion to its foundations. Under the influence of divine grace the instructions of the missionaries completed what his reading had began. He desired to be admitted to the church. When told that a Christian could have but one wife, he replied that he had but one, and that if he had several, he would have relinquished them all, if he could not have been a Christian on any other condition. At length he was baptized, taking the name of Peter. The neophyte Peter was soon transformed into an apostle. Returning home, he sought to render his countrymen partakers of the grace he had received. He preached Christianity, and his relatives and friends were his first disciples. These in their turn became preachers, the females showing as much zeal as the men, and in less than five years the number of Christians in the capital and in the country amounted to four thousand. Christianity was preached openly; it was preached at court and in the provinces; and among the nobility a large number were worshipers of the true God.

In 1788 the governor of the capital city arrested a Christian nam-

* See Chinese Repository, vol. VI. pages 465, 466.

ed Thomas King because he preached a foreign religion. (It is here worthy of remark that throughout the east, Christianity has been recognized as good, and has been condemned only because of its being foreign.[6]) This arrest being known, several others presented themselves before the governor, declaring that they also were Christians, and preachers of this foreign religion. The governor astonished at their number, sent them away, and condemned Thomas King to exile, who proceeded to his place of banishment and died there the same year. The Christians far from being intimidated by this commencement of persecution, only became the more bold. The faith made rapid progress. Meanwhile, doubts had been raised which the Christians knew not how to resolve, and there were certain articles which they did not understand. In this uncertainty they found no other way than to send to Peking and consult the bishop. Paul In was entrusted with this commission. During his stay at Peking, Paul received the sacraments of confirmation and of the eucharist. He brought back the pastoral letter of the bishop, written upon silk, the better to elude the vigilance of the guards. After his return, he did not fail to recount to his countrymen what he had seen at Peking. He spoke of the beauty and decoration of the churches which he had seen, of the imposing appearance of the ceremonies, of the solemnity of the sacred rites, of the sacraments he had received, and of the missionaries who had come from the far distant west. The Coreans, inflamed by these accounts, were anxious, at whatever cost, to obtain priests and to participate in the holy mysteries. They again deputed Paul In and a catechumen to go to the bishop and ask for a missionary. The prelate showed himself ready to satisfy their desires. He gave them all that was necessary to celebrate the *mass*, teaching them how to make wine for this purpose, and promised them a priest, whom the Coreans were to come and receive on the frontier, at a place designated. The priest set out for Corea in the beginning of the year 1791, and proceeded to the rendezvous, but no one made his appearance to guide him into the country. The cause of this disappointment was not understood, until it was known at Peking that a persecution, more severe than the first, had broken out. The occasion of it was this. The mother of Thomas In and James Kuan, being at the point of death, besought her children not to permit any superstitious ceremony at her funeral. They promised and kept their word. The relatives of the deceased having assembled to attend the funeral rites, demanded the ancestral tablets. Paul replied without hesitation that he had burnt them. At these words

the relations were in a rage, and launched out into blasphemies against the Christian religion. Paul and James, far from being frightened by their vociferations, replied to them mildly: "We are Christians. Our mother was a Christian, our religion forbids us to render superstitious worship to ancestors. By her orders we have burnt the tablets, and we cannot again erect them. We will die rather than change our resolution." The relations, unable to contain themselves longer, immediately conducted the two brothers before the governor, as persons guilty of impiety. Paul acknowledged the pretended crime of which he was accused, but pointed out the truth of Christianity, and the folly of worship rendered to ancestors. The governor, a declared enemy of the family of Paul, was careful not to lose so favorable an opportunity of gratifying his private ill-will. Giving to the case the form of a crime, he prepared a slanderous report and forwarded it to the court. The king, naturally mild but timid, was alarmed, and appointed a commissioner to give information against all persons professing the Christian religion. The two brothers were brought before the new judge, and being interrogated respecting their impiety, as it was called, replied as before: "It is true we have thrown the tablets into the fire, because our mother directed us to do so, and because this worship is superstitious. We wish to live and to die Christians. We shall always be ready to obey the king, and the laws of the kingdom when not contrary to the laws of God." The judge, not satisfied with this reply, put them to the torture, but neither cruelties nor caresses could subdue the constancy of these intrepid confessors. At length, the exasperated judge condemned them to death as sectaries of a foreign religion. The sentence being presented to the king for his signature, he was moved with grief, for Paul was dear to him, as well on account of his personal worth, as because his family was highly esteemed at court. He sent officers to the prison to persuade the two brothers, for his sake, to erect the tablets, but they refused. Thinking that they meant to set him at defiance, he confirmed the sentence, and preparation was immediately made for execution. James Kuan was reduced to a pitiable state by the torture he had endured, and could with difficulty pronounce the holy names of Jesus and Mary. Paul, as he passed along in the procession, preached to the pagans, who were assembled in great numbers to witness this novel spectacle. Having arrived at the place of punishment, they were again solicited to offer the sacrifices to their ancestors and renounce the new religion; but their reply being in the negative, the officer commanded Paul to read

the sentence inscribed upon a tablet. Paul took and read it with a loud and firm voice, then laid his head upon the block, pronounced several times the names of Jesus and Mary, and made a sign to the executioner to strike the blow. Thus were they both beheaded, on the 7th of December, 1791.

The missionary, who made an attempt to enter Corea, but without success, died some time after. The bishop of Peking selected another, a young Chinese priest, who set out for Corea in 1794. Having arrived at the frontier, he met with obstacles which for some time he could not surmount. The next year, however, he succeeded in entering the country, and was received with great joy. He administered the sacraments, and applied himself with diligence to the study of the language. The government were soon aware of his arrival, but for three years he was able by means of the zealous efforts of the Christians to elude his pursuers. The search being ineffectual, two Christians who had received the foreigner into their houses, and Paul In[7] who had introduced him into the country, were apprehended, and died under the torture, refusing to reveal anything respecting the priest.

The placable king, unwilling to order a general persecution, was satisfied with dismissing the civil mandarins, and degrading some of the military officers who had embraced Christianity. Peter Li, the first apostle of Corea, was banished. But the moderation of the prince did not restrain the persecuting spirit of the mandarins of the provinces. Several of the converts abandoned their houses and their property, and retired to the deserts and mountains to escape the fury of these subaltern tyrants. A few apostatized, and some relaxed from the strictness of their profession; but the greater number remained firm, and sacrificed all for their religion. Meanwhile Christianity made progress, and in 1800 there were ten thousand converts. The missionary was about to establish a mission in the mountains, when the king died and was succeeded by his son still a child, the queen-mother being regent. The mandarins had sufficient influence, during the minority, to kindle a general persecution, which became extremely severe. Several mandarins who had adopted the new religion were apprehended. Peter Li, who had been recalled from exile, was again seized. The tribunals were in session day and night. "During a year that these procedures continued," say the Coreans in their account transmitted to the bishop at Peking, "the most horrible torments were resorted to, to subdue the constancy of the confessors. Modes of torture were invented which were before unknown, and for

which no name can be found. The deaths were so numerous, and the amount of torture so great, that, in the judgment of all, nothing equal to it has ever been known since the existence of the kingdom; ministers, courtiers, literary men, nobles, citizens, artisans, laborers, merchants, traders, women, children — in a word persons of every rank and condition — were among the sufferers, so that all the people were in affliction, and murmured against this cruel oppression, to which they saw no prospect of a termination."

The danger of the missionary was daily increasing, and at length, in April 1801, he came to the conclusion to surrender himself to the government. He was examined, and presented an explanation of the Christian religion, in the form of an apology. He declared that he came to Corea only for the glory of God, and the salvation of men. On the 21st of May, 1801, he suffered martyrdom with the firmness of an apostle. The death of the missionary diminished not the zeal of the converts. Persecution still continued. A deputation was sent to Peking to request another priest, but he was arrested at the frontier and searched. Several letters were thus found, which put the persecutors in possession of the relations existing between the bishop of Peking and the Corean Christians. The deputy and two other Christians who accompanied him were immediately conducted to the court. They continued steadfast in the faith, and were beheaded. The government was alarmed, and imagined that all Europe was in motion and about to invade Corea. They wrote to the emperor of China, and requested him to aid them with troops, assuring him that a hundred vessels would soon make a descent upon their country. Fortunately the emperor did not take the thing to heart, but ridiculed their fears. He replied to them that the European missionaries were trustworthy men, that they had been two centuries in China, and that their conduct had been without reproach. At length the persecution gradually subsided, and all the prisoners of the lower class were set at liberty. More than a *hundred and forty* persons suffered martyrdom during this persecution, without counting those who were put to death during the two preceding ones. Some were cut up piecemeal; others died upon the rack; but the greater number were either strangled or beheaded. More than four hundred were banished. The number of those who were released after having been tortured, and those who languished long in prison, cannot be determined. There were rumors of other persecutions after this, but nothing definite can be learned respecting them. It should be observed that hitherto there had been no European missionary in Corea,

and only one Chinese priest. All had been accomplished by the zeal and firmness of the natives. From this time till 1832, a period of thirty years, the Coreans continued to write to Peking and to Rome for a priest. They applied also to the bishop of Shense; and likewise to the bishop of Nanking, but without success, until, in 1832, M. Brugnière offered himself for this mission, and was appointed bishop. (An interesting account of his travels through China and Chinese Tartary may be found in the Repository for 1837, vol. VI., page 287.) Having reached the borders of Corea, a severe attack of disease put an end to his life.

Upon the appointment of M. Bruguière to the Corean mission, a Chinese priest named Le, who had been educated at the Chinese college at Naples, was placed under his charge. The bishop sent this man before him to prepare the way, and he succeeded in penetrating into the country. His report, addressed to the *procureur* of the propaganda at * * *, was written in Latin, and must therefore take a sufficiently roundabout course in getting to the English reader, having been translated first from Latin into French, and now from French into English. The thoughts must not be expected to retain their Chinese air, after having passed through three languages so different from the one in which they were conceived. We give a few short extracts from his report, which is dated Corea, November 1st, 1834.

"At length we entered the first town in Corea, but in great anxiety, not knowing where to go for a lodging. But Providence delivered us from embarrassment, and conducted us to an inn, where as it happened there were at the time no travelers. One of our guides, whom I had sent before, soon joined me with a few Christians. The next day, although much snow had fallen during the night, we procured three horses, and I started in company with six Christians for the capital, which I reached after a journey of thirteen days. Here I was concealed in a very small house, and from that time was ill for a long time, and could not go out. At present I am better, and am occupied night and day in instructing the Christians. I have as yet admitted to the sacraments not much over a hundred. I am slow in admitting them, because I wish first to prove them well. I have learned that in the former persecutions more than four hundred were put to death, while five or six hundred were sent into exile. The present number of Christians is said to be twenty thousand, but I know not yet if this estimate be correct. The language of Corea is very difficult for strangers, because it varies according to the rank to

which one belongs. There are three principal divisions or ranks, but these are again subdivided, and each grade has its peculiar mode of expression, so that the rank of a person may be known from the language he uses. For myself, my life, since I have been here, has been passed in the midst of fears, and privations of every sort. I have this consolation alone, that I came hither by the will of God.

"In 1825 the emperor of Japan wrote to the king of Corea, informing him that six Japanese, who were worshipers of Jesus, had escaped in a small bark. 'If they are in your country,' he added, 'I beg you to seize them and send them to me.' From this fact we may suppose that there are still Christians in Japan. Every three years, presents are exchanged between the courts of Corea and Japan. Three hundred Japanese, and as many Coreans, are stationed on the coasts of their respective states to prevent quarrels arising between the people of the countries."

After Christianity had been kept alive in Corea more than fifty years, with no assistance from abroad, except the presence for five or six years of a Chinese priest, at length M. Chastan, under date of May 1st, 1836, announces the entrance into Corea of the first European missionary,[8] M. Maubant, effected by the efforts of the faithful Joseph, the indefatigable guide of the bishop. Joseph had returned to Peking where he was preparing to receive holy orders and to conduct M. Chastan into Corea. The latest intelligence from the Corean mission is found in No. 59 of the *Annales*, for July, 1838, in which it is stated that news had been received from Mgr. Imbert, one of the oldest missionaries of Szechuen, who had been appointed bishop apostolic of Corea in place of the late Mgr. Bruguière, and was on his way to the mission accompanied by two Chinese catechists.

P. S. M. Maubant reached Corea in Decemher 1835; M. Chastan, in 1836; and the bishop Imbert, in 1837. Two others have been appointed to that mission, who have not yet reached their field of labor. The number of adults baptized during the year 1838 was little less than two thousand.

Notes. Unwilling to alter the text of this very interesting paper, kindly furnished us by our correspondent at Singapore, we take the liberty of adding the following notes.

1. The Coreans do indeed use the Chinese written character; but they have also one of their own, "similar in theory to the Japanese syllabic system." For an account of it the reader is referred to our first volume.

2. That there are, in the habits of the Coreans, resemblances to the former Ming dynasty, is doubtless true; but we can hardly receive the unqualified affirmation, that "they preserve the ancient costumes of China," wholly unchanged.

3. There is, we believe, according to the laws and statutes of the reigning dynasty, a quarterly contribution of tribute, from the king of Corea to the emperor of China; there is also an annual mission, accompanied with tribute; perhaps the quarterly tribute is reserved for the annual visit, and the whole presented together, and only once in the year.

4. The emperor of China is able to control the king of Corea at all times, but does not usually interfere with his internal arrangements; but should the king presume to open any intercourse with foreigners, no doubt the emperor would immediately interfere.

5. Xogun sama is not the proper name of any emperor, but merely a title; it is also written seogun or djogoun, with or without *sama*, which means simply lord. The two emperors who exerted themselves most to eradicate Christianity from Japan were Fide-fada and Yeye-mitsou.

6. In China and Japan there are political fears, not solely because of its being a foreign religion, but because of its *social* character — because, as a social system, it joins men close together in universal brotherhood. Were it otherwise, wholly unsocial, forbidding all mutual sympathy, it is very probable its foreign origin would not have greatly interfered to its hurt. Though admitted to be good, objections have been made to the accounts of its miracles, and to some of the rites and ceremonies which have usually accompanied it in the east.

7. Who this second Paul In is does not appear, and we are unable to give the requisite information. The former Paul In was beheaded in 1791.

8. The *first* during the lapse of many years, but not, we believe, the first that *ever* entered that country.

ART. IV. *Account of the Battaks. Extracted from the Tydschrift for Netherlands India.* By a correspondent at Batavia.

THE religion of the Battaks consists principally of certain superstitious ceremonies, and the worship of their more celebrated forefathers, of which one is assigned to each particular district; these gods or spirits wander about the woods and hills, and were, according to the natives, some celebrated chiefs of former times, who after death remained to protect the regions were they once dwelt, and are denominated *bego.*

More feared for their anger than depended on for their protection, the *bego* are worshiped in all seasons of difficulty, while men seek to appease their wrath by various offerings. They are consulted also in all important undertakings, which are generally preceded by a feast. Formerly, on such occasions, before they came into contact with the sect of the Mohammedan Padries,* swine were offered, but

* For some notices of these people, called *Orang Puti* in Malay, see Chinese Repository, Nov. 1834, vol. III. page 320.

now generally a buffalo or a goat is slaughtered. They imagine that the *bego*, who is adored, holds communion with his worshipers, through the medium of the oldest man of the company (called *orang batuah* or *si basso*), who then foretells future events, propounds various wonderful similitudes, pretends to be beside himself as long as the spirit resides in him, and after his departure remembers nothing of what has happened. Prayers and praises, either daily, or on certain fixed periods during the year, are never offered up to these gods.

At Toba, one of the districts of the Battak country, a cruel custom prevails, which seems to have originated in their superstitions. They have there certain prognosticators of evil, who discover future calamities in the following manner: a boy, about 13 or 14 years of age, is buried up to his neck in the earth, and, by means of divers threatenings, constrained to promise that after his death he will forewarn the people of any misfortunes likely to come upon them. He is then killed, his body is burned, and the ashes are deposited in a bamboo, which is hung up over the council chamber of the village, and consulted on all important occasions. They imagine that whenever a motion is perceived in the bamboo, or a howling noise heard, that a warning is afforded them of some threatened calamity, treachery, or hostile attack, just then impending over them, and against which they take the most watchful precautions.

Whenever they take an oath, they betake themselves to the *bego*; on which occasions they hold a musket ball before their heads while they either confirm or deny the transaction in question, and hope that if they swear falsely the *bego* will bring them to some unhappy end, or cause them to fall in the first contest in which they engage. Notwithstanding which, however, they are not very true to their oaths.

Such of the Battaks as, in the later years, have come into contact with the Padries, have received some of the tenets of the Mohammedan religion, although they find it difficult to form any idea of the existence of one God; and the impression they have is in general so slight, that during the temporary absence of the Padries they give up their profession. Those who are immediately under the government of the Padries, hate that sect the more, because since their coming all the pigs have been made away with, and thus the Battaks have been deprived of a useful and much loved dish which they seek to provide themselves with elsewhere.

Each village has its patriarchal magistracy, who must guard against any misdeeds that may be perpetrated in their district; while the inha-

bitants pay all fines and reparations that are upon them, to the persons who have suffered injury, or to their heirs. It frequently happens, among the Battaks, that some of them, who fancy that they have been much oppressed or misused, withdraw themselves from the community, wander about in the woods, call themselves *harimu*, or tigers, and perpetrate all sorts of cruelty and wickedness, in order to avenge themselves for the fancied wrong. But the village, where the individual resided, must be answerable for all the acts of violence committed, while he is declared an outlaw, and it becomes the duty of his village, to offer a price for his head. It is permitted to any one, finding a thief in the act of stealing to put him instantly to death, but once apprehended his life is respected. Manslaughter is punished as heavily as murder, and no difference is perceived between them.

Matters of justice, and the punishment of offenders are generally left to the judgment of the whole people, though the law of the strongest usually prevails. The complainant or the injured makes a demand, and if he happens to be a person of influence, then the lot of the defendant may be considered pitiable; nothing will exonerate him. Having no code of laws, all is managed according to the customs, which are handed down by tradition, and respecting which the oldest among them are first consulted. What alteration or improvements these customs have undergone in the course of years, it is not easy to discover. Bribery everywhere prevails; everything can be accomplished by money; even murder can be bought off. People may be forgiven for stealing, by the restoration of thrice the amount stolen, or the offense must be expiated by slavery or death. Should the accused be rich, or connected with powerful relations, who will stand in the breach for him, he can buy off his offense; but when the accuser is a person of importance, the offender is sold, and the proceeds pass into the hands of the complainant. If an offender escapes, the blame falls upon his brothers or children, who pay the penalty instead; and in default of nearer relations, the punishment is visited upon individuals of the third generation.

The crime of treason is most severely punished, in which case the horrible custom, still in use among the Buttaks, of devouring human flesh, is put in practice. The criminal is brought to an open place, and bound fast, when each of the bystanders cuts off a piece of his flesh, which whilst the miserable wretch yet lives is roasted and eaten by his inhuman executioners. The Battaks of Mandeling carry this cruelty, so disgraceful to humanity, not so far as those who

reside more to the northward, who delight in human flesh, and buy slaves in the market for the slaughter, just like beasts: whilst among those of Mandeling it is only practiced as a punishment for great offenses, or on enemies taken in war, by whom their relations may have suffered injury or death.

Marriage among the Battaks is very simple, and unaccompanied with ceremonies. The man purchases his wife from her family, by presents according to his rank, consisting of a certain number of buffaloes, or some gold dust. The meeting that follows takes place without any solemnity, while religious services are not on such occasions considered requisite. The betrothed go together to the river, to cleanse themselves, and the union is complete; while the woman gives the man a *sarong* or cloth, which in case of separation is restored. The woman remains the lawful property of the man, and his relations. The husband is allowed in case of his obtaining no male issue to exchange her for a sister, if there happen to be one, and she pleases him; and if not, the parents are obliged to provide him with another woman out of their family, or to restore the dowry. Should the husband die, the wife falls into the hands of the brother or nearest of kin, who comes into all his rights, and who also takes care of the children. If the widow is not thus settled, she can never marry again, and remains the slave of her husband's relations.

Should the woman be dissatisfied, she can separate from her partner, but then everything given by the latter to her parents on occasion of the marriage must be restored, on which account it seldom happens that the wife seeks a divorce from her husband; while on the other hand, it is lawful for the latter to send his partner back to her parents, with the restoration of the cloth, without having any claim upon the dowry which is retained by the parents, as their own property.

Polygamy is permitted among the Battaks, and the number of wives each man takes is restricted by no law. The common people, however, do not make much use of this privilege, and keep themselves mostly to one wife, while the chiefs seldom exceed the number of two or three. All live in the same house, because it is not the custom among them to have more than one dwelling for each household: sometimes indeed several families reside under the same roof, particularly if they happen to be the relations of the owner. The oldest women, or the one of most respectable origin, possesses some kind of authority over the rest of the women. Concubines, or slaves who are used as such, do not obtain thereby any right or privileges: however,

a Battak seldom does these things openly, and looks upon such practices as degrading, particularly if he happen to be of a great family.

On the death of the husband, the greatest respect is paid to his remains, and more care is taken of the dead body, than of suffering rich or poor relations. No sooner is the breath out of the body, than the same is proclaimed by the firing of guns. The corpse is embraced by weeping females, who increase their lamentations, in proportion to the number of spectators. The dead body is then dressed in the best apparel, and embalmed with camphor and certain vegetable preparations. It is then deposited in a chest, made out of two large pieces of timber, on a layer of raw Indian corn, and burnt rice, mixed with a decoction of turmeric. The coffin remains several days open, while the body lies in state; the death of the individual is in meantime made known all around, and some buffaloes are killed, for the entertainment of visitors; the bones of which are sent to all the head people throughout the district, who replace the same, at the time of interment by a living buffalo. After this, the coffin is fastened down and well caulked, when it is kept in the hall of the house for a period of from six to eighteen months, during which time, it is guarded by young women and maids, night and day, with flambeaux. One month before the funeral, the same is made known to the friends, and especially to those who had previously received the bones of the slaughtered buffalo, who each appear before the house of the deceased with a living buffalo, which according to the custom of the country they are required to pay. When the day of burial has arrived, the whole herd of buffaloes, which in case the deceased was a person of consideration amount to several hundreds, is arranged before the house of mourning, blindfolded, ornamented with gomuti and cotton, and tied to posts, the greatest in the midst. The whole family then arrange themselves, with all their slaves after them, and walk seven times round, all screaming as they go, when they place themselves before the largest buffalo, which has its head sprinkled over with yellow rice, by the oldest wife, out of an earthen pot which she holds in her hand. Then addressing the buffalo, in a loud voice, as though it were her husband, she takes final leave of him, and breaks the pot over his head, in which pot, in order to insure its fracture, a stone is bound up; because the failing to break it in one blow would be considered as a great disgrace to the family. As soon as the pot is broken, the oldest woman, together with the other wives and concubines, began to scream as loud as they can, while they dance and jump, and scratch themselves so severely in the face and body, that

not only the blood gushes out, but the skin is torn off, for which tyeh are prepared by a very light clothing, only just concealing their shame. Followed by all their slaves, with umbrellas over their heads, they then betake themselves to the river, where they wash and return clothed to the house; upon which a champion, dressed in red, steps forth, and having paraded seven times round the buffaloes, he fetches each one a slap and a blow with his lance. The buffaloes are then slaughtered, and feasted on joyfully by the multitude, who sometimes amount on such occasions to 4000 or 5000. The largest buffalo is kept to the last, and reserved for the relations of the deceased.

Their burial places are mostly in the neighborhood of the villages, on high mounds or hills, so that the interment is accompanied with some difficulty; besides which the scaffold on which the body is borne is built in the form of a pavilion, so great and heavy, that frequently the houses in the village must be broken down, to let the cavalcade pass by; the bier requires more than 200 men to carry it, who are urged on by the drawn swords of numerous chiefs and champions. It not unfrequently happens, nevertheless, that the corpse is left to pass the night at the distance of not more than half a mile from the dwelling. On the occasion of such funerals, there arise very often great disputes, which end in murder and death. The bier is adorned with two or more wooden images, in very indecent attitudes, of which the most lewd are the most prized. The family collect all that they can scrape together to make the funeral as splendid as possible, in which no cost is spared; while they cherish the idea that if there remained any riches of the deceased, the relatives would not be sincerely grieved at their loss. The offering of buffaloes must therefore be tenfold, and hundreds must die at the funeral of a rich man. The horns and jaws of the same ornament the grave, on which also the images are placed which had been fixed over the coffin in the house of the deceased.

The Battaks consider it as the greatest happiness they can obtain to be interred in the graves of their elders: and when they go abroad their chief apprehension is lest they should not obtain this privilege; which makes them sometimes timid in fight. They sometimes, however, put themselves in circumstances of danger, to rescue the dead bodies of their chiefs, the loss of whom they consider the greatest misfortune that could befall them. If the bodies cannot be immediately carried away, or kept in their huts, (the unpleasant smell of which they are content to bear,) they then inter them for the time, and dig them up at some future opportunity, in order to transpor

them to their own land. The greatest mark of honor which they think they can do to those who have died a hero's death is to adorn their graves with the skulls of those enemies, by whom they were killed. When the coffin is let down into the grave, it is once more opened, on which occasion the deceased is furnished with a cloth, plate, bason, dish, &c.

At the death and funeral of women fewer ceremonies are made use of, than for the men. The expense of such funerals dissipates almost all the property which is left by the deceased, and this is one of the principal reasons why most of the chiefs are poor and needy. Their property consists principally of slaves, and these are partly sold off on such occasions. The children of the deceased have all an equal share in the property that may remain. The oldest son claims the right of succession in the authority of the father, but frequently this is infringed, and the custom not followed up. Should either of the younger brothers possess more talents or courage, than the lawful heir, he generally makes himself master of the government, while such a one is sometimes chosen thereto by the father. In default of the eldest the government comes to the youngest son; for according to the custom of the country, the intermediate sons must never take any share in the management of affairs; but through carelessness, it some times happens among the Battaks that the worst of their laws are followed up. All come, in a certain sense, into the rights of their fathers, maintain their dignity, and this is the reason for the great number of chiefs which we meet with in the Battak country, so that in one village we find sometimes four or five rulers, who lay claim to the same authority, and who if they had the might would defend their claims by force.

ART. V. *A Peep at China, in Mr. Dunn's Chinese collection; with miscellaneous notices relating to the institutions of the Chinese.* By E. C. WINES, Philadelphia, 1839. 8vo. pp. 103.

WE scarcely know which claims the greater admiration—the speed and comfort with which the traveler can reach those countries, where curiosity or business most powerfully attracts him; or the still greater convenience and safety, with which those who quietly re-

main at home may form the most accurate conceptions of places they never expect to visit. Every friend of humanity has reason for devout thanksgiving to that Being "*whose inspiration giveth understanding*," who, through the *Bezaleels* and *Aholiabs*, and *all the wise-hearted in whom he putteth wisdom*, is bringing the different nations of the earth in proximity with each other, and binding them together by the ties of a common sympathy, so that eventually the blessings of Christianity and civilization, enjoyed in the most favored lands, may become the portion of all. An appeal to divine revelation seems scarcely necessary to impress this conclusion. To admit that God is the source of all the wisdom which his creatures possess, and yet to suppose for a moment that his object in the astonishing results of that wisdom, by which the earth is becoming almost a new theatre of life, is the accomplishment of some mere temporary end, argues a strange forgetfulness of the character of Him in whose sight, "*a thousand years are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night.*"

But it is not simply the locomotive facilities, which have been so astonishingly multiplied within the last few years, and which are improving every day, that claims our gratitude. We are laid under almost equal obligations for the number and adaptation of the means, by which those who cannot avail themselves of these facilities may yet obtain the most minute knowledge of distant countries. It is true the two are intimately connected, and perhaps ought to be viewed as cause and effect. If the former, by reducing time, may be said to annihilate distance; the latter, by presenting exact resemblances — something very nearly allied to *tableaux vivantes* — may be said to approximate places. The character, the habits and customs, and particularly the moral condition of the world, are by the latter brought beneath our immediate observation; while the former opens channels of communication, through which both living and life-giving streams may flow forth to bless the uncivilized and the deceived of mankind. The two combine to realise the prophetic promise, "many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." We are well aware that these views are thought to be visionary by many — that neither the projectors of the improvements we have referred to, nor those who avail themselves of the advantages they confer, are harmonious in their opinions in reference to the ultimate designs of Providence. But this, though a subject of deep regret, by no means affects our position. It was not only through the famed conqueror of Babylon, who cheerfully accepted the appointment of God in which he had

been named before his birth, that Jehovah performed his purposes. He also employed, as a rod to punish his hypocritical people, the proud king of Assyria, who disdainfully numbered the God, he was blindly serving among *the idols of Jerusalem.* "By the strength of my hand I have done it, and by my wisdom for I am prudent," was his haughty and insolent declaration. And what was the reply of him, in whose hand his breath was? "Shall the *ax* boast itself against him that heweth therewith, or shall the *saw* magnify itself against him that shaketh it?"

That the number of those who 'acknowledge God in all their ways' is constantly increasing, we are happy to know. That ships are commissioned — voyages and journeys are undertaken — works are written, and curiosities are collected for the highest improvement, and most permanent interests of mankind, are not merely matters of notoriety, but of great and growing promise to the world.

The pamphlet before us, which has elicited the foregoing remarks makes a happy recognition of those providential developments and prophetic disclosures, which daily, by some new and striking coincidence, sustain the attention of those who can "discern the signs of the times."

In his "advertisement," the writer "is free to express the opinion, that Mr. Dunn, in the collection he has made and now offers to public examination, has done *more* than any other man to rectify prevalent errors, and disseminate true information, concerning a nation, every way worthy to be studied by the philosopher who delights in the curious, by the economist who searches into the principles of national prosperity and stability, and by the Christian who desires the universal spread of that gospel, in which are embarked the highest temporal welfare, and the immortal hopes of the human race."

There are several means employed to impart a knowledge of distant and strange countries, which may well be compared to glasses, differing in magnifying power. The most common of these is the simple narrative, or the history of those countries. When illustrated by fine engravings, the places described are brought more distinctly within the field of our vision, and the objects are enlarged. The well-executed panorama takes precedence in this class of optics. Indeed its powers are so great, that the country represented is brought immediately before and around you. It gives as accurate a conception, and may leave as deep and indelible an impression, as the reality. The splendid panorama of London, in that city — of Jerusalem in New York — of Algiers in Paris — of Geneva and many

other places, scattered over Europe fully justify this apparently extravagant assertion.

But the best glass is the one through which Mr. Dunn affords his visitors "a peep at China." It differs from the perspective, just described, in this important particular. That presenting the objects in the group necessarily diminishes many of them into their distant proportions. This places before you all the objects or their fac-similes with the most minute adaptation to the focal distance of your vision. The exhumed cities of Italy do not afford such a living picture of what they once were. Here nothing is defaced — nothing has been resolved into its pristine elements. The visitor must feel as if he were examining a country, where the breath of life and the noise of instruments had suddenly ceased, and every object animate and inanimate had been left unchanged and indiscerptible.

In "the descriptive sketch of the collection," the writer advances a sentiment which *if infallible* shows that China can be studied to more advantage in Philadelphia than in Canton or Macao. "It is well known," he remarks, "that an impassable barrier excludes foreigners from all but a small patch of the celestial empire. Considering these restrictions, and the very limited sphere of observation that can be enjoyed by any stranger not connected with a diplomatic embassy, we have little doubt, that a better idea may be obtained of the *characteristic intelligence and national customs* of the Chinese, from Mr. Dunn's collection than by an actual visit, we do not say to *China*, but to the *small portion of Canton*, which is all that foreigners are permitted to see." As the writer has enjoyed advantages for studying China which are denied to us, poor prisoners, the world will of course adjudge us incompetent to invalidate his testimony. Still we cannot forego the gratification of offering a few commendatory observations, and if we should venture upon a correction or two, we will do so with becoming diffidence. That the collection "cannot be matched elsewhere in any part of the world," we have sufficient reason to believe.

"The many thousands of individual objects which this collection embraces, are not, of course, susceptible of a perfect classification; yet the principal and most instructive of them may be ranged under the following heads:— figures, of the size of life, in full costume, representing Chinese men and women, all of them being real likenesses; implements of various kinds; paintings; specimens of japan and porcelain ware; models of boats and summer-houses; lanterns; natural productions, including birds, minerals, shells, fishes, reptiles,

insects, &c., models of pagodas; with a numerous assemblage of *et cetera*, which refuse to be classed."

The following describes the effect produced upon entering "the spacious hall of collection." "Here, as if touched by the wand of an enchanter, we are compelled to pause, for the purpose of taking a general survey, and giving vent to our admiration. The view is imposing in the highest degree. But it is so unlike anything we are accustomed to behold, that we are at a loss for epithets exactly descriptive of it. Brilliant, splendid, gorgeous, magnificent, superb — all these adjectives are liberally used by visitors, and they are strictly apposite, but they want the proper explicitness; they do not place the scene,— new, strange, and *bizarre* as it is,— distinctly before the mind. The rich screen-work at the two ends of the saloon, the many-shaped and many-colored lamps suspended from the ceiling, the native paintings which cover the walls, the Chinese maxims adorning the columns, the choice silks, gay with a hundred colors, and tastefully displayed over the cases along the north side, and the multitude of cases crowded with rare and interesting sights, form a *tout ensemble*, possessing an interest and a beauty entirely its own, and which must be seen before it can be appreciated."

The writer, not satisfied, as he well knew his readers would not be, with a hasty and general description, conducts them around the room, and minutely describes the curiosities which sucessively meet their attention. Having carefully examined with him the contents of each case, and learned from his lips, "that a large residuum remains in the store-rooms for want of sufficient space in the hall for their convenient display," we cannot but express our surprise at the multiplicity of the objects, and no less so at the taste displayed by the proprieter in their collection and arrangement.

As could scarcely be avoided, where accounts are various, and the writer has not had the opportunity of testing their relative claims to accuracy, by personal observation (we ask his pardon), and some acquaintance with the language, a few minor errors appear in parts of his pamphlet.

The opinions of our highly esteemed friend Mr. Dunn, whose heart is evidently swayed by a charity the most beneficial in its tendencies, because it *hopeth* and *believeth all things*, are, we think, a little too favorable respecting the principles of the Chinese, particularly the common honesty of the people, and the official integrity of their rulers. We have lately had some new chapters on these subjects, which are explicit and decisive, especially on the last mentioned point.

There is a mistake in the sentiment, that "only parents of the wealthier sort can afford to their daughters the luxury of small feet." The fashion is aped by all classes, as the streets and houses of Canton and Macao abundantly testify. Among the poor, where the service of this member is sometimes considered indispensable to gaining a livelihood, the feet are permitted to attain their natural size; but even the poor have another mode of calculating the profit and loss of this speculation. As they generally receive a sum from the bridegroom when their daughters are given in marriage, "the golden lilies" come in at such a time as a matter of pecuniary consideration. Many of those who have submitted to the torture until marriage, are obliged to unloose the bandages, when they find that they are compelled to assist their husbands in the plodding pursuits of the fields and gardens. This accounts for the great variety of size and shape, which foreigners remark in the feet of the numerous women seen in the accessible parts of the empire.

Another slight error refers to gambling. Although it is considered in China both disreputable and immoral, we cannot affirm, with the writer, that "the governmental officers, and the more respectable of the people are free from this taint." Among the common people; it is open and almost universal; with the classes referred to, it is secret, and resorted to as an amusement with friends in their own houses.

A far more glaring inaccuracy respects the Confucianists. The writer affirms that this sect has "no temples and no regular worship;" now from one of the native books it appears there are upwards of 1500 temples, dedicated to Confucius, and more than 60,000 bullocks, pigs, sheep, and deer, are annually offered to the manes of the sage. Not only every province, but every minor district, of which there are more than seventy in some of the provinces, has a temple dedicated to the philosopher, where sacrifices are offered by the officers of government, scholars, and others. Indeed Confucius is not the only distinguished personage of Chinese origin who is adored in the empire. There are temples erected to a host of canonized worthies—some of whom, as Kwan footsze, the patron spirit of the reigning dynasty, are invoked as gods, able to succor. These are all the deities formally acknowledged by the literati or Confucianists, and by the government and its officers, although you rarely meet an individual who does not pay adoration also to the gods and saints recognized in the calendars of Budha and Laoutsze.

The author says "with the exception of Christianity and Mohammedanism, Budhism is more widely disseminated (in the world) than

any other religion." The first exception we fear, is not tenable: would that it were—the other of course is still more incorrect. We cannot subscribe to the declaration that all the Budhistic priests are "veritable mendicants, ignorant, groveling, lazy, and without influence." Among our acquaintances are some who are respectable and highly respected.

The writer errs in supposing that "wheel carriages are not used in China." At Peking and in its vicinity, they are employed for the benefit of travelers,—in other places, where they are generally drawn by bullocks, they are used for agricultural purposes. That men and women are more frequently attached to the plough than buffaloes is, we opine, rather fanciful. There are a few other statements which we could not indorse, but they are scarcely of sufficient importance to demand a distinct notice.

As the pamphlet is intended as a picture of China, it is evidently defective in coloring. The deepest shades do not appear. Still, with these few deductions, we are happy to express our full assent to the general descriptions, and our cordial congratulation to our friend, whose laudable desire to gratify his countrymen has proved so eminently successful. Though the pamphlet is indebted to the museum for its chief worth, it quite discharges its obligations by adding items of intelligence which the latter could not possibly represent.

The spirit of the writer is worthy of commendation, and we trust that Mr. Dunn by means of his collection, and Mr. Wines through his description, will have the happiness of seeing large accessions to the number of those, who in the language of the latter "most devoutly long for the auspicious day, when the pure religion, that distilled from the heart, and was embodied in the life of Jesus, shall shed its sacred influences on every human being. When the missionary shall find an auxiliary in the stainless life of every compatriot who visits the scene of his labors for purposes of pleasure or of gain,—when he can point not only to the pure maxims and sublime doctrines proclaimed by the Founder of his faith, but to the clustering graces that adorn its professors,—then indeed will the day dawn, and the day-star of the millenium arise upon the world!"

ART. VI. *Notices of captain Maxwell's attack on the batteries at the Bocca Tigris, on the 12th of November*, 1816. By captain BASIL HALL, R. N., F. R. S.

LORD Macartney's embassy sailed from England in September, 1792; reached Peking in August, 1793; and returned after an absence of little less than two years. Lord Amherst's sailed in February, 1816: reached the capital in August of the same year, and returned to England in October, 1817, after an absence of twenty months. This latter mission came out in H. B. M. S. *Alceste*, captain Murray Maxwell, accompanied by the *General Hewitt*, Indiaman, and the *Lyra*, a ten-gun brig, commanded by captain Hall. After leaving the embassador at Takoo near the mouth of the Pei ho, capt. Maxwell visited the coasts of Leaoutung, Corea, and Lewchew, and anchored off Lintin early in November. There he received dispatches from the British factory, announcing the unsuccessful issue of the embassy, and the expected return of lord Amherst. The failure of the mission, it appeared, "had disposed the Chinese authorities at Canton to treat the interests of the British factory with great contempt, and in several instances to visit his majesty's peacable subjects with insult and direct injury." The governor of Canton had issued a proclamation, declaring the embassador would not be allowed to embark in the river, but must find his way as he best could to the ships, which were to remain at anchor among the Ladrone islands, almost in the open sea. "The hostile sentiments of the governor towards all foreigners, and especially the English, had long been well-known;" and, under such circumstances, "these proceedings were precisely what had been anticipated; and great anxiety was felt by all the foreign residents, as to the line of conduct which captain Maxwell would adopt on the occasion." It should be borne in mind, that, some time before this, an imperial edict had been published, requiring that the present embassy should be treated exactly as the former (Macartney's) had been.

"Shortly after the ships had come to an anchor off Lintin, a mandarin, in command of a fleet of war junks, came on board the Alceste. He said a pilot would be soon sent, together with the usual permit, or chop as it is called, sanctioning the entry of the ships into the river. But on the 7th, three days afterwards, a mandarin of much higher rank came to the frigate, expressly directed, he said, by the viceroy, to order us to remain where we were, and on no account presume to approach nearer the river's mouth.

Captain Maxwell expressed great surprise at this rude message, and argued the question the more earnestly, as this mandarin said he was in confidential communication with the viceroy, and authorized by him to make arrangements. It was in vain represented, that the proceeding alluded to would be highly indecorous, not only on account of the inconvenience and difficulty of communicating with the ships anchored so far off; but, being directly in the teeth of an established precedent in the case of Macartney, such a line of conduct would be a palpable insult to the present embassador. * *

"The whole of this interview," continues captain Hall, "was interesting and curious in a very high degree; for it was evidently a sort of experiment on the part of the Chinese, to discover what manner of man they had to deal with; and captain Maxwell, who had an important duty to fulfill, may be supposed to have been feeling his way likewise, and endeavoring to discover to what lengths fair words would reach, and how far, in the event of the worst, it might be necessary to bring the argument within the range of cannon shot. It was as fair a diplomatic skirmish, therefore, as could be, and to a spectator like myself, amusing beyond description. The conversation was carried on principally through the medium of a Chinese interpreter, or linguist; but the mandarin himself also understood some English, and more than once showed, by the expression of his countenance, that he knew what was meant, even before the interpreter had time to render the words. When captain Maxwell asked how it happened that the commander of the fleet, who had visited him on the 3d instant, had undertaken to procure pilots, chops, and so on, if not duly authorized? 'Oh,' replied the viceroy's envoy, 'the officer happens to be partly a fool, and partly a wit; he was acting the latter character when he came to you, and merely wished to make sport; he was only quizzing, I assure you, and had no authority.' 'Well,' said captain Maxwell in reply, 'it may be very well for such a fellow to take these liberties; but,' added he, in a tone and manner which made the mandarin's button wag on the top of his bonnet, 'I advise his excellency the viceroy not to take example from his admiral, and attempt to pass any such humors on me!' Our Chinese diplomatists exchanged expressive glances, and for sometime all was allowed to go on smoothly."

The necessity of having a security merchant for the Alceste was the next subject of conversation.

"The mandarin, not duly warned by the tone and manner of captain Maxwell's first reply about the facetious admiral, or more probably being misled by his uncommon gentleness of manner, said it was the intention of the viceroy not to allow the ships to remain longer, even at their present anchorage, unless they procured a hong-merchant forthwith to answer for their good behavior. 'What is it you mean?' said captain Maxwell, warming a little; 'let me hear that again, if you please.' The Chinese, not altogether at his ease, repeated that security must immediately be lodged for the good behavior of the ships. 'Are you aware,' said captain Maxwell, 'that this is a ship of war — king George the third of England's frigate, the

Alceste?'—'I did not distinctly understand,' stammered out the mandarin, who saw too late that he was in a scrape, and knew not for his life how to get out of it; 'I wished to be better informed—I wished merely to learn from you what cargo you brought—what kind of goods to dispose of.'—'Cargo!—goods to dispose of!' exclaimed captain Maxwell, rising and striking the table with his clenched hand, in admirable feigned anger—'cargo, did you say?—Powder and shot, sir, are the cargo of a British man-of-war! Did you see his majesty's pendant flying at the mast-head? If you did not, I desire you will take a good look at it on your way to Canton, where you may tell the viceroy you have seen a flag that has never yet been dishonored—and please God, while it waves over my head, it never shall!' When captain Maxwell began this address, the mandarin opened his eyes, and stared amazedly at him; then rose half off his seat, and presently with his hands shaking, as if the cold fit of an ague had overtaken him, doffed his cap of office, and gave a glance over his shoulder towards the stern windows, to see whether, in extremity, he had any chance of making his escape. As captain Maxwell approached his climax about the flag, and struck the table a second time, the mandarin and interpreter both retreated, step by step, as far as the cabin permitted them, where they stood with uplifted hands, quite aghast, and in an ecstasy of terror." * * *

"Matters, however, were soon apparently readjusted, by captain Maxwell's ringing the bell, and ordering some cherry brandy, which the terrified mandarin relished vastly more than the gunpowder speeches he had just been treated with; and I could see him more than once cast a side glance to the racks, suspended under the guns, each holding a dozen of twenty-four pound shot. A desultory conversation ensued, during which all official business was sedulously avoided for a time; but captain Maxwell, whose object was to be fully understood, would not allow the unhappy worshiper of Fo to leave the ship without something so explicit, that even the acuteness of Chinese diplomacy should not be able to evade or misconstrue it. He accordingly resumed the subject by asking the mandarin, now he was aware what the frigate's cargo consisted of, whether he thought the viceroy would grant the proper chop. 'I have no sort of doubt of it,' he replied eagerly; 'and if you only consent to wait till the twenty-third day of the moon, four days hence, you may rely upon it that a free permission, a grand chop of the first order, will be sent to you, together with pilots, refreshments, and all you require.'—'Be it so,' said captain Maxwell; 'I am the last man in the world to do anything in a hurry;—I have not the least wish to do what is offensive or contrary to the usages of any country. But understand me, once for all; I am perfectly resolved that neither the embassador, nor the flag of my nation, shall be insulted in the manner alluded to in the viceroy's communication; and if, on or before the twenty-third day of the moon, a free permission to enter the river does not arrive, I most certainly shall proceed in this ship without it; and shall not stop till I have reached the spot occupied by the his Britannic majesty's ships employed on the former embassy. You regulate

all things in this celestial empire of yours by precedent; you tell me, and it shall go hard but I will furnish you with one that will serve you for many years to come.' The mandarin thus schooled was in a great hurry to be off, and carrying with him the linguist as a witness to bear him out in the strange story he had to tell, made all sail towards the city."

Captain Maxwell had before him a well-established precedent in the case of the *Lion*, lord Macartney's ship, which was permitted to proceed to Whampoa; "and in proportion to the advantage supposed to be gained upon that occasion, he considered the loss would now be great if this point were to be given up." He thought (rightly), "that if he sailed resolutely up, and took the station which, according to precedent, he was entitled to claim, such a step might show the Chinese, that however the embassy might have failed in obtaining farther advantages, the English nation was in no humor to relinquish those which it already possessed." Accordingly, such being his views and feelings, he prepared to carry them into execution without delay.

"The twenty-third day of the moon came accordingly, without any reply from the viceroy: neither pilot nor chop making its appearance. The Lyra in the meantime was dispatched for provisions to the Portuguese settlement of Macao, in the immediate neighborhood. But captain Maxwell wishing to give ample time, and above all unwilling to do anything precipitate, waited four and twenty hours later than the day specified; at the end of which period, on the 12th of November, he weighed and proceeded to Chuenpe, an anchorage a few miles below the narrow entrance called the Bogue or Mouth, the Bocca of the Portuguese navigators. Here a fleet consisting of seventeen large men-of-war junks, each mounting from four to six guns, with a complement of sixty men, was drawn up in line of battle to oppose the farther progress of the frigate. The numerous batteries along shore were also observed to be filled with men: indeed the whole scene indicated a resolution of resisting the intention of the strangers to pass the prescribed limits. A small boat, or as it is called a sampan, was now seen to put off from the admiral's junk, and make towards the frigate. This boat was rowed by a single old woman, which ridiculous circumstance, though not uncommon in the upper parts of the river, was certainly now intended as an additional indignity. On her coming alongside, the same interpreter who had accompanied the mandarin at the memorable interview of the 7th, made his appearance on the quarter-deck, along which he strode with an air of much greater confidence than he had shown in the cabin a few days before. He was the bearer of an order as he expressed it, from the commander-in-chief of the emperor's war junks, for the frigate to anchor instantly. Captain Maxwell, whom nothing could irritate or discompose, answered this impertinent mandate by jocularly asking in the broken English used by the interpreter, 'Suppose no do,—what then?' 'Then, I thinkee,' retorted the linguist, with a

very significant wink of his small red eye,—'I thinkee that my mandarin there sinkee your ship!' And sure enough, while they were still in conversation, the admiral fired first one gun, then another, and so on along the whole line. Although these guns were all shotted, captain Maxwell, with good humor and presence of mind, called out that he was greatly obliged to the admiral for his salute, and ordered three guns to be fired with powder only, in return for the compliment, but continued his course onwards under sail. The mandarin soon put this mistake to rights by firing more shot, in which example he was followed by the whole fleet. Their guns were worked with considerable spirit and rapidity; but somehow or other, not only the admiral, but all the officers under his orders, managed never to strike the frigate, or even to fire directly over her, taking care to pitch their shot either just ahead or just astern. It is not fair, perhaps, to insinuate what motives influenced this gallant officer on the occasion; it was sufficient for captain Maxwell's purpose that no shot actually hit his ship, and he sailed on without taking the smallest notice of the uncivil cannonading in his rear.

"When the frigate had reached nearly to the Bogue, or entrance, and almost within range of the battery called Annunghoy, the light wind which had carried her so far, gradually died away, and the tide, setting strongly out, rendered it necessary to drop the anchor. The Chinese fleet brought up likewise, but continued firing away as briskly as before. Captain Maxwell, whose attention had hitherto been occupied by piloting the frigate, was now at leisure to attend to the warlike admiral. He accordingly loaded one of the quarter-deck guns, and a two and thirty pound carronade, and having directed it and primed the lock all with his own hands, drew the trigger himself. The gun was aimed so that the shot should pass over the centre of the commander-in-chief's junk. The effect was instantaneous, and most ludicrous; the crews, not only of this vessel, but of the whole line, fell flat on their faces, as captain Maxwell described it in his letter to me, 'like Persians at sunrise,' while the admiral in person was seen for a moment actually in the air, into which he had leaped in the extremity of his amaze, and in the next instant he lay prostrate on the deck. So remarkable was this exhibition, that captain Maxwell at first feared he had pointed the gun too low, and actually killed the poor mandarin; while the sailors, who were in ecstasies with the sight, exclaimed that the captain had shot away the China admiral's head. Without any such serious issue, the effect was quite as complete, for the firing instantly ceased.

"It is an invariable rule in China, whenever a casualty happens in consequence of guns fired from any foreign ship, to insist upon the man who actually fired the gun being given up, not the officer who gave the order; as if the guilt rested with the mere agent, rather than with the chief at whose instigation he has acted. Captain Maxwell was therefore determined, at all events, to simplify the present question, by loading and firing the first gun with his own hand, and thus to make himself, in every sense of the word, Chinese as well as European, the responsible person. This incident

may perhaps appear a trifle to some persons, but it was one strictly in character with the whole of these proceedings; and the anecdote is worthy of being borne in the recollection of every officer in command, who, as he shares all, or nearly all, the credit of successful enterprise, should be ready to take upon himself the whole weight of censure, should the consequences be disastrous. About half past eight of the same evening, a breeze sprung up, which admitted of the ship steering through the Bogue. The anchor was instantly weighed; but so vigilant were the Chinese, that the topsails were hardly sheeted home before a flight of rockets, and a signal gun from the fleet, announced that night or day the passage was to be disputed. In the next instant there was a simultaneous flash of light from one end to the other of the batteries on both sides of the river, sky-rockets were thrown up in every direction, and all the embrasures were illuminated in the most brilliant manner. 'The boatswain's pipe,' to use captain Maxwell's own expression, 'did not man the Alceste's guns more smartly than these signals did the Chinese batteries. The very first shot they fired,' to continue the extract from a letter I received some days afterwards, 'hit us very hard in the bows, and pretty low down; the second cut away one of the mizen-shrouds, and went through the spanker; in short, they went on remarkably well. It really put us quite in mind of old times again. My orders were that not a shot should be fired until one was heard from the quarter-deck, the trigger of which I pulled myself when within less than half-musket shot of Anunghoy, the battery at the Bogue; and then the main-deck and forecastle very speedily put out all John Chinaman's lights. It really was a very fine and spirited scene while it lasted. But the best effect of the whole is,' continues captain Maxwell, 'that the viceroy has quite recovered his good breeding, and become remarkably civil. A mandarin of much higher rank than our former visitor was sent down to where the ship had anchored in the river, after passing the batteries, to say that I might come as far as I pleased; that the Lyra might also enter the river when I pleased; all boats might pass and repass the Bogue when I pleased; in short everything is to be done according to my pleasure; and what is amusing enough, a chop, or edict, has been published in Canton, stating that the Alceste had entered and come up the river by the viceroy's express permission, the same manner as the ships of the former embassy.'"

ART. VII. *Literary notices: Dictionarium Anamitico-Latinum, primitus inceptum ab P. J. Pigneaux, dein absolutum et editum à J. L. Taberd. Dictionarium Latino-Anamiticum, auctore J. L. Taberd. Serampore,* 1838. 2 *tomi.*

COCHINCHINA, or, as it is here called, Anam, was formerly among the least powerful of the various nations occupying the tract of country that lies between China, the Malayan peninsula, and India. It is now the ruler over several of those states, and in wealth and power it

probably takes precedence of all. By the Chinese, to whom it has been at various times subject, it was named in the sixteenth century Keaouche, or Kiaochi. This name, by a little corruption—Kaochi, Cochi—appeared to the Portuguese identical with Cach'chi, now called Cochin, on the Malabar coast; and they therefore named this state Chinese Cochi, or Cochinchina. Ciampa or Champa, to the south, and Camboja or Cambodj, to the southwest, were, at the time when this name was given, independent states of considerable importance. To the north, Thunhkinh, or Tonquin, (so named from its then capital, Tungking, the eastern metropolis,) was also independent, in fact had usually been the paramount power;—having once been a province of China, it had received the name Annan, or Anam, the peaceful south. Both the paramount authority and the name Anam have in later years been transferred to Cochinchina; and the empire that has been formed by the union of the other three states, Tungking, Champa, and Camboja, with itself, has been named the Anamitic empire. A change of dynasty caused an alteration of the name Anam, to Yuĕnan (in Chinese), or Vietnam (as it is pronounced in the vernacular tongue): but this change is more classical than popular—Yuĕ, or Viet, seeming to be the most ancient name of these southern people, while Anam is now the generally recognized name of the nation.—The people of these four states appear to have been originally of one race; on the southwest, the Shans and perhaps also some tribes from Hindustan have mingled with them; on the north, in Tungking and Cochinchina Proper, the Chinese have given them a literature, and have greatly modified their language and character. But in the mountainous regions to the westward, are still various wild tribes, probably of less mixed race, and preserving, it is likely, more of an original language.

What this original language was, it is now vain to inquire. The prevalence of the Chinese language and literature among the educated of Tungking and Cochinchina, has been already alluded to: from them it has descended to the lower classes, though greatly intermingled with words, which, as they are not traceable to a Chinese origin, are probably remains of the aboriginal tongue. The people, before their subjection to the Chinese, appear to have had no written language of their own; and the Chinese characters have therefore been adopted, but with numerous modifications, and even new formations, to adapt them to such words as acknowledged no Chinese parentage. Hence, as in Europe during the middle ages, there are *two languages of writing*, commonly to be met with. Like the Latin, Chinese seems among the well-educated, to be universally understood: it is made use of,—little, if at all, corrupted,—in many of their books, and also, we believe, in most official documents. But a modification of it (somewhat as, in England, a modified Roman alphabet) is employed by the masses of the people, with manifold corruptions, for the writing of the mixed native language or dialect.

Confining our attention to this vernacular language, we find in it, also, a distinction of dialects. As in Europe the same Latin word—

manus, for instance — is pronounced one way in England, another in Italy; — so in Cochinchina, Chinese words, even when uncorrupted, are not pronounced precisely as they are in China. Hence originate *two dialects:* that of *reading*, in which all words that are purely Chinese are pronounced not *very* differently from what they are in China; and that of *speaking*, in which all analogy with Chinese is disregarded,—and, while many words are not at all of Chinese derivation, many others, though originally derived from Chinese, are yet considerably altered from the primary form. Our meaning may be illustrated by a reference again to Latin and English, the former standing in place of the Chinese, the latter in place of the Anamitic language. *Mens* and *mind* are evidently the same in origin, as in sense, but, in deriving the one from the other, we observe considerable alteration in form. Had we no alphabet — but a writing originating in symbols, the hieroglyph for heart, ♡ or the Chinese character 心 might be called by us *mens*, while yet in speaking, the symbol not being before us, we should say, *mind*. Add to many words so circumstanced, a large number also not of Latin origin, and not ordinarily to be found written, and we should have, like the Cochinchinese, a dialect of reading, and another of speaking. It is the same with some other languages — those of Tungking, Fuhkeën, &c., and in a less perceptible degree, it is probably to be found wherever there are remains of a primary tongue, without the facilities that an alphabet affords for mingling them in writing with the words of a borrowed language.

This want of mingling of the two is, however, only partial. We have said, that there are many modifications of the Chinese characters as well as new formations, for the purpose of intermingling the two languages. These last, if correctly formed by combination of two or more already existing, are the best additions to the language: but the coining of such new words should be carefully limited. The modifications of characters, too, when made with a regard to sense as well as sound, and with some slight mark of distinction attached, do not detract from the purity of the language: but it is rarely that these provisoes are attended to. Sometimes a Chinese word will, without any distinguishing mark, be taken to denote a sense completely alien to the sense which it has originally denoted. At other times, this injurious corruption will be accompanied with the further evil of using it, also, to express the same sense as in the original tongue, still without any distinguishing mark,—leaving it to the connection alone to inform the reader in which of two senses, nowise similar, he is to accept it. There are not a few of such corrupt modifications, or rather adoptions, of characters in the provincial dialects of China: and there are some words in the general language, the almost *opposite* senses of which can hardly be explained, except by the supposition that similar corruptions have crept into it, perhaps from the dialects. But the greatest evil, arising from such a mode of *adoption* of characters, is that, in a language, the monosyllabic nature of which causes many words to resemble others so much in

sound (indeed there are some that do not differ at all), one person will adopt one character of like sound to denote an unwritten word, while others will adopt for the same word other characters: the effect of which is much like the various spellings of a little cultivated language; or, better still, like the various spellings of foreign names.

We have chosen rather to draw for ourselves this slight and imperfect sketch, than to copy that given us in the prefatory remarks attached to the work before us,— because we deemed it advantageous to trace the origin of the offshoot from its parent stem, rather than to trace the connection, inversely, upwards from the branch. Of the uncorrupted Chinese language, Msgr. Taberd seems to know hardly more than we do of its somewhat spurious offspring of Cochinchina and of the adjoining regions. We include the regions adjoining, because their dialects are analogous to, though considerably varying from, that of Cochinchina proper, the language illustrated in the dictionary before us.

The first volume of this dictionary was compiled, in great measure, by the late J. G. P. Pigneaux, bishop of Adran, and vicar-apostolic of Cochinchina, Cambodja, and Ciampa. The autograph work of Pigneaux having perished in a fire which destroyed the 'college of Anam,' in seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, and a complete copy not being procurable, its completion was undertaken by J. L. Taberd, bishop of Isauropolis, and successor to the see of Cochinchina. Besides adding many words, he has annexed to the work, a grammatical compendium, a tractate on the particles, an essay on Anamese versification, a flora (or rather a simple list of plants, for philological more than for botanical use), and an index of characters according to the arrangement by radicals, the arrangement of the dictionary being alphabetical. The second volume is entirely the work of Msgr. Taberd: prefixed to it are treatises on the Latin language, written in Anamese, using Roman letters in place of the native characters, as is common among the Christians of those regions. So far, the object in view with the editor and author has been (as he himself states), the affording assistance to the missionaries and their alumni; thus he would still pursue the labors of a bishop, though in exile from his episcopal see. For the advantage of the merchant and traveler, he has, however, appended to the second volume, a vocabulary, French, English, Latin, and Cochinchinese, ranged in parallel columns, the French words, in alphabetical order, forming the index column. A few paragraphs follow, also in the four languages, on Anamese notation, weights and measures, money, divisions of time, &c.; lastly, is annexed, a map of the Cochinchinese empire, drawn up by the author, partly from his own observation, partly from information of natives.

The work is well printed, being the production of the excellent press of Serampore, under the charge of Mr. Marshman, the able editor of the Friend of India. The characters employed in the first volume are neatly cut: great numbers of them must have been graved for the work, being peculiar to the language of Anam, and the print-

ing of this volume must therefore have cost much in labor and expense. The philologist would have been gratified had the explanations of each word been more ample: the elucidations, however, given in the form of dissyllabic combinations, and phrases of two or three words, are numerous. In the second volume, no characters are employed: their pronunciation alone is given in Roman letters, the orthography being that first introduced by the Portuguese, and now (with little alteration) employed by most of the native Christians, and by all Europeans who study Cochinchinese.

We may recall attention to this work at another time, by the extracts from the introductory matter, or by a fuller exposition of the physiology of the language than it is now in our power to give. It is much to be desired, that the language should be carefully studied by some one previously acquainted with Chinese: and a knowledge of several of the Shan and of the Laos dialects would be an additional advantage. A comparison of these various tongues and dialects would probably throw much light on the early history of the extra-Gangetic, or Indo-Chinese, races.

ART. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: Hingtae's debts; price of opium; rumor of murder; foreign commerce; Canton; Whampoa; Tungkoo; military operations; tsotang of Macao; Portuguese trade; robberies; the Bilbaino; rumors from abroad; the Druid; Bangkok; Sandwich Islands; Japanese shipwrecked; death of the empress.*

ALL proceedings which touch and influence great public interests are, happily in our day, regarded as fit subjects for the periodical press. Accordingly we have, with others, here and elsewhere, freely remarked on the use of opium and the traffic in it. And if in trying to dissuade from that use and that traffic, we may chance at any time, through inadvertence, to state untruth, we trust our friends in their candor will hold us excused — provided always the proper corrections are made on our part, whenever any untruth or false averments are pointed out. To do this we shall always regard as our duty, and it will ever be a pleasure.

There are three points which we have now to correct, in statements made in our numbers for January and February — the case of the Hingtae hong — the price of opium on the coast — and the murder of Chinese officers.

(1) In our last number Hingtae's case was introduced solely for the purpose of illustrating the manner of smoking opium. We never intended to intimate, what we did not believe, that the use of opium was among the *principal* causes of that hong's bankruptcy. It may have contributed somewhat to that unfortunate event; but even this we did not mean to aver, as we had no evidence that such was the fact. The case of the hong seems fairly stated in the Canton Press of the 14th, and in it we fully concur.

(2) In our number of January, we stated that "during the last six months it (the price of opium) had generally ranged from $700 to $1200 per chest." This was too high. The following are actual returns. October, average price for Patna $670; November, Malwa $655; December, Benares unsaleable. In January 1840, in consequence of the great scarcity, "chiefly caused by the British cruisers, and not by the Chinese war-boats," a few

chests sold for $800. In February the price fell to $750 and 700. Now (March 27th) all sorts are selling freely at $450. On the east coast, in consequence of the increased expenses of the ships at the present time, the sum of about sventy dollars per chest, besides the usual commission, is to be deducted before the proceeds reach the hands of the owner.—The preceding statement we give on testimony of undoubted authority, and believe it true.

(3) Concerning the rumor of the murder of Chinese officers, given by a correspondent in our number for January, we are now able to lay before our readers a circumstantial account, kindly furnished by a friend, who assures us that he has perfect reliance on its truth. And as such we give the following "Note of events connected with the destruction of a Chinese piratical boat on the *west* coast."

"The narrator of these events desires that it should be distinctly understood, that the affair took place directly after the attempt, by the Chinese, to seize the Ann, after the burning of the Bilbaino, and after the horrid cruelty committed on the Black Joke. The crews of all vessels on the coast were highly excited against the Chinese, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the commanders of more than one vessel, restrained their sailors from acts of aggression against the Chinese. Two vessels were in company, and had been engaged on the high seas for sometime, in selling opium: neither of the vessels, taken separately were very powerful, though safe, aiding each other. Their operations had been watched by a very powerful and swift sailing Chinese pirate boat, pulling more than 50 oars on each side; this boat had repeatedly intercepted the parties who dealt with these two vessels, and robbed them of their purchases. She was what they call a *tythung* boat, that is, bearing a mandarin pass, but herself private property, and not carrying any mandarin on board. Her audacity at last aimed to the pitch of attempting to cut off a boat, towed at the stern of one of these vessels. She was fired at in vain with great guns, but being a faster sailer than either of the vessels, was making her escape, when boats were let down from the two foreign ships, manned and armed, and she was pursued, boarded, and taken. In boarding the vessel, two or three Chinese at the gangway resisted; a musket was fired, and a Chinese killed dead; they then succeeded in getting on the deck of the boat, when a struggle took place; in which a Spanish sailor was severely wounded by a pike; he used his knife against a Chinese and severely wounded him; this wounded man received medical assistance on board the foreign vessel, and was ultimately put on shore, recovering. No other loss of life took place. The Chinese sailors, except those who swam on shore and to other Chinese boats, were all carried on board one of the foreign vessels, where, as a warning to future pirates, the two captains determined to cut off their tails; this was ordered to be done by one of the sailors; he did it very roughly, pulling out some of the hairs, instead of cutting them clear off; upon which, the captain took a sharp knife, and with his own hands, without pain, cut off every tail; the men were then put into foreign boats, and sent on shore. When on the deck of the ship, an attempt was made to ill use the Chinese, by the sailors, which was instantly put a stop to, by a man being punished therefor. The men being sent on shore, the captains, their officers, the Chinese shroffs, and some customers who had been dealing with them, held a council what to do with the captured boat, when they unanimously came to the resolution, that her repeated acts of piracy deserved destruction, and she was accordingly burned."

We have only to add, that if our former statements have done injury to any one, we are sorry for it; while for the future greater care shall be taken to prevent the recurrence of any such injury. To the gentlemen who have assisted us in making these corrections, we offer our best thanks.

Foreign commerce with China has undergone a most remarkable revolution, during the last year; and without foreign interference and protection, for aught we can see, it must soon become extinct. The proposal of Tsang Wangyen is still under consideration.—To some of our local readers we may seem to have been regardless of their welfare, and indifferent to the long series of annoyances to which their commerce here has been subjected. The distressing and ruinous occurrences of the last twelve months have been viewed by us with deep con-

cern. We have observed carefully and felt keenly the injuries sustained by the foreign community. Long before the late crisis came on, we often pleaded for the interposition of western governments, and urged the necessity of treating directly with the imperial government. Had such a line of policy been early adopted, no doubt many of the last year's disasters would have been avoided.

At Canton the number of residents is still small, and their position is not likely to improve. A spacious brick building is now rapidly being built on 'the Point,' in front of the factories, and will be a great eye-sore to their occupants. New *duties*, moreover, are in contemplation to pay the soldiery! And another new bond has been required, certifying that there has been no intercourse with the English; the penalties are confiscation of ship and cargo, and 'personal punishment.'

At Whampoa there has been another serious affray between the local officers and the town folks, who resisted their authority. The disturbance originated in the measures on foot to suppress gambling.

At Tungkoo some anxiety has been felt for the shipping, occasioned partly by rumors of a fleet of fire-ships being collected, and partly by an edict published at Canton, prohibiting the ships of other nations from anchoring with the English.

Military and naval operations are in progress, at various places in this vicinity. Some three or four thousand recruits are being drilled near Canton; fire-rafts and boats are being prepared; and a dozen or two of guns, of various calibers have been collected at the temple Leënhwa, beyond Mongha near the Barrier.

March 1st, the late tsotang, or assistant magistrate of Macao, left for a higher post in Canton. He was escorted out of town by a large and very respectable assemblage of native gentry, accompanied by the Portuguese band and guard of honor, and saluted with the usual compliment of guns from the Monte fort.

On the 6th, an edict re-opening the Portuguese trade was issued. The following translation is from the Canton Press of the 21st.

"Lin, viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c., E, fooyuen of Kwangtung, and Yu hoppo of Canton, &c., &c., hereby conjointly issue this proclamation that all men may know and understand. Whereas on a previous occasion the English foreigners continued to reside at Macao and would not submit to be expelled, and whereas the Portuguese foreigners dared of their own accord to harbor the said English (against our express commands), therefore it was that at that time we declared the place shut, and stopped their trade. But now it appears that the civil and military mandarins of Macao have petitioned us stating that the Portuguese foreigners, after receiving our previous proclamation, were filled with penitence and fear, and that even now all the English are already driven out of Macao. And it further appears that the Portuguese 'barbarian eye' or wei-le-to (i. e. procurador) has stated (to the mandarin) face to face, that after this they will never to all eternity dare to permit the English to enter Macao, or to harbor them there, thus opposing the laws, &c., &c., &c. Now this coming before us, the said viceroy, fooyuen, and hoppo, and we having duly examined the same, find from what the civil and military native authorities have petitioned us, that, from the dispositions and circumstances of the Portuguese, these foreigners still cherish some fear of the laws at heart, for which reason we ought to permit them to resume their commercial intercourse as of old, thereby to manifest (celestial) compassion. Wherefore we now conjointly issue this our proclamation, addressed to all the shopkeepers of Macao, to all the traders and people of the other provinces, and to all those employed in stowing and transporting cargo &c., &c., that they may thoroughly know and understand: all ye who are engaged in transporting up or down the cargo or merchandize of the Portuguese foreigners whether export or import, after the issuing of this proclamation, it is permitted you to carry on your intercourse as heretofore, in due submission to the fixed regulations, by which the said merchandise must be sent to the custom-house, there to be duly inspected and taxed for duty, after which it may be conveyed away for consumption:—but ye are not permitted clandestinely to convey any goods or merchandise belonging to

the English foreigners, or illicitly mix them up with others to go in or out thereby trying to deceive us, which will lead to a very severe investigation."

The robberies, so frequent during the last month, have been checked, by repeated edicts from the new officers — the intendant and sub-prefect. One of the principal offenders apprehended, has been placed in the pillory, and exposed to the public gaze in the streets of Macao.

The case of the unfortunate Spanish brig, the *Bilbaino*, has been again brought to the notice of the Chinese authorities by captain J. M. Halcon, R.N. special envoy from the governor-general of the Philippines. On the 24th an interview was held between the envoy and the intendant and other Chinese officers, in the presence of the procurador of Macao. From what we have heard of the interview, it would appear that the case is likely at last to be amicably adjusted. The mate, one of the two Spaniards who was taken from the brig, the morning she was burnt, and since then held in custody of the Chinese, has been very sick in Canton. By permission of governor Lin, obtained by Howqua, Dr. Parker was allowed to go into the city on the 20th, and subsequently to attend on the sick man; and we are happy to hear that he is recovering from his illness.

Rumors from abroad, not in a very questionable shape, at length, leave no doubt that the *Lion* of the west is waking up. The *Dragon* too is rousing; and to himself is seeming to be secure in his greatness. A meeting is inevitable, and the onset will be watched with anxiety. We hope it may not be a mere trial of brute force. Both are reputed sagacious; it is, therefore, to be hoped, that wisdom and reason will, with both, be the order of the day. But, seriously, the question at issue is of the gravest kind, and one of the most difficult (we think) that ever exercised the councils of men. Regard must be had, at once, to the past, the present, and the future. The welfare of kingdoms and empires is at stake. At such a momentous juncture, how devoutly ought the subject to bow to the Lord Paramount, who alone is the ruler of princes, and from whom all power emanates. But whereas he has given to *man* the dominion of the earth, there are rights universal, not to be usurped and monopolized even by the dragon's power. Let but truth and justice be maintained, and surely all good men's hearts will wish success to the Queen of Isles. "*Let but truth and justice be maintained*," we say, for only then can the blessing of the Almighty be invoked and vouchsafed.

The *Druid*, H. B. M. ship, 44 guns, lord J. A. S. Churchill commander, arrived off Macao on the 24th; exchanged salutes with the Portuguese next morning, and proceeded to Tungkoo.

From the Sandwich Islands we have received an account (in a pamphlet of 63 pages) of the visit of the French frigate L'Artemise, in July last. The pamphlet was prepared by Mr. Samuel N. Castle of Honolulu, and a thousand copies of it were printed and circulated by the direction and at the expense of lieutenants Magrudar, Foot, Turk, Turner, Palmer, Thomson, Kilty, Minor, and eight other gentlemen, officers belonging to the U. S. ships Columbia and John Adams, which arrived at Honolulu in October. It contains, among other official documents, a long letter from the king Tamehameha III., to the United States' consul P. A. Brinsmade, esq.; the king peremptorily denies the charges brought against certain American citizens. The subject has been referred to Congress.

March 21st. We extract the following from letters received to-day from Bangkok, dated in January last. "There have been some disturbances in some of the northern provinces tributary to Siam. One or two small towns have been retaken by the Cambojans, five days distant from here. One Madras nacodah, an English subject, is now in irons by order of his Siamese majesty, for having engaged in the opium traffic. He was imprisoned three days ago."

Seven Japanese were taken from a wreck, June 6th, 1839, in long. 174° 15′ east, lat. 30 2 north, by captain Cathcart of the James Lapee. It was a large junk, bound from Matsumai to Yédo; she had been out five or six months; and of ten men on board, three had died; the others were brought to the Sandwich Islands, where one of them, said to be owner of the vessel, has since died. Our correspondent, who writes from Lahainaluna, January 24th, 1840, says they seemed intelligent, and had with them some Japanese books, coin, &c.

The empress of China, on the 13th ultimo, at about one o'clock in the morning, left the imperial court and went "to ramble among the immortals." Mourning usual on such occasions has been ordered by an edict from her bereaved consort.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Persecutions of Catholics in Cochinchina and Tungking, from* 1626 *to the present time.* Communicated for the Repository by J. T. D., Singapore.*

THE Catholic missions in Tungking and Cochinchina are divided into three vicarships, that of Eastern Tungking, that of Western Tungking, and that of Cochinchina. Where the succession of the Catholic hierarchy has not been established, as in pagan countries, the bishops are known by the name of *vicars apostolic.* A vicar apostolic is not necessarily a bishop, though generally he is, and as it is thought expedient that he should take the title of the see which he administers, he receives the title of some ancient bishopric, now in the hands of infidels, and is called a bishop *in partibus infidelium,* which is often abbreviated and written, bishop *in partibus.* Thus the official title of the bishop of Cochinchina is "John Louis, bishop of Isauropolis, vicar apostolic of Cochinchina." The vicarship of Eastern Tungking is occupied by the Spanish Dominicans, while the two others are supplied by French missionaries. In 1830, there were in the whole kingdom twenty European missionaries, including bishops, viz., five Spanish Dominicans in Eastern Tungking, seven French in Western Tungking, and in Cochinchina seven Frenchmen and one

* The authority from which this article is prepared, (with an exception or two of little importance,) is the "*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi.*" A large portion of it is merely a translation of extracts from letters and other documents scattered through the different number of that work. Some account of the missions in Tungking were given the Repository for Nov. 1839, see page 329.

Italian Franciscan. Each of the three missions had two bishops, a principal and an assistant, except the diocese of Cochinchina, which had a bishop, but no assistant bishop. These twenty Europeans had under their superintendence a considerable number of native priests. The number of Christians being large, (amounting to about four hundred thousand,) and the number of missionaries, as we have seen, small, the efforts of the missions were directed chiefly to the care of those already converted, though the number of adult pagans received into the church was several hundreds each year. In the vicarship of Western Tungking, there were two Latin schools, at some distance from each other, for educating native priests and catechists. In one of these schools there were sixty students, and in the other forty. The larger school was taught by a European priest, and four native masters, and was divided into five classes. The boys were required to talk Latin in the school, in order that they might become familiar with it. The assistant bishop had a higher school, consisting of twenty students in theology. There were two similar seminaries in the vicarship of Cochinchina.

From the year 1626, when an Italian Jesuit, Baldinotti, first introduced Christianity into Tungking, till the present time, few years have passed without more or less of persecution. We find notices, at different periods, of nine missionaries who have been publicly executed for preaching Christianity, whilst others have died in prison, and others in exile. Those missionaries who have suffered martyrdom have been obliged usually to keep themselves in concealment, and to pass their lives amid great privations and hardships. Their story furnishes scenes of touching interest, not surpassed in the history of the ancient martyrs. Among the native Christians, martyrs have not been wanting, though they have not been very numerous. This has not been owing to a want of firmness on the part of the converts when put to the test, but to the policy of the government, which has reserved the severer forms of punishment for the priests, European and native, while the bamboo and the exaction of money have been resorted to with the common people.

Before speaking of the persecution at present existing, we advert for a moment to the political condition of the country. The Cochinchinese and Tungkingese are substantially the same people, and are now under the same government, although in former times they have usually existed as two distinct nations. In the year 1774, when Cochinchina was nominally subject to Tungking, a rebellion broke out, which led to a state of anarchy that continued till 1802, when Gia.

long, the legitimate king of Cochinchina, assisted by a few Frenchmen and other foreigners, whom he had called in to aid him in disciplining his army and in erecting fortifications, succeeded in subjecting the whole of Tungking, as well as Cochinchina, his hereditary kingdom. Two Frenchmen, M. Chaigneau and M. Vannier, were raised to the rank of mandarins, and remained at court till 1825, when they took their departure, M. Vannier taking with him to France the Cochinchinese wife whom he had married. During the reign of Gia-long, Christianity was partially tolerated, in gratitude probably for the judicious counsels and important services rendered to him in the days of his adversity by the bishop of Adran. In 1819, Gia-long was succeeded by the present king Ming-ming, who has never shown himself otherwise than unfriendly to Christianity, and to foreign priests in particular, though he did not institute a severe persecution till 1833, when he issued an edict dated Jan. 6th, of which the following is a part.

"For many years, men from the west have preached the Christian religion and deceived the lower class of people, to whom they declare there is a place of supreme happiness and a prison of frightful misery. They do not respect the god Phat [Budha], nor adore ancestors, which are certainly great crimes against the prevailing religion. Besides they build houses of worship, where they receive a great number of persons that they may seduce women and young girls. We therefore command all who follow this religion, from the mandarin to the lowest of the people, to renounce it. We require that all officers examine carefully all Christians living in the territories under their jurisdiction, ascertaining whether they are disposed to obey our commands, and constraining them to trample the cross under their feet in the presence of the officers. If they will do this, let favor be shown them. Let cognizance be taken of the houses of worship and of the houses of the priests, that they may be demolished. Hereafter, if any one is found professing these abominable customs, he shall be punished with extreme rigor, in order that this religion may be destroyed to the root."

It soon appeared that this edict was not an idle threat. It was everywhere carried into execution, though with different degrees of severity in the different provinces and districts, according to the disposition of the local officers. "The high mandarins of the province of Nghé-an," says one of the missionaries, "manifested a zeal against us that was truly diabolical. They even went far beyond what the royal edict required. They were determined to make

every Christian apostatize. Fortunately, most of their subalterns manifested either a weaker zeal, or a stronger love of money, so that the great majority of our Christians bought themselves off from appearing before the higher officers, saying that they were Christians, and could not on any consideration abandon their religion. Thus scarcely any appeared before these high mandarins, except those who had already been a disgrace to religion by their unchristian conduct. There were about a hundred of them, out of the twenty-four thousand Christians in this province. Of this hundred, ten only stood firm, and bore the torture courageously. They were then put in prison with the cangue about their necks, and their feet in the stocks. There they still remain. One of these brave confessors was a convert whom I had baptized only fourteen days before. The apostates, although false hearted Christians, did not altogether abandon us except externally. Several of them wrote to me offering to do penance, and reminding me of St. Peter's denial of Christ; for they all have this story by heart. Besides, some of the mandarins had the art to put them in mind of it. From the commencement of the persecution, one of these cunning officers, has addressed all Christians whom he has met with after this fashion: 'You are very foolish to expose yourselves to such sufferings. Do you suppose you can resist the king's edict? Consider now, religion is an affair of the heart, and does not lie in externals. Renounce it, then, for two or three months, and after that you can return to it again. Look at your St. Peter, who denied his religion three times, and yet to what a high dignity he was raised.'"

Soon after the commencement of the persecution, Peter Tuy, a native priest, was apprehended and condemned to death. The officer, the soldiers, and the great crowd of spectators who accompanied him to the place of punishment, declared they had never seen a man go to his execution with such firmness. "It was because they had never before seen a man die for Jesus Christ." The presiding mandarin offered him a small sum of money, the usual largess bestowed by the king upon condemned persons, who commonly make use of it to intoxicate themselves. But Tuy replied that he wanting nothing, and his head was immediately struck off. After the death of this martyr, a considerable number of men with their wives and children were seized and imprisoned, each one wearing the cangue. "It should be known that to be thrown into prison in Tongking is a punishment of no ordinary severity. Imagine to yourself three hundred persons confined in a room by no means large, and with no

opening but the door. All carry a heavy cangue, and at night all have their feet in the stocks, so that they cannot move, whatever necessity there may be for going out. In the daytime, they can sometimes prevail upon the guards to let them leave the room for a moment. With this exception, they are not only kept in this single crowded room, but each one in the very spot assigned him. You can imagine the pestilential exhalations of such a place. The prisoners must not only lie on the bare ground, but in the most loathsome filth. Add to this the biting of the vermin with which every cangue is covered; and to this again add, the hunger with which they are tormented, since those who are imprisoned for only a short term, and those whose sentence is not yet pronounced, are obliged to get their food as they can. The others who have received their sentence, are supplied with a little rice and salt, the half of which is retained by the men charged with the distribution. Such is the punishment for the lighter crimes. Those doomed to death are put into a prison still more horrible, from which they never go out night or day. They are loaded with chains, and a cangue of great weight, and are constantly in the stocks. The door of this dreadful place is never opened except to lead some victim forth to execution. Once in three days a little rice is passed in through a small opening, barely enough to make the sufferers feel the horrors of hunger, and to keep them alive for greater sufferings."

The following extract from a letter of the missionary M. Marette, will show how far the edict was observed in a district in which the governor was himself a Christian. "The western district which I occupy is divided into four parishes, each parish having two native priests. The parishes have each about three or four thousand Christians, distributed into thirty communities, so that my disirict embraces in all some fifteen thousand Christians, scattered among a hundred and twenty communities or churches. Some of these communities consist of not over twenty persons, while others have six hundred. Sixty out of the hundred and twenty possess each a church, sixteen have a priest's house, and fifteen have a temporary building for lodging the priest when he comes to hold services. In the other communities the priest lodges with some of the people. There are also five convents, having each about fifteen inmates. Each parish has about thirty persons for the service of the priests and the care of the Christians. Most of these are young persons, except four or five who are catechists. I come now to speak of the persecution in the district. Although the edict was issued on the 6th of January, I

had no knowledge of it till the 29th of the same month. I had just come from visiting several churches, and had been joined by M. Cornay, a missionary destined for China. I thought first of concealing myself with my companion in the village where we then were, but I found it necessary to seek a hiding-place elsewhere. That night I descended the river and reached a place of security, my companion being lodged on the opposite shore of the river. Here I waited the progress of events. The edict was soon published in all the villages; and each village, whether Christian or pagan, was obliged to buy a copy; for the mandarins give nothing to the people without pay, not even the orders of the king, nor their own. Almost everywhere the Christians hastened to pull down their churches and the houses of the priests, hiding the materials, as these buildings were all of wood. They then leveled the ground and ploughed it up, and after a few days all wore the appearance of a garden. I had consulted the governor who is a Christian, and was told by him to leave nothing standing. There remain in this district but two churches, which owe their preservation to their having the external form of private houses. Soon after the publication of the edict, the officers of each local mandarin appeared in the different villages to enforce its execution. These underlings began by exacting a sum of money for exhibiting the order of the mandarin, and on going away, after having been liberally entertained for several days at the expense of the village, they extorted a ransom larger or smaller according to the ability of the people. It is generally necessary also to subsidize the local mandarins, this being usually the easiest plan to avert mischief. None of them are anxious to execute the orders of the king, but all seize greedily upon the occasion to wring from the poor Christians, their morsel of food. But difficulty arises when the mandarin is not only covetous, but also an enemy to their religion, and aims both at their money and their faith. Commonly, however, religion may be saved by the sacrifice of property, for money is the great thing with the mandarins. I know of but one mandarin in this district who has resorted to violence. Although he owes his place to the Christian governor, still he has apprehended the leading Christians under his jurisdiction, subjecting them to the cangue and the bamboo until they have signed a writing of apostacy, and even then not releasing them till he has obtained a ransom of two or three thousand francs. The cupidity of his officers was so great that they hunted out some families of Christians in the pagan villages, and visited the remote communities ensconced among the mountains. We have three hun-

dred Christians in a wild region whose inhabitants are called savages (though this word is applicable only to the country and not to the people). Eighty-eight Christians of one of these hamlets could not procure their redemption with a less sum than eleven hundred francs, which they borrowed at so high a rate of interest, (even legal interest in Tungking is thirty per cent.,) that they will probably be ruined. I suppose that the Christians of my district have paid not less than fifteen or twenty thousand francs, an exorbitant sum here, especially the present year, when the taxes had already impoverished the people.

"It remains to speak of the revolt which followed the edict of persecution. Every one, Christian and pagan, as soon as he heard of the edict, recalling the experience of the past, predicted a revolt and the fall of the king. In fact, at this crisis, the enemies of the king, already in motion, promised themselves victory, and continued with new ardor their preparation for war by sea and land. It is said that the cross is borne upon the flag of the rebel fleet. The rebel chiefs do not exactly pretend to honor the cross, but to make use of it rather as a bugbear to alarm the king. I am not aware that this proceeding has been the occasion of the presecution, since the king does not charge the Christians with the crime of rebellion. The point aimed at by the rebels is to restore the ancient dynasty, which lost the throne forty years since, or perhaps to elevate the legitimate successor of Gia-long, who was set aside. I have not been able to ascertain precisely what is their design. I am disposed to think that the ancient dynasty of Tungking, called Le, can hardly be expected to succeed, although this would please the Tungkingese. But the pretender of the Cochinchinese dynasty, named Hoang-ton, whose rights were disregarded, might possibly be raised to the throne. This change would satisfy the Cochinchinese but not the Tungkingese, who wish to recover their lost power over Cochinchina, and to restore their own princes, whose government the old men love to praise. In 1829, the king required the people of Tungking to assume the costume of Cochinchina, an act which greatly alienated the hearts of the Tungkingese. The women especially were exasperated when obliged to wear trowsers after the fashion of the Cochinchinese."

Our next extract is from a report of the assistant bishop of Western Tungking, Mgr. Havard.

"We have found it difficult to preserve our college, consisting of more than sixty Latin scholars. The edict required the destruction of every college and ecclesiastical house. It was, thus, impossible to keep these scholars together in one place, nor could we dis-

miss them all to their homes without inflicting a mortal blow upon the Annamitic church, the preservation of which depends upon a native clergy, who alone can go and come in times of persecution, when Europeans can with difficulty leave their places of retreat. But without a college a native clergy could not long be maintained. Therefore, after imploring direction from the Holy Spirit, I called to me the different teachers of the seminary, and spoke to them thus: 'now is the time to display a generous courage, and to sacrifice yourselves for the interest of the church. Go with confidence in the power and protection of the Great Master who has chosen you to be his disciples; go take with you each twelve pupils, and lead them about with you from place to place according to circumstances, when pursued in one village, flee to another. Thus charge yourselves with the education of these young men, and leave the rest to me.' These words filled them with a courage which I did not expect. They all declared they were ready to die at their post. I then sent them away, each master with twelve scholars, to different villages, not far from the one in which I live, and our college has thus been kept alive nearly a year. I have the pleasure of seeing three and sometimes four classes come to attend my mass on Sundays at midnight, and to hear the instructions which I then give them. Their courage, their joy, their diligence, and the progress they make, afford me great consolation in these critical times, when every one stands in fear for his head, or for his property, or for both together. Life with us is every moment in danger. We cannot count upon a day, or upon a night of repose. We are constantly on the watch. Two or three underground retreats are prepared where we may hide, but they are much of the time full of water. Privations of every sort, hunger, and death, we are familiar with. But we fear not death. Happy to suffer in so good a cause, we have a quiet mind. Our sacrifice is presented. The victim is ready. Come executioner when thou wilt. For myself, I would not exchange my place for the best situation in the world. There are pleasures in that condition in which one puts himself entirely in the hands of Providence, and has nothing to hope for in the wide world except from God whom he serves."

Some time after the edict of persecution, which we have quoted, was published, it was discovered that a considerable part of the edict had been kept secret, having been communicated only to the high officers. A copy of the entire edict was afterwards obtained from one of the chief mandarins favorably disposed toward the Christians, and a translation made, from which we take a few sentences: "Since

the number who have embraced this doctrine is very great, the work of drawing away the people from their error cannot be accomplished at once; for if the laws should be strictly enforced, it would be necessary to put to death a great multitude." After directing that the common people should be instructed and warned in respect to their error, and that all the information possible should be collected respecting churches, houses of priests, &c., the edict proceeds thus: "Seize upon the leaders of this religion, making use of stratagem rather than force. With regard to the Europeans, they must be sent immediately to the capital, under pretext of receiving our orders to translate European documents. The native priests you will retain in the chief towns of the provinces, under strict guard, that there may be no communication between them and the people. But watch carefully over the inferior officers, that they do not take advantage of the occasion to arrest the Christians without distinction. Publish not this edict." It thus appears to have been the design of the king to exercise his severity upon the leaders and priests, and we shall soon see that his anger was directed particularly against the foreign priests. M. Gagelin, missionary apostolic, from the commencement of the persecution had been driven from one hiding-place to another. Concluding, at length, that he should not be able to escape his pursuers, and unwilling to endanger the Christians who afforded him a retreat, he determined to present himself voluntarily before the judge of the district, in the hope that an explanation with the magistrate would put him out of danger. But he was mistaken. The mandarin, wishing to secure to himself credit with the governor of the province, reported that he had apprehended a missionary. M. Gagelin was immediately sent to Huá, the capital, and thrown into prison. The Christians contrived to keep up an intercourse with him while in prison, and through them a correspondence was carried on with M. Jaccard, another missionary, who at first succeeded in visiting M. Gagelin, but was afterwards cut off from all intercourse with his suffering friend except by letter. These letters happened to be preserved, and do honor to both the writers. One of the letters of M. Gagelin we here present somewhat abridged. It is worthy of a man who had lived well, and was about to die well.

"My dear brother,—The intelligence you send me that I am irrevocably condemned to death, gives me great joy. The mandarins know of no pleasure like mine. *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi: in domum Domini ibimus.* Martyrdom, though I am unworthy of it, I have desired from my infancy. In a little while I shall appear before

my Judge to give account of my sins; for the evil I have done, and for the good I have left undone. If the rigor of his justice makes me fear, on the other hand his mercy makes me hope. I forgive all who have injured me, and desire the pardon of all whom I have offended. Write a few words in my name to my relatives. I have two sisters, an uncle, and an aunt, I shall not forget them in heaven, where we shall meet again I hope. I leave the world without regret. The view of Jesus crucified is my consolation under whatever of bitterness there may be in death. *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.* I have but one other wish: it is that I may meet you and father Odorico for the last time." F. Gagelin. Hué, 14th Oct., 1833.

On the 17th he was taken from prison and strangled. The sentence pronounced against him, as he was proceeding to the place of execution, was in these words: "The European Tay-Hoai-Hoa is guilty of having preached and spread the religion of Jesus Christ in several parts of this kingdom, and in consequence is condemned to be strangled."

On the 23d of the same month, Paul Doi-Buong, captain of the royal guards, suffered martyrdom. M. Jaccard and M. Odorico, who had been apprehended, were exiled to a district in the northwestern part of the kingdom, where M. Odorico died under his sufferings. M. Jaccard was afterwards brought back to Hué, and there kept in prison. What was his fate we have not learned.

We have now to present, in the martyrdom of M. Marchand, a case of suffering that cannot fail to excite sympathy. The account contained in the *Annales* is from the letters of M.M. De la Motte and Marette. We have only room for an abridged narration.

M. Marchand left France in 1829, and came to the southern part of Cochinchina. When the persecution commenced in 1833, he concealed himself in the houses of the Christians, though he was more than once obliged to retire to caves and jungles. In the meantime a rebellion broke out in that part of the kingdom, and at the same time the Siamese took advantage of this revolt to make an incursion into the Annamitic territory. Their success was limited to taking prisoners a considerable number of Cochinchinese, among whom were M. Régéreau, several native priests with their pupils, and about fifteen hundred Christians. M. Marchand fell into the hands of the insurgents, who in the hope of strengthening themselves by attaching the Christians to their party, permitted the missionary to perform publicly the services of his religion. After this nothing was heard from him for two years and a half, as all communication, even

by letter, was cut off. The rebels, under their chief Khoi, had shut themselves up in the citadel of Gia-dinh, formerly the royal residence, and here defended themselves against the power of Ming-mang, until September, 1835, when the king succeeded in taking the place by assault. Twelve hundred persons were found in the citadel, all of whom except six were put to the sword. Among the six thus reserved was M. Marchand, who was to be distinguished by a punishment of dreadful cruelty. Enclosed in a cage, he was carried to Hué, and there examined, surrounded by instruments of torture. "Are you Phu-Koai-Ohon?" (the appellation given to the bishop by the king.) "No," replied the missionary. "Where is he?" "I do not know." "Are you acquainted with him?" "I am, but I have not seen him for a long time." "How many years have you been in this kingdom?" "Five." "Did you assist the rebel Khoi in carrying on the war?" "Khoi took me prisoner and carried me by force to Gia-dinh, where he kept me strictly guarded, in a place from which he did not permit me to go out. There I was the whole time, occupied in praying to God and celebrating the mass: I know nothing of the art of war." "Did you send letters to Siam and to the Christians of Dong-nai to persuade them to come to the assistance of the rebels?" "Khoi ordered me to do so, but I refused, declaring that my religion would not permit me, and that I would rather die than do so. He brought letters to sign, which I took and burnt in his presence. He was enraged and confined me more closely than ever." As the missionary persisted in denying the charges brought against him by some of the rebel chiefs, who when examined accused him of being an accomplice, with a view probably to please the king and lighten their own punishment, he was put to the torture, and the flesh was burnt and torn from his thighs with redhot pincers. After this he was put into a cage, so short that he could not lie down, and so low that he could not sit up, and here was kept for a month and a half. The amount of suffering inflicted upon the missionary was greater than that to which the rebel chiefs were subjected, as if to prove that the king had other reasons for proceeding as he did with the foreigner, than the pretended crime of connection with insurgents.—The scene which we are next to exhibit was witnessed by a catechist who made report to M. Marette.

M. Marchand was brought to the place of torture, and when he looked in and saw the fire and the bellows, and the men heating the irons which had already been applied to his flesh, and inflicted wounds that were not yet healed, he started with an involuntary feeling of

horror. The executioners took hold of his legs with a firm hand and extended them. At the signal of the criminal mandarin, five other executioners seized five large pieces of redhot iron, each a foot and a half long, and placed them upon the flesh of his legs and thighs in five different places. At the moment he raised a piercing cry of agony. For a long time the irons were held upon the flesh, which was consumed little by little, until the irons were cold, when they were again placed in the furnace for the second stage of torture. Soldiers were stationed behind the executioners to beat them, in case they showed any feeling of pity or humanity. We pass over a part of the painful details, and hasten to the closing scene. "Arrived at the execution ground, two men with cutlasses, standing on each side, seize hold of the sufferer by the breast and cut off two large pieces of flesh which they throw upon the ground, and then from his back they slice still longer pieces, and next they descend to the legs and repeat the operation. But nature can bear no more. The head of the victim hangs down—death has come to his relief. The body was then divided into four quarters, and the head cut off. The head was sent through the whole kingdom and exposd to view everywhere, after which it was broken up in a mortar, and the remains thrown into the sea, as had before been done with the body." The execution occurred on the 30th of Nov. 1835.

The latest intelligence we have from these interesting and afflicted missions is contained in No. 59 of the *Annales* for July, 1838, in which it is stated that the persecution was still continued, and that on the 27th of Aug. 1837, another missionary, M. Cornay was beheaded.

P. S. Since the preceding paper reached us, we have received the Friend of India, from which we take extracts of two letters published in the Bengal Catholic Expositor. See Friend of India, Jan. 23d, 1840, page 59. The first, is from P. Andre, dated 7th July, 1829; the second, is from Mgr. Cuenad, bishop of Metellopolis; and both are addressed to Mgr. D'Isauropolis. By reference to a former page (337), our readers will perceive that M. Jaccard suffered death September 21st, 1838. The persecution seems to rage unabated. Several suffered death in 1839; and two native priests were executed in January, 1840. One of the late number of the Annales contains a letter from M. Jaccard, dated at Cam-lo May 9th, 1836, in which he says:

"I wrote you the 16th of last May from my retirement in Ai-Lao; since that date, I have been recalled to the plains of High Cochin-

china, to be again occupied in the service of his majesty, who in spite of the need there is of my ministry, is not ashamed to keep me prisoner, confounded with brigands. * * * Do you wish to know how he employs me? Always in translating. From the month of September to the end of January, I have explained the maps of the five quarters of the globe. He requires the minutest details on the extent, the population, the forces, the manners, and the religious of all countries. It is a difficult and very delicate task. However, he can thus see that the most barbarous people are idolaters like himself; and that even India, from whence his gods came, is not the land of philosophers. You will easily perceive that Ming-ming has not permitted me to say the holy mass; there was one time when he would not let me have any books. It is now about three months since he seized some books in my house near the capital, and sent me a part of them." The following are the two extracts.

(1.) "I have to announce to you the death of two Tungkingese, who here shed their blood for the faith on the 12th of June of this year 1839. They were beheaded near the port of Cua-thuan-an, the principal port of Hué. Their bodies were first cut into five pieces, and then cast into the sea. I present you an abridged account of what concerns these two martyrs. In 1836, in the persecction which took place in the prefecture of Thanh-dinh, at the period when the prefect was examining those who belonged to the religion of Jesus, these two men were both soldiers, and served in the canton of Hai-duong. Many of the soldiers yielded to the violence of the tortures, but three from amongst them, in spite of the most cruel torments, remained firm, and the scourges, torture, and heated pincers of the executioner found them unshaken. The artful caresses of the mandarins gained no more than these torments. Conquered at length by these heroes of the faith, the mandarin wrote to the king, that he had employed every means to subdue them, but that he had not been able to succeed in making them obey the king or apostatize from their faith. The king, irritated at the information, severely chid the mandarin: "What!" he wrote in reply, "have the mandarins of the other provinces been able to make my orders listened to, and cannot you do so too?" The king afterwards charged him to try to seduce the martyrs by persuasion; to give them money, to cheer them up, and to induce them to obey him. Docile to the orders of the king, the mandarin faithfully executed his wishes; he put every resource into action, he called them to him in private one after another; nevertheless he could obtain nothing from them. At last the mandarin ordered ten ligatures to be given to them, saying, "take each of you these ten ligatures and go your ways. If any body asks you the reason why the mandarin has pardoned you, answer him: 'Our affair is terminated.'" Our three companions having gone out, began to say amongst themselves, we have received this money from the king, and though we have not trampled on the holy cross, people will not fail to look upon us as apos-

tates who have trampled on it: perhaps even the mandarin will write to the king, and say that we have obeyed his orders. With this, the three valiant champions took up each his ten ligatures, and carrying them back to the mandarin, surrendered them, saying, "We have not trampled on the holy cross; why then does the mandarin give us these ligatures? The mandarin will announce to the king, that we have apostatized; we cry out against this falsehood; and we will go and present ourselves before his majesty, to belie this untruth, for fear his majesty should be imposed upon." The mandarin seeing the firm resolution of these brave soldiers, and fearing lest they might execute their project, and that thus he himself might be accused of having deceived the king, endeavored by sweet words to engage them to return to their homes. Arrived there, they resolved to repair to the capital Hué, to protest before the throne of his majesty, that they had not abandoned the religion of Jesus Christ, and that they had not taken the money which the mandarin wished to give them in the king's name. Thus then about the month of May, two of them repaired to the capital, the third was stopped and confined at home by his relations. The other two also had been stopped by their friends, but during the night they escaped and set out. These two confessors presented themselves at the audience of the mandarin of the grand criminal tribunal, and to the interrogations of the mandarin, they always replied with the same firmness which they had displayed before. The king being informed of their resistance, gave orders to the officers to gain them by persuasion, to give them money in recompense if they obeyed his will, and to send them back to their own province. Our two champions were insensible to all these fine promises. At length, on the anniversary of the king's birthday, the twenty-third of the fourth month (4th of June), his majesty ordered new efforts to be made to persuade them to obey, and added, if they are still rebellious to my orders, let their bodies be cut in pieces and thrown into the sea. The two heroes of the faith replied, "this is the accomplishment of our most ardent desire." Thus, then, on the 2d of the 5th month, (June 12th), they were beheaded at the port of Thuan-an, which is at the entrance of the river that leads to the capital. One of them was about fifty years of age, the other near forty: the former was named Nicholas The, the latter Augustin Huy. They were born in the canton of Duong-hai, in the perfectship of Thanh-dinh, in the kingdom of Tung-king. These two valiant soldiers are a model that covers many others with confusion."

(2.) "July 29th, 1839.— Last year I sent you an account of the project of the mandarin Xuan Can so famous in our annals. (This project was a kind of agrarian law or division of land which Can proposed.) The king at first rejected the project, but this mandarin having been recalled to Hué, and having been raised to a still higher dignity, presented his project once more, and the king has now accepted it. The edict on this subject has already arrived at the prefecture, but is not yet published. Of ten parts of land, eight are taken away, and two left to the original possessor. Those who have only

five perches of land, are left undisturbed, but eight tenths are taken of what is above five perches. In consequence, we lose all that here remained to us. *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, sit nomen Domini benedictum.* I have received letters from Lower Cochinchina; father Linh is gone to visit the Christians of Camboja. The exiles from Duong Son are still there to the number of five. (There are not more than fifty Christians in that part which borders on Cochinchina.) A new edict has been published against the Catholic religion this month, and if it is executed with rigor, M. De la Motte, will be exceedingly embarrassed. I am much afraid that the affair will end in his arrest. He wrote to me on the 29th of May, that the village of An-do had again accused the village of Di-loan of observing our religion, of holding assemblies, and of concealing a chief of the faith. One of the first prefects of the province summoned the Christians before him and said to them: 'Prepare yourselves; we shall come some day to make you a visit.' This same mandarin, before the new edict, threatened to make a new examination of the disciples of the religion of Jesus Christ."

ART. II. *Thoughts on the conduct of the Chinese government toward the Honorable E. I. Company's servants at Canton.* By the late DR. MORRISON.

THE grievances under which the persons labor who carry on the English commerce in China, are not singly of that flagrant kind, that the bare mention of any one of them immediately shows their weight and pressure; they must be viewed collectively. They arise from a well-digested system of oppression which artfully assumes a specious show of reason and argument, but by all the lies and crooked wiles of an impostor. For instance, they do not acknowledge that which is the fact, viz., that the trade is a reciprocal exchange of benefits; that they open a market to sell their commodities. No, for then there would be an equality in carrying on the trade, there would be reciprocal rights betwixt the buyer and seller. If they were not much obliged to the buyer, yet, at the lowest rate the buyer would have a right to civil treatment both from the merchant and the government, and also to be fully heard in his own cause. They are aware of these reasonable inferences, and from policy, not from vanity alone, they perch themselves on the summit of a lofty preëminence, and from the celestial empire promulgate the idea, that they are perfectly indifferent to the commerce; that they would rather not have

it; that from motives of compassion and benevolence alone they permit the trade; they are benefactors, and, therefore, foreign merchants, the recipients of their bounty, have no rights; there are no reciprocal obligations, it is all compassion and benevolence on the one hand, and there should be nothing but gratitude and submission on the other. This artful mode of proceeding runs through the whole of the government. They assume a false principle in reasoning, or untruth in fact, and then flourish away in argument to the astonishment and complete discomfiture of all their opponents. They often make a specious appeal to the reason and common sense of those they address. Having acquired the art of false reasoning, that is, reasoning from false principles or false facts, and possessing the power in their own hands, they always prevail. The applicant for justice is struck dumb. The people say, proverbially, "the mandarins have the largest mouths." They carry on real tyranny and oppression, under the semblance of justice and equality; and hence persons in England not finding all sense and reason outraged in Chinese documents, judge erroneously of the slow, grinding, galling oppression of the Chinese government. It were endless to state all the particular acts of injustice and ill-usage to which Englishmen are subject in China. The contemptuous manner in which their persons, their employers, their country, and their king, are treated in official documents, is not easily borne, at the same time that it is not an evil easily tangible by persons who in England are so widely removed from its immediate contact. To be styled to their face, barbarians, demons, official staters of untruth; to hear his majesty's officers and ships stigmatized with the name of plunderers, must all be submitted to. In writing official documents to the Chinese, they are not allowed to call their employers honorable, nor the king of England an independent sovereign. The native domestics of the Company's servants are fined and punished for the simple act of serving them; the honorable Company's trade is interrupted, and a fleet delayed, on the most frivolous pretences, perhaps for a fee unpaid by some native merchant, with which the English have not the slighest connection.

These are some of the constant, regular, daily, evils. Occasional acts of injustice of a more serious nature are not unfrequent; as for instance, the imprisonment of a Company's servant for being the bearer of a document from the committee to the government; the strangling an English seamen for killing a Chinese accidentally; the detaining a fleet on account of a man being killed in an affray,

when it was impossible to identify the guilty person; the transportation of two hong merchants, who were, by the assistance of the Company, and the previous permission of the government, endeavoring to retrieve their circumstances; many false accusations brought against the chief on this account, and also an effort made to drive him from the duties of his employers, to their detriment, and his own personal injury; haughtily refusing provisions to his majesty's ships, whilst the cruisers of the enemies of England were received into their ports and plentifully supplied; an absolute refusal to receive from the committee official statements of facts, whilst charges from the Chinese government were issued detrimental to the trade and honor of England.

These are some of the grievances of which there is reason to complain. Perhaps a complete removal of them is not to be expected all at once. However, they may probably be considerably lessened by gradually intrenching on the Chinese plea of vast superiority. This would be to lay the ax at the root of the evil. Might not the chief of the factory be invested with the powers of a magistrate; or perhaps it would be still better to appoint a judge-advocate to reside at Canton, with civil authority over the English, and to be the accredited organ of intercourse in all affairs not purely commercial. The Chinese civil officers would then be met by an English officer on terms of equality.

The probable utility of the last proposition is further confirmed by the following considerations.

There are from two to three thousand Englishmen, or persons subject to the English flag, who annually visit China, and remain there six or seven months. So large a number of persons have occasional intercourse with some of the worst of the Chinese community, collected in the suburbs of a great seaport town, where it is impossible to prevent totally the commission of crimes. That there will be occasionally acts of fraud, and violence, and murder, is to be expected. The Chinese do not give the protection of their laws to foreigners. Almost annually, Englishmen lose their lives, or are robbed, without commonly any investigation being made; or if made, universally without success. The government rigorously requires life for life, whenever any of their own people are killed, and this with so little regard to justice, that they practically care not whether he be an innocent man, or the murderer, whose life they take; hence the great difficulty of resigning an Englishman to their power. But Englishmen sometimes commit acts of violence for which they deserve an equitable punishment. However, to give them to the Chi.

nese government is not to give them up to justice, but to certain death, whether guilty or not. To prevent the lives of Englishmen being taken unjustly, offenders are screened when in China, and when brought to England they are not punishable for crimes committed under another government. A murder committed by an English subject on an English subject, is not noticed by the Chinese government, and is not punishable in India or in England. Thus several thousand persons are left for a considerable length of time without the benefit of any law. Petty frauds are sometimes practiced on Chinese shopmen, to redress which they have no other means than waylaying and cudgelling the offender, in which case they themselves sometimes suffer. Since the Chinese government is so remiss as not to give the protection of its laws, and so unjust that it is certain ruin to be amenable to them, would it not be advisable to appoint a judge-advocate to hear all causes, and punish or protect Englishmen, as well as to be the medium of intercourse in all affairs, not purely commercial, or even in these if the chief shall see proper to request his interference? It is probable the Chinese would not object to this mode, for it is their practice to give back foreign offenders to the neighboring states to be punished, and to require their own people to be given back to them. If there be insuperable objections to the appointment of a judge-advocate, let the powers of a magistrate be vested with the chief. These powers for the punishment of crimes are what give a person high respectability in the sight of the Chinese, and without these, the lowest district officer in China considers himself superior to the chief agent of the English commerce. The great evil of this fancied superiority is felt at all times, but most so when any negotiation takes place. An adherence to the old plan will perpetuate the evil; a trial of that now proposed would be running no risk, and might be highly beneficial. A permanent embassador at court, the Chinese will not accept of. If a judge-advocate were appointed, he could pay a triennial visit to Peking to offer the king of England's congratulations to the emperor, and, from such frequent opportunities of being at court, would be a check on the Canton government. The reasonableness of having such an officer, for the prevention and punishment of crimes among our own people, would more easily overcome objections to his stay than any other character which he could sustain. The Chinese, like all other earthly empires, have considerable financial difficulties. They have during this year (1814) been put to many shifts. Rebellion and bad harvests have, in the northern provinces, done them immense injury; merchants in

various parts are in vast arrears to the government. The husbandman is unable to pay his tax in kind, or even refund to the government the grain which had been lent him for seed. Government has required contributions from wealthy individuals, has required the higher officers to resign their salaries for the service of the state, and has reduced the price of purchased honors, to induce a crowd of buyers to come forward. This is intended to show that they are not raised far above the usual sources of revenue; it is not designed to insinuate that they would be ruined by the loss of any one source, or that they would resign their dominion, or risk it, for the sake of European commerce. No, this is not required of them. All that is asked, is that they would be just, and equitable, and civil.

Note. The foregoing article is extracted from the second volume of the Memoirs of Morrison, to which it has been annexed, with some other papers, as an appendix. It had not, previously, we believe, been published. It is worthy of careful perusal, by all who wish to obtain accurate views of Chinese character. The lapse of six-and-twenty years, since it was written, has served to prove the correctness of the opinions then formed — opinions in which most, if not all, foreigners well acquainted with the Chinese will concur.

ART. III. *On the causes of rupture between England and China. A letter to the editor.*

MY dear Editor,—To discuss with you personally the causes of rupture between China and England, has been to me at all times easy and pleasing. To talk with you of what seems to be, at this juncture, the duty of England, I have been no less readily disposed. For our opinions were expressed only to friendly ears, and mistakes in them could always with friendliness be rectified.

But you ask me to *write* to you on these subjects: in this you lay on me a task far more difficult. My letters may meet eyes less friendly; my opinions be judged of by men less considerate, less ready to excuse error. I bow to your wishes, only because some points there are, on which I am anxious to arrest your attention: on some portions of the field that we have so often rapidly traversed, I am desirous that you should stand and carefully consider the ground.

It is an error, I think, to suppose, that, with slender knowledge,

and by a cursory inspection, the advantages and disadvantages of the ground can be fully comprehended.—The great political and moral influences involved in the dispute between England and China are not to be estimated, but by the light of an extensive acquaintance with human nature, a deep insight into many of the arcana of social science.—This consideration causes me to pause: can I pretend to anything beyond a slender amount of knowledge? or have I qualifications for other than a slight inspection? Assuredly, no. What then am I attempting? Simply, to point out some of the views to which my own attention has been particularly directed; and to offer, for the judgment of those better qualified, a few of the opinions that have occurred to my mind. Believe my aim to be thus humble; expect from me nothing more, and, in company with you, I will proceed.

. . . . . .

Here, first, let us stop and look around. See you that mount? Observe the fortress erected on its summit. Its garrison, in the arrogance of their presumption, believed it impregnable; they feared no successful attack on it; self-confident, they sallied forth on us, and in a moment unlucky for us, they sorely hurt and despoiled us. For this, do they not merit punishment from those able to inflict it? Should not their fortress of strength be torn down?

Yes, from that mount of their greatness, must be torn down the fortress of their pride and arrogance, that they may no more habitually injure and annoy, as a castle robber-chief, the country around.

You are yourself, indeed, disposed to think so: but many object, 'that the fault was our own, that we constantly invaded their rights, that we were the first to injure them, that till our hands are pure, we must leave them unpunished.'—Stay. That we have not been free from blame, I sorrowfully, but candidly, admit: but that we were the first to injure them, I as strenuously deny. They had, often and long, from that high tower, vexed and harassed us: by their heavy burdens, by their continued annoyances, they excited in us feelings of strong indignation, it may be of animosity. In these things, more than in aught else, originated our misdeeds. The choice for us lay between aggression, and such a degree of submission, as was, equivalent to and must end in an entire relinquishment of the advantages of our situation. *This*, the high aspirations implanted in the breast of man, the innate sense of equality with his fellow-men, the inexpugnable hatred of oppression, all joined to forbid: to *that*, the other portion of the alternative, personal and pecuniary interests earnestly beckoned onward. Could the result hang, for a moment, doubtful?

Could any one that has carefully perused the volume of history wonder thereat? Or can any such greatly condemn the resisting, and unreservedly absolve the oppressor?

That I have not misstated the case, you can hardly require of me to prove by the citing of a multitude of facts. Every page of the story of foreign intercourse with China affords it confirmation. Often as the country has been torn by intestine commotion, often as it has fallen a prey to the external enemy, the Chinese empire has yet never been, for any long-continued period, disruptured. Not unjustly proud of their country, her people and her rulers have believed her impregnably strong: adopting but little of the wisdom of other lands, and adopting that little in a native garb, they have thought themselves first among the nations, in knowledge, as well as in more material power. They have displayed to foreigners, in all their intercourse with them, the petty tyranny of the self-sufficient pedagogue, and have frequently laid on them the strong hand of the unrestrained despot. The petty tyranny, though noisome, may long be suffered: the strong hand of oppression will be borne only by those who feel unequal to cope with it.

While the outward intercourse of the Chinese was confined to the people of adjacent countries, conscious of inferiority, both moral and physical, and, at home, habituated to submission to the despot's yoke, the irritation naturally resulting from such conduct was rarely shown, was perhaps not often felt. But far otherwise was it, from the moment that the commercial visitants of China came to be men from western lands, men full of the spirit of liberty and resistance to oppression,— conscious too of power, and of minds daily enlarging with knowledge and wisdom.

From that instant, collision, between 'guests' so confident, so presumptuous, and 'hosts' so arrogant and imperious, was inevitable, and became a thing of frequent occurrence. Had more home-felt European wars not filled the hands of western powers, or had the interests of an always-valuable commerce not bound them over to keep the peace, war with China, on the part of some one or other of the nations of Christendom, might have been an early consequence. On the other hand, had the true principle of government, the good of the people,— and the fundamental doctrine of international law and right, that not alone bare justice, but friendly aid also, is due from nation to nation, as from man to man,— had these things been generally understood and acknowledged by rulers in the west, we should not then have seen such large interests as those of commerce with India and

with China committed to daring and often unprincipled adventurers; or, in later days, to mercantile corporations or individuals, who, however free from purposes of wrong-doing, could not but regard their personal, rather than any national, interests, even had they been well-instructed in the nature of these last: we should, in that case, have found means, possibly peaceful ones, long ere this to have established our intercourse upon an honorable and therefore a sure basis.

It would demand from me many long letters, (I might say, using the common phrase, 'it would require volumes,') should I attempt to substantiate my case by an appeal to each important fact recorded in the annals of foreign intercourse with China. This therefore I will not attempt; but I will confine myself to the statement of a broad principle: a TRUTH, I deem it; but you, if you yet require conviction, may call it an *hypothesis*, until such time as you can satisfy yourself of its substantiality by an appeal to facts of the nature I have pointed out to you.

The principle, thus established in my mind, is this:—that the SINGLE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE of the rupture between England, or (to speak more accurately) between Christendom, and China, is—the arrogant assumption of superiority and supremacy by the Chinese government over western, in common with all foreign, powers. Observe that I say not only superiority, but supremacy also: for the pretension to the former might be suffered; the assumption of the latter is unbearable. That may for ever confine itself to harmless speech: indeed what nation is there that makes no such pretension? This must, of necessity, go, from time to time, into action. That it *must* be so, we already see: hitherto, indeed, China had been generally content to assert, in words only, her supremacy; she had exercised little, if any, of it, in her proceedings towards western governments; she had done nothing, probably, but what might be construed (though not always without violence of interpretation) into the justifiable acts of a government towards individuals dwelling under its shadow. But the force of circumstances has now pushed her beyond this measured policy: and she has commenced acting boldly as a supreme power,—wholly regardless of, nay altogether refusing to recognize, the claims to justice, to honorable treatment, to courtesy, of the nations holding intercourse, even through acknowledged official channels, with her.

This I again affirm to be the foundation of our present disputes, even the arrogant assumption of supremacy on the part of China over foreigners. Upon this basis, and this only, can just demands on China be erected: other things may be brought forward to support and

prop up these demands; other things too may be brought to overthrow them: but upon this foundation — here, on this spot to which I first directed your attention — our claims may be so firmly erected, as neither to need other support, nor to fear aught that can be set up against them.

Or, rather, if I may be allowed to meet the Chinese with their own favorite metaphor,— this assumed supremacy is the 'SOURCE of the evils' affecting their country, so far as these evils arise from foreign intercourse and commerce. Other streamlets may have joined the torrent in its early course; other torrents, rushing onwards, may have mingled their waters with its own, as uninterruptedly it pursued its way. But this is the main stream; it is also the most impure. Cleanse it at its springs. The purifying of any other streams, while *it* remains the same, will effect no important change in the waters of the river as it mingles them with the sea.

But opium! Why, you ask me, have I said nothing of opium? Nothing of the so much talked-of opium?

In the first place, my dear Editor, I have not spoken of it, because the trade in opium has not, in my estimation, been a *cause* of rupture between western governments and China: of this, I have said that the cause is ONE — the Chinese assumption, in act and not merely in word, of a supremacy over us. The trade in opium has been as a rapid torrent; it has descended suddenly upon a low and fertile plain; spreading wide its waters, it has seemed (but only seemed), where it falls in with the other stream, to be the greater of the two. The Chinese, and others also, have erroneously attributed to it the superiority: but this is because they have never traced the larger stream to its source. So great, it seems to me, is the error they have committed,— that were the opium-stream to be dried up at once, as in past times it had not begun to be, the greater number of the evils, attending the intercourse of China with the western 'islands of the sea,' would remain unaltered, unabated.

In the second place, I have avoided any special allusion to opium, because the consideration of its moral effects as a strong stimulant — a consideration so often brought into the general argument — forms a subject apart from what we are now discussing. These moral effects are to be considered (if advantageously, by men far more intimately acquainted with the deep things of moral science than I am,) as a part of the question regarding all highly-stimulating and intoxicating food, food for mind, or for body,— whether it be well to partake of such even temperately,— whether it be not better to abstain

from the use thereof utterly. So far as regards opium, the Chinese government has answered the latter half of this question in the affirmative; for the present, the use of opium is forbidden: consequently the trade in it is contraband and illicit. No foreign government, then, can have a right to interfere on this point, otherwise than with advice. A discussion of it is therefore somewhat irrelevant to the general matter of the duty of the western governments, as I have just shown that it is to the question of the cause of rupture.

On this matter of *duty*, it is too late for me now to say anything: the *cause* of rupture, such as it is in my view, I think I have already made clear; and as I see no subordinate causes of any powerful efficacy, none that ever would in themselves have been likely to cause aught but official discussions — I conclude with expressing the hope, that, if I have satisfied you of the soundness of my case, you will lose no opportunity to make known the real 'source of the evil.' M.

Art. IV. *Hospital reports of the Medical Missionary Society in China, for the year* 1839.

Dr. Parker's tenth report of cases in the Ophthalmic Hospital, at Canton, will occupy the principal portion of the following pages. The committee embrace the occasion of publishing this report, to give to the members and friends of the Society a brief statement, regarding its present conditions and prospects, as well as its proceedings during the past year.

A simple allusion to the disturbed state of affairs here throughout the year, and to the unsettled position of foreigners, will suffice to show why, after the initial meeting in November, 1838, its members and friends have not once, during the year 1839, been assembled.

It might be presumed, from the posture of general political and mercantile affairs, that the proceedings of the Society must have been altogether arrested, since the month of March, last year. This, indeed, for a time was, and partially it continues to be, the case. During the two months of restraint within the foreign factories at Canton — the months, namely, of April and May, the ophthalmic hospital was shut up by the senior hong merchant, acting either under order from the high officers, or in expectation of such order, and in

fear of reprehension. A few cases were, notwithstanding, attended to, in a private manner, at Dr. Parker's own rooms; and after the release of foreigners from their constrained detention in Canton, patients continued to be received in this way, until their increasing numbers rendered some other arrangement necessary.

The removal of the English portion of the community, and with them their medical attendant, from Canton to Macao, to remain at the latter place, left vacant what had been the Canton dispensary. The stay of the American portion of the community (as well as some other foreigners) at Canton, having, at the same time, enabled Dr. Parker to remain and continue the performance of his duties, it was to the Canton dispensary that he proceeded, when he found it impossible longer to receive the increased number of patients in his own house, and the senior hong merchant being still unwilling to allow the place occupied heretofore as the ophthalmic hospital to be again opened. All further details regarding this institution will be found in the report transmitted by the doctor himself to the committee. The summary of the number of cases will point out, that, though diseases of the eye still preponderate, and the original name of the institution is retained, yet it is no longer peculiarly an ophthalmic, but has become a general, hospital.

The hospital at Macao (which had been opened by Dr. Parker in July, and closed, when he returned to Canton, in October, 1838,) remained unoccupied, until the 28th of Feb., 1839, Wm. Lockhart, M. R. C. S., in connection with the London Missionary Society, having then arrived from England, and the offer made by him of his services having been accepted by the committee,—the hospital-house was placed under his charge. Engaged, at first, chiefly in the study of the language, although he occasionally received such patients as demanded immediate care, yet he did not formally open the hospital till the 1st of July, and even then only to admit very limited numbers. It continued thus down to the middle of August, when he was involved in the severities directed in general against the English and those in their employ: the departure of all natives from his premises virtually closed the hospital; and shortly after, at the end of the same month, he was compelled by the Chinese to leave, in common with his countrymen, and embark on board ship. After waiting for half a month, as he saw no speedy prospect of being able quietly to reside again at Macao, and anticipated that for some months there would be increased rather than diminished difficulties in China, he thought it advisable to visit Batavia, and pursue his Chinese studies

under the tuition of Mr. Medhurst, author of the dictionary of the Hokkëèn dialect. He consulted with several individual members of the committee (a meeting, under the circumstances, being out of the question), and with their advice he resolved to do so; requesting Mr. Bridgman, as one of the vice-presidents on shore at Macao, to take charge of the house, until a better aspect of affairs should invite his return. Mr. Bridgman, in consequence, is now temporarily resident there, where he has recently been joined by Wm. B. Diver, M. D. from the United States, and by Benjamin Hobson M. B., M. R. C. S. (with his family), from England, both of whom have signified their intention, at a suitable time, to offer their medical services to the Society. This occupation of the hospital buildings has received the sanction of the committee.

Mr. Lockhart received into the hospital, between the 1st July and the 15th of August, 167 patients. These were, as is usually the case in China, out-patients, attending at such times as was required to let the progress of their cure be observed, or to renew their supply of medicines,— with but a very few exceptions requiring in-door treatment. The committee will leave it to Mr. Lockhart himself, when he shall return to resume his labors, to give such particulars regarding them as may be deemed by him worthy of notice.

It is their hope, that foreign intercourse with China is about to be established on a sounder and more honorable basis than hitherto, and that their opportunities of usefulness, both by the practice of medicine, and by the teaching of its true principles, will erelong be greatly increased.

The committee have found it necessary to make some provisional appointments of officers. Mr. Wetmore who became treasurer on Mr. Archer's departure from China, and Mr. Green, the auditor of accounts, having both returned to their native country, Mr. Snow and Mr. Leslie have been requested to fill their places, and will therefore stand, in conjunction with Mr. Colledge, as trustees of the Society's real estate. Mr. King having also left China, Mr. Brown, of the Morrison Education Society, has been requested to take on him the duties of corresponding secretary. The list of officers, corrected according to these changes, is as follows:

COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

President, THOMAS R. COLLEDGE, esq.

Vice-presidents.

Rev. PETER PARKER, M. D. ALEXANDER ANDERSON, esq.

WILLIAM JARDINE, esq. — G. TRADESCANT LAY, esq.
ROBERT INGLIS, esq. — Rev. E. C. BRIDGMAN.

Recording Secretary, JOHN ROBERT MORRISON, esq.
Corresponding Secretary, Rev. S. R. BROWN.
Treasurer, P. W. SNOW, esq.
Auditor of accounts, WILLIAM LESLIE, esq.

TRUSTEES.

THOMAS RICHARDSON COLLEDGE, PETER WANTEN SNOW, and WILLIAM LESLIE, esqs.

Mr. Colledge's return being still possible, and the vice-presidents having no specific duties to perform, it has not appeared necessary to supply the places of Mr. Jardine, Mr. Inglis, and Mr. Lay, although absent from China,—still less to elect another president.

The statement of accounts rendered at the first annual meeting, on the 29th of November, 1838, showed a balance to the Society's credit of $780.71. At Mr. Wetmore's departure from China, on the 20th of August, 1839, this balance had been increased to $2039.71. A further addition of $320 was made between that date and the 31st of December,—making a total of $2359.71. Against this has been charged, for the expenses of the hospital at Canton, $571.26, comprising the following items:—

For board, fuel, repairs, &c. -	$167.63
For native assistants and servants	253.83
For medicines, &c., &c. -	149.80
	$571.26

For the expenses of the hospital at Macao, something is also due: but the account, not having been made up previous to Mr. Lockhart's departure, has not yet been rendered. It appears, then, that on the 1st of January, 1840, the balance in hands of the treasurer was, $1758.45.

It only remains for the committee, in concluding this brief statement, to offer, on behalf of the Society, thankful acknowledgments to its pecuniary supporters; and, also, to Mr. Jardine, for a valuable collection of medical works, lately the property of Mr. Colledge,—to Mr. Lay, for a number of medical books and medicines,—and to Dr. James Jackson of Boston, Massachusetts, and Mr. Richardson, booksellers of London, for several valuable works on medicine. Particulars of the various contributions will elsewhere appear.

TENTH REPORT
of the
Ophthalmic Hospital, Canton, being for the year 1839.

The peculiar circumstances under which the modified operations of the physician have been carried on at Canton show, to an extent to which it could not otherwise have been known, the degree of confidence felt by the provincial government itself, in the utility and benevolent purpose of the institution.

The ophthalmic hospital continued much as usual, but with increasing prosperity, up to the 23d of March, when foreigners, one and all, were deprived of their servants, and in a manner of their liberty. At the commencement of this state of things, the few in-door patients were desired by the senior hong-merchant to remove, and the hospital was closed. After a while, however, the officers on guard around the factories began to seek medical aid; and, though they permitted no communication with the people in general, they presently gave admittance, to the physician's house, to men of rank, who were allowed a greater measure of liberty in visiting the factories. On the withdrawal of the soldiery and armed coolies, the number of patients gradually increased, but with a greater preponderance than before of official people: yet others were not wholly restrained from seeking relief for their maladies; females even overpassed the prejudices against entering the factories of foreigners. It was in August, that, finding his private residence too small for the reception of the increased number of patients, and unsuccessful in every endeavor to return to the building formerly occupied, the physician removed to the premises of the Canton dispensary of Messrs. Cox & Anderson.

Commands were issued by the chungheĕ, against any natives passing in front of the factories, be they men, women, or children: this was applied chiefly to females by the subordinate officers, who were anxious, in consequence, that no females should be received as patients. A few days after, however, appeared a young woman of about sixteen years, from the family of the Kwangheĕ. This officer, of like rank with the chungheĕ, both being what we may call brigadiers, was associated with him in the control of the foreign factories; and the breach, by one from his own family, of his colleague's orders, reduced these at once to a dead letter. There was no longer any hindrance to the access of females: they came, however, with more of reserve than formerly; and some begged to be seen in boats before the factories, or at their own residences in the suburbs of the city: so

that the evil of exclusion from the former hospital has not been without its advantages, inasmuch as it has given rise to a more ready and more frequent access into private families than otherwise would have been thought requisite.—The young woman from the Kwangheĕ's family came with cataract of both eyes; and, though she would not remain as an in-door patient, but returned as soon as the cataracts were operated on, the operation was completely successful.

The smaller number of patients attending, in consequence of various restraints, has happily left more leisure for prosecuting the study of the language, and for acquiring facility of writing it, as well as of translating from it.

Among the more distinguished personages who have, directly or indirectly, availed themselves of the benefits that the institution affords, were—Howqua, the senior hong-merchant,—Tsun, an officer from Yunnan,—Lew, magistrate of Nanhae, and his brother,—Wang, a commissioner or intendant of circuit in Kwangse, son of the Wang tazhin of Macartney's embassy,—the ganchăsze, the poochingsze, heads of the judicial and the financial and territorial affairs, of this province,—and, not least, the high imperial commissioner, of whom all have heard so much.

The total number of patients that have been admitted and their names recorded, during the year 1839, has been : the aggregate number since the commencement of the institution in November of 1835,—about 7000.

The following is a tabular statement of the numbers of each disease that came under observation.

Diseases of the eye.	
Granulations	20
Ectropia	2
Entropia	32
Trichiasis	2
Lippitudo	14
Xeroma	4
Excrescence of the lids	1
Obstruction of nasal duct	4
Disease of caruncula lachrymalis	1
Ophthalmia, Acute	47
— Chronic	90
— Purulent	8
Pterygia	27
Nebulæ	37
Ulceration of the cornea	4
Opacity of the cornea	2
Staphyloma	8
Iritis, chronic	13
Synechia anterior,	2
— posterior	4
Cataracts	27
Glaucoma	3
Muscæ volitantes	7
Amaurosis	16
— partial	6
— intermittent	1
Double vision	1
Weak eyes	2
Near sight	2
Night blindness	2
Fungus hæmatodes	2
Loss of one eye	22
Injury of the eye	2

Diseases of the ear.	
Otitis	2
Deafness	27
Otorrhœa	7
Nervous affection	2
Loss of the membranum tympani	5
Deaf-dumbness	2
Diseases of the face and throat.	
Parotitis	2
Tonsilitis	3
Cynanche	1
Aphonia	2
Ulceration and perforation of the palate,	1
Diseases of the organs of circulation.	
Palpitation of the heart	1
Aneurism of the temporal artery	1
Diseases of the respirative organs.	
Bronchitis, chronic	18
Asthma	8
Hæmoptysis	4
Hydrothorax	1
Diseases of the abdominal organs.	
Diarrhœa	2
Dysentery	2
Constipation	3
Gastritis	3
Dyspepsia	16
Ascites	11
Worms	4
Enlargement of spleen	1
Hernia, inguinal	6
Diseases of the generative and pelvic organs.	
Hernia humoralis	3
Enlarged testicles	2
Urinary calculi	1
Injury of the prostate gland	1
Bubo	6
Gonorrhœa	2
Phymosis	1
Paraphymosis	1
Hydrocele	1
Impotence	2
Salacity	5
Hæmorrhoids	6
Fistula (in ano)	2
Diseases of the nervous system.	
Paralysis	9
Idiocy	1
Insanity	2
Epilepsy	3
Hemiplegia	1
Neuralgia	4
Hydrocephalus	1
Cutaneous diseases.	
Acné	3
Tinea Capitis	3
Ichthyosis	1
Scabies	8
Porrigo	7
Vitiligo	3
Lichen circinatus	8
Elephantiasis	2
Lepra nigricans	1
Anomalous	19
General and constitutional diseases.	
Rheumatism	25
Arthritis	7
Fever, intermittent	4
Thrush	1
Anasarca	7
Scrofula	16
Syphilis	7
Dentition	1
Opium-mania	15
Abscesses	14
Furunculus	1
Periostitis of the tibia	1
Ulcers	23
Diseases of the bones.	
Disease of the hip joint	4
Caries of tibia	1
— of os calcis,	1
— of submaxillary	2
— of trochanter major	1
— of ribs	1
Curvature of spine	2
Preternatural and diseased growths.	
Malformation of thorax	1
Nasal polypi	2
Tumors, sarcomatous	11
— cutaneous	1

Tumor abdominal	2	Tendo Achillis partially divided	1
Cancer of the breast	3	Singular enlargement in the left iliac region	1
Injuries.			
Fracture of both bones of the leg	1		

In conformity with past practice, some more particular notice is subjoined of a few cases, chosen, in general, less from any interest attaching to them in a medical point of view, than from circumstances in them illustrative of Chinese character, customs, and habits of thought and action.

No. 6107. Caries of submaxillary and fracture of legs. Ho Che, aged 30, a native of the Pwanyu district of Canton, by profession a fortune-teller. This unfortunate man's case is introduced, to illustrate the permanent ill effects arising from want of surgical aid, in instances where, with it, cure might be most sure. At the age of seven years, he fell from the roof of a house, and by the fall broke the fibula and tibia of both legs, and the femur of each thigh. These bones were never set, and the man became a cripple for life. That he was not entirely deprived of the power of locomotion seems most strange. The fibula and tibia united, at angles of near 45°, and the femur too, at an obtuse angle; so that with the bending of the knee-joints, the legs well-nigh assumed the form of hoops. By means of resting his body on a light stool, the man is able to draw his limbs after him, and so by a sort of vermicular motion to betake himself from place to place. A few minutes of surgical aid, at the time of the accident, would have saved him from incalculable suffering and helplessness. It was for extensive caries of the lower jaw, under which he had been suffering four years, that he applied for relief.

No. 6564. July 25th. Epilepsy. A child of the ganchäsze, or chief judicial officer, of the province Kwantung, aged 4. After all the preliminaries regarding the sitting of the judge, the merchant, and the doctor, had been settled, the ganchäsze sent his child to the commercial house of the senior hong-merchant; being prevented himself from accompanying the little gentleman, as he had intended, a number of friends supplied his place. The particulars of the child's case were, in compliance with the physician's request, written out; and as it may serve to elucidate Chinese ideas of medicine, and to show the extent of their actual knowledge, (or the actual depths of their ignorance,) an English version is here inserted.

"This little child was born in the department of Kweilin, in the province Kwangse, in the 12th month of the 15th year of Taoukwang (1835-36). He was, the next year, vaccinated in the nostrils (that

is, by insertion of vaccine virus in a pledget up the nostrils), and several pustules appeared. After this he continued well, till the spring of the 17th year (1837), when he had intermittent fever, and soon after the measles. The physician mistakingly gave *tingfan*, a powerful bitter, and the child was immediately seized with epilepsy. On this, he gave some tens of doses of a compound of benzoin, amber, and the sulphuret of mercury; but without completely removing the epileptic symptoms. In the 9th month of the same year, the treatment was varied, and medicines for circulating the breath (or 'etherial essence') were employed. The prescription was .... [few of these names of drugs are known, and the whole are therefore omitted.] ..... Of this, one dose was taken daily; after about a hundred doses had been administered, the epilepsy was in a trifling degree relieved: the child began to eat a little rice, and in the midsummer of the 18th year he began to walk; but to keep him comfortable it was necessary to continue the daily use of a dose of the above-named medicine. To want it, or to change it for another, occasioned him uneasiness. The symptoms of the disease are now less marked, and the paroxysms, less severe; but the use of the senses is not fully recovered. He is unable to speak: if he wishes to eat he cries; give him food, and he ceases crying. Each day, he eats a teacupfull of rice, as often, perhaps, as twice or thrice; well-flavored viands, fish or flesh, he also eats. He wants understanding to lick with his tongue, or to use his teeth to masticate the food, so that when he eats rice it is requisite that a person feed him, mashing the food for him; anything hard, in however small a degree, he cannot eat; and everything therefore must be carefully examined.—All metallic or mineral remedies *absolutely* retard the recovery. He is in a sense idiotic. Though betel-nut, *howpih*, and rhubarb are daily administered to 'circulate the breath,' yet its passages are not all free. An 'infallible emplastrum,' with a 'never-failing bolus' in its centre, is to be applied, to-morrow, to the abdomen. I do not know if there be any prescription that can heal the child: but I beg the physician of great celebrity to take his case into consideration and let me know."

The reply to this note is here given, in order to introduce the further remarks which it elicited from the father.—"The account of your child's sickness, yesterday given, was very perspicuous. Epilepsy is very difficult to cure, and often the best treatment fails. Commencing at birth, it is seldom cured: if it begin at the time of dentition, recovery is frequent, after the teeth have come out: if caused by worms, it is easily cured. The most favorable age is be-

tween four and ten years; occurring at the age of fourteen or thereabouts, it is sometimes followed by a spontaneous recovery; but commencing at twenty-five it generally terminates only with life. Supervening upon measles is an unfavorable circumstance.

"This disease is believed to exist in the brain and nervous system. In foreign countries, it is often customary to examine the body after death, and in several hundreds who have died of epilepsy, the cerebellum has been found diseased, the color being changed, and the substance become too soft. Of course this disease cannot be cured in a few days. I cannot give a favorable prognosis in the case of your child, much less promise a perfect recovery; but I will do my best for him. If after one year, the child be not recovered, do not be disappointed. Should he recover, the physician will, next to his parents, be the most happy.—It is favorable that the child is now better than he was, that he can walk, and eat rice. As you inform me that all mineral and metallic substances retard the cure, I will not at present use them, but will commence with those from the vegetable kingdom, such as oils and powders. As to the 'infallible emplastrum,' you can do as you please; but while taking one kind of *medicine* he ought not to take another."

The following are the further remarks elicited by the foregoing reply to the father's first statement:—"The explanation respecting the symptoms of the epileptic disease has been received; it is perspicuous and fully comprehended by me. I have further to remark, whenever heretofore he had a paroxysm, he has invariably grasped his head firmly with both hands, or pressed it against a table, or wall. Usually, his hands are also raised to his throat.

"That the existing disease is seated, as you explain it, in the brain and nervous system, I believe: and having evidence that you have already discriminated the disease, you can truly prescribe medicine in good adaptation to it. That my child, having met a man whom Providence has sent, will surely be healed, I entertain not a doubt."

In answer to oral inquiries of the friends who accompanied the child, some other particulars had been given. When the paroxysms commence, the color of the face does not change: after it has set in, the lips quiver a little, and the child rolls his eyes, inclines his head against a table or chair, and grasps his feet with his hands. In reply to an inquiry regarding the 'aura,' it was said that he has sometimes chills, at other times heats. At times, the saliva flows out at the corner of the mouth. During more than two years and a half, the voiding of only one worm has been observed. He always cries when at stool, and seems to have pain in the abdomen.

The details of the treatment of this interesting child are very prolix, nor is there any peculiarity in the case to merit special attention. Anthelmintics were prescribed in the first instance, and a similar treatment continued, until a considerable number of worms had been expelled from the bowels. Afterwards, the nitrate of silver was employed, with blisters to the back of the head. Laxatives with anthelmintics were continued as required. The improvement in the child has been considerable, and appears quite satisfactory to his fond parents. During six months, he has had but two slight epileptic fits; he appears to have increased in intelligence, and has gained a degree of cheerfulness very pleasing to those who witnessed his previous state.

Some other selections from the father's numerous and minute notes had been marked for insertion: but what has been already given will suffice to show the amount of knowledge that native practitioners had been able to afford him of the disease. It is to be borne in mind, when reading these, that it is the practice of all Chinese, possessing what is deemed among them a liberal education, to philosophize upon the diseases to which they become subject, and therefore to expect from their medical attendants minute explanations of the causes of the disease to be treated: as they often seem to expect the practitioner to prove the reality of his rationale of disease by citing some of the symptoms that have marked it previous to his being called in, these explanations are often very oracular. It may be added, that of the nervous system the Chinese have hardly any correct conceptions, consequently not so much as a name that can be used with propriety: the 'breath,' or ethereal essence, of the circulation of which through the body they so often speak, seems to correspond, though attended by many erroneous or purely imaginary connections, to the nervous fluid or influence.

No. 6316. Jan. 28th. Aneurism. Kan Jooluy, aged 38, of the Nanhae district in Kwangtung. This man had an aneurism on the right side of the top of the head, apparently from anastomosis of the temporal arteries. There were numerous abnormal veins and arteries of preternatural size. The aneurismal sac was flat and not well defined; about an inch deep, and three inches in its transverse diameter. Pulsation distinct; but on pressing upon the temporal arteries for a few minutes it sensibly diminished.

No. 6565. Hernia. Lin Tsihseu, the imperial commissioner, late governor of the two lake provinces (i. e. Hookwang), now of the two wide provinces Kwangtung, and Kwangse. Professionally, there

is nothing in this case to make it interesting, indeed the patient was not ever seen, but it is thought that it may not be uninteresting to give some account of intercourse with so distinguished a personage, one whose acts have been the proximate occasion of rupture between two such powers as England and China: the one the most widely combined, the other the most anciently united, and second but to one in extent, on the face of the globe.

His first applications, during the month of July, were not for medical relief, but for translation of some quotations from Vattel's Law of Nations, with which he had been furnished: these were sent through the senior hong-merchant; they related to war, and its accompanying hostile measures, as blockades, embargoes, &c.; they were written out with a Chinese pencil. An exposé of views in regard to opium was also desired, and a general prescription for the cure of those who had become victims to its use. In reply to this, an explanation was written in Chinese, to the effect that opium was classed among the poisons* by scientific men of the west, but at the same time, like arsenic and other powerful articles of the materia medica, is a valuable medicine in the hands of the skillful physician — that, when taken in excessive doses, it is capable of producing death in two ways,—first, by its effects upon the heart and circulating system, producing apoplexy; and secondly, by its influence upon the brain and nervous system. Two instances were cited, in which the physician had been called to attend men who have used opium as a means of self-murder; these were given as affording evidence of the effects upon the circulating system. Some explanation was also afforded, of the manner in which by its gradual influence, the use of opium undermines the whole constitution. And it was then pointed out, that the treatment for recovery of those suffering under its use must vary, according to the quantity taken, the length of time that the habit had been formed, the age and state of constitution of the patient, &c.; and consequently that there was no specific; each case must be treated according to its own particular symptoms. The treatment adopted, it was added, is to pay attention primarily to any existing disorder of the digestive system or lungs (the first, as had been explained, to suffer), not wholly forbidding the accustomed indulgence until the symptoms of disease should begin to yield and the constitution to rally,—then *gradually* to diminish the quantity of opium, till it should be altogether dispensed with. To give weight to

* Vide Silliman's Chemistry, vol. II page 438 Art *Opium.*

this principle of treatment, a very simple illustration was made use of,—the difference between a child being made, at the risk of life to throw itself down from a giddy and dangerous height, and its being enabled step by step to descend from it, as by a flight of stairs. It was stated, in conclusion that this gradual treatment would ordinarily, if directed against a habit of long standing, require a period extending from two or three months to a year or two; and that some cases would occur for which recovery could not be anticipated.—These explanations did not satisfy the commissioner: he was not content to believe, that there was no specific; and he sent a second time to desire some compound, so many mace or candareens' weight of this and that article, to be taken as a substitute by those addicted to opium, and to be gradually reduced in quantity till perfect rescue from the evil should be effected.

It was about the same time that he first sent to me, through the Nanhae district magistrate and Howqua the senior hong-merchant, for '*medicine* to cure him of hernia.' A full explanation of the nature of the disease was sent in Chinese, and also a *diagram* representing the anatomy of the parts concerned in the case, as well as the mode of treatment by Europeans: it was added, that an instrument for the relief of it could be applied, but it was important to have it first adapted by a surgeon. Here came the difficulty: he was fearful of admitting a foreigner to any approach to intimacy. Immediately afterwards, public duties called his excellency down to the Bocca Tigris, and no further applications were made till autumn; when an officer, an old associate at Peking, who had himself been already relieved by the application of a truss, came and requested that he might have one to take to the commissioner also. The importance of its being well adapted was urged, also, that if it were not so, the case might be aggravated: the man shrewdly replied, that he, having worn one so long, might be supposed to understand something about it. . . . A month or two more elapsed, when two young men of the commissioner's suite came to the hospital as patients. One had hernia, the other a cutaneous affection of the head and face. A truss was applied to the former, who was much delighted, and said, he had a friend, a high officer, having a like diseased affection, of immense size — as large, from his representation, as his head; but that, from public engagements, his friend could not come out to see, or be seen by, the physician. Still it was declined to send a truss. The next morning, the comprador, (the responsible head-servant,) came in great alarm, some one having suggested that the two men from the com-

missioner had no disease, but had come out as spies. He was assured that there was no lack of disease, and besides, they had both sent their cards that morning, with a present, and a message that they would call again. While yet speaking, the gentlemen came in, accompanied by the Peking 'interpreter of western languages,' and a *brother* of 'the man who desired a truss,' whose name they wished to conceal. The attempt at concealment, the interpreter was told, was useless, for that months before all particulars of the case had been stated in writing and become well known to the physician. Upon this, the younger brother of the commissioner took up and engrossed the conversation, making particular inquiries about my native country, travels in other countries, &c., &c. He then stated that his brother had a hernia of great dimensions, and, that as he was about his size, a truss that would fit him would fit his brother also: adding that he would like to take away not only the one thought best fitted, but a variety, of which, after selecting one, he would return the rest. It was in vain to persist longer: the only half dozen trusses that remained were given to him,—but have not been returned. The young man, also, who had been fitted with one the day before, said that that which he had received answered admirably, and begged one or two more, to replace it when worn out. Though told that the number of cases of hernia in Canton was great, that he saw all of the trusses that remained, that his would last a year, and that more might be obtained in the meantime, he was little satisfied to be refused.

The truss sent to his excellency, it has been reported, answered tolerably well, excepting that when he coughs the contents of the abdomen are liable to descend. From the account of his symptoms, he also appears to be asthmatic: he has received a little medicine as such, and in acknowledgement has returned a present of fruit, &c. It may be added, that his excellency has inquired particularly regarding the ophthalmic institution, and has been correctly informed with respect to this, as well as like institutions in other countries: he has expressed himself favorably with reference to it; and many of his suite have been in daily attendance at the hospital: the fear that is entertained, however, of deviating from established usages in regard to foreigners, a fear pervading all ranks, is strongly illustrated by the above details, as also the mutual suspicion prevailing between officers of the highest ranks in the empire.

Wang, a taoutae, or intendant of circuit, from Kwangse, and lately acting as judicial commissioner here, who was alluded to in the last

report as being effected with paralysis of the left side, is still a patient. When the foreigners were immured within their factories, and he was unable to obtain foreign aid, he applied to a native practitioner; and, when called to him again, which was not till the 1st of November, he was found in a sad condition. His legs were dropsical, and swollen to an enormous degree, and the old gentleman expressed his anxious fears that he must soon die.

Laxatives and diuretics were immediately prescribed, which removed the swelling of his legs and other dropsical symptoms with almost incredible rapidity; and by careful attention to his diet and regulation of his bowels, his general health has wonderfully improved; general remedies for his palsy have been employed — bleeding from the arm and along the spine, blisters, strychnine continued until the full effects of it were manifested on the system, electricity, &c. The paralysis still continues, however; but excepting that, he is now in good health and eats, drinks, and sleeps, as well as ever.

He is an amusing, talkative, old gentleman, and is very fond of dwelling on the circumstance of his father being one of the legates attending lord Macartney's embassy from Teëntsin to Peking, the Van tazhin of the account of that mission. After Mak'a'rney, S'tan'ton, and Thoma S'tan'ton, (lord Macartney, sir G. L. Staunton, and his son, then a little boy, the present sir George Thomas Staunton), he has often inquired with interest; he even wears, at this day a pair of spectacles given by sir G. L. Staunton to his father. For a number of his friends, male and female, in Kwangse, where his family yet remains, medicines have, at his earnestly reiterated intreaties, been prescribed, after careful endeavors to understand from his minute explanations their cases.

In a few days after the departure of most of the English residents from Canton, Chin Tsungloo, aged 53, a member of the Board of Rites at Peking, and lately from Yunnan, visited the factories, to be treated for a neuralgic affection of his head, involving his hearing. He has been much benefited, but is still under treatment, the cure having been interrupted by his absence at Kwangse during a part of the summer.

In concluding the report of cases, a word or two may be deemed necessary to show why the cases of men of rank have appeared so much oftener and more in detail than those of the lower classes. First, from the unrecognized position of foreigners in any other capacity than as merchants, the officers of the government have greater advantages for *forcing* more particular attention, and this state of

things has been enhanced since the tighter drawing of the restrictions by the commissioner during the last year; and secondly, the officers being more instructed, are better qualified to converse and express opinions as to their own diseases, as well as on other things; they also more frequently write down both such opinions and the expressions of their feelings after cure: while the lower classes rarely prepare any descriptions of their cases, but merely answer in few words the inquiries of the physician; and to express their feelings after cure are generally obliged to resort to the mechanical medium of getting a pedantic scribe to draw out a flowery address,—which is indeed not uncommon even with the better classes, who have less excuse for it. In reply to the remark, that the lower classes may often express their real feelings more characteristically in speech, and that while in the house as in-door patients may acquire confidence to converse on many subjects, and may say many things worthy of remembrance,—it must be admitted, that such a proficiency in speaking the language has not yet been attained as to enable the physician to *draw out* much of such conversation, or readily to understand many of the more reflective remarks of patients: it is comparatively easy to talk intelligibly on the ordinary subjects affecting their bodily health or pains; but to discourse of those things that develop mind requires very high attainments in the knowledge of a language. With what is *written*, it is somewhat different, as matter not at first understood can be studied over and over, and with the advantages of native aissstance.

One or two papers which had been marked for translation, as throwing no little light upon Chinese ideas of medicine, are omitted, from want of time sufficient to deal fairly by them.

ART. V. *Illustrations of passages of Scripture, drawn from the manners and customs of the Chinese.*

A NEW illustration of an old and familiar truth sometimes invests that truth with all the charms of novelty; and what had been laid up in the memory, as an undoubted fact indeed, but one that possessed very little interest—stored away in some forgotten niche of the mind, like a mummy in a case—becomes as it were vivified by an exhibition of it in actual life. The important aid which a reference to the

usages of Asiatic nations has often given to the better understanding of passages of Sacred Scripture, showing the justness of the comparisons, and inforcing the truth of the sacred page, induces us to present a few illustrations drawn from the customs of the Chinese. Most of them we have casually noticed; others are abridged from the Indo-chinese Gleaner.

MATT. VI, 7. *But when ye pray use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking.*—The following extract from the books of the Budhists shows, in a striking manner, how just is the charge here brought against the Gentiles. It is a canon delivered by Fuh, to be repeated for the exterminating of all misfortunes, and for the attaining of life in the pure land, Tolone; it is to be repeated three times.

Nan-mo O-me-to po-yay, to-ta-keü to-yay, to-tc-yay-ta, O-me-le-too po-kwăn, O-me-le-to, seĕh-tan-po-kwăn, O-me-le-to, kwăn-keä-lan-te O-me-le-to, kwăn-keä-lan-te; kcä-me-ne keä-keä-na, chĭh-to-keä-le po-po-ho.

This prayer, or whatever it may be called, is perfectly unintelligible to every Chinese; nor does one out of a hundred of the priests, who daily use it in their devotions, understand the meaning. It is composed of the bare sounds of Sanskrit words, expressed as nearly as they can be by Chinese characters; and as it is thus deprived of the essential requisite of a prayer, the priest contents himself with repeating the sounds as rapidly as they can be enunciated, all the while beating a wooden drum in order to arouse the attention of the god. They are suppossed to possess a mystical and most wonderful efficacy for the removal of all evil. The editor of the book from which this is taken, adds; "This prayer is for the use of those who are traveling to life. The god Ometo (or Budha) rests on the top of the heads of those who repeat this, in order to save them from all their enemies, to render them safe and comfortable in life, and to confer upon them any mode of future existence which they may, at the hour of death, desire, When a person has repeated it twenty myriads of times (200,000), then the intelligence of Poote begins to bud within. When he has repeated it thirty myriads of time (300,000), he is at no distance from a personal vision of the face of the god Ometo." In the passage of Scripture which this quotation is intended to illustrate, Jesus condemns the repetitions of the heathen, not merely from their vanity and utter inability to produce any salutary impression upon the heart, or reform in the life, but also from their motive in using them, "because they think they shall be

heard for their much speaking." In the same work are a number of plates representing various forms of Budha, sitting on a lotus flower. Each form is surrounded by six dotted lines shaped like a pear, springing from the lotus at the bottom, and terminating in a point at the top, which are thus explained. "On the right are nine plates representing the lotus. These 5048 dots, contained within the circling lines, are intended to be marked with a red pencil, one dot for every hundred or thousand repetitions of the name of Budha. After a long time, when the whole is filled up, they are to be again gone over with some other kind of ink; and at the hour of death, the plates thus filled up, are to be burned to ashes, that they may pass into the other world as a testimony in favor of him who used them. Depending on the merit of this virtue, he goes to live in the pure land." "Alas!" will the humble and grateful Christian exclaim, after reading this, "alas! how vain are all the seekings of the human heart to find out God; but what should I have known or done better than this without the Bible!"

Prov. xxv, 3. *The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable.*—The following aphorism from the *Ming sin Paou Keën*, seems to convey a similar idea. "The fish dwell in the bottom of the water, and the eagles in the sides of heaven; the one though high may be reached by an arrow, and the other though deep may be angled for; but the heart of man at only a cubit's distance cannot be known. Heaven can be spanned, earth can be fathomed, but the heart of man cannot be measured."

Isaiah lvii. 6. *Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot; even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering.*—Of the worship of smooth stones by many heathen nations, there are many testimonies in ancient writers. "They were," says bishop Lowth, "called βαιτύλοι and βαιτύλια, probably from the stone which Jacob erected at Bethel, pouring oil on the top of it. Theophrastus has marked their worship as one strong feature in the character of the superstitious man; 'passing by the anointed stones in the streets, he takes out his vial of oil, and pours it on them; and having fallen on his knees and made his adorations, he departs.'" In China, the *shay shin*, or gods of the land, are represented by a water-worn stone, elevated upon a rude altar, and constantly worshiped by burning incense sticks before it. Every village, and every street of 25 families, erects one of these altars, and, in the spring and autumn, worship the deities

supposed to be enshrined upon it. The agricultural classes, who reverence these gods more particularly, call in the aid of priests, and at certain times, generally on the 2d of the 2d month, invoke a blessing upon the season. The priests, three or four in number, dressed in robes of yellow and green, are accompanied by a few musicians with their instruments. One servant, bearing a tray filled with cakes, preserves, and meats, precedes them, followed by another carrying several small cups and a can of spirits, the whole party attended by their employer. The priests, on approaching the altar, first order the eatables to be presented before the stone, and then make a libation before and upon it of three cups of spirits; after this, there is a flourish upon the gong and trumpet, and then they mumble over the prescribed form, supposed to implore a blessing upon the surrounding fields, but which neither themselves nor any one else can understand by reason of their rapid enunciation. After the prayer is said, the priests and their attendants make a few bows before the altar, sometimes pouring out a second libation, and then pass on to the next altar. During this ceremony, not only the attendants and the idle boys around, are in high spirits, but the priests too, usually manifest great glee, and impress the spectator with the idea that it is all a farce; the landlord is the only serious exception, and, judging from his looks, he seems to be thinking more of the expense incurred than of the good besought.

MARK VII, 11. *But ye say, if a man shall say to his father or mother, It is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free.*—The priests of Budha in China profess to take an entire farewell of their parents or other relations; or as they express it, *chŭh keä*, 'to go out of the family,' and separate themselves from the world. It is no longer their duty 'to do aught for their father or mother,' thus rendering the command of God of none effect. But this tenet is as dissonant with the ethics of Confucius, as it is opposed to the fifth commandment and the plainest dictates of nature, and is consequently practiced by none among the Chinese except the devotees of Budha, nor is it always obeyed even by them. It is rather, as we suppose it was among the Pharisees, an instance of the unnatural doctrines of the sect.

ECC. VII, 6. *For as the crackling of thorns under a pot, so is the laughter of the fool.*—On account of the expensiveness of wood for fuel, the poor Chinese cut the coarse grass which grows upon the hill-sides, in the islands about Macao, and use it for purposes of cooking. It consists, for the most part, of a species of Andropogon, and

is cut in the autumn, and bound up in bundles for winter's use. It resembles the dry thorns which were used for fuel in Judea in its unsubstantial nature, and its crackling blaze forms not an unapt simile for the laughter of the fool: making a great flame and noise, but without heat in the burning, or coals in the embers.

MAT. XX, 3. *And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the market-place.*—If one passes through the streets of Canton in the morning, he will meet here and there crowds of laborers assembled. These men are porters or coolies waiting to be hired for the day, and in order to be obvious to all, they choose the most public corners, where they assemble in little parties. Each individual, or sometimes each couple, is provided with a carrying pole and a pair of rope slings; and with these they perform all the services which fall to carts, cart-horses, and carters too, in other countries. They are arranged into companies, and claim to do all the porterage in their districts. However, in large towns, where every shopman generally hires his own coolies by the month, these men often stand idle the livelong day, because 'no man calleth them.'

LUKE VI, 38. *Good measure, pressed down and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom.*—The dress of the Japanese and Lewchewans consists of a number of long robes like night-gowns, which overlap in front, and are secured by a girdle at the waist. One of the gowns is adapted to contain articles, and is used very extensively for such a purpose, and the appearance of the bosom of the dress shows how easily it can be thus employed. Among the latter people, we have seen a large supply of paper nose-wipers, a portable Chinese writing apparatus with a quantity of paper, a tobacco-pipe and pouch, carried in this capacious receptacle, to which were easily added a number of presents, without inconveniencing the person. The bosoms of the dress among the Greeks and Hebrews were also used to carry articles in the same manner, and the elegance and appropriateness of the various images of affection and love derived from this circumstance cannot fail to strike the careful observer.

JOHN II, 14. *And the changers of money sitting.*—The practice here alluded to, of persons keeping small tables, where money can be changed, is very common is several Asiatic countries, and perhaps in none more frequent than in China. Those who are itinerant, usually provide themselves with a small table, about three feet long by fifteen inches wide, and establish it on the way-side, at the corners of the streets, before the temples, and in the markets; in short, wherever there is a thoroughfare, the money-changer is generally not

far off. The strings of copper cash are piled on one side, often secured to the table by a chain, and the silver is kept in drawers, with the small ivory yard with which it is weighed, which is more peculiarly the implement of this profession. Their sign is a wooden figure carved in the form of a cylinder to represent a string of cash.

JOB XIX, 23, 24. *O! that my words were even now written down;*
O! that they were engraven upon a table;
With a pen of iron upon lead!
That they were sculptured upon a rock for ever!
Good's translation.

—Engraved rocks are seen in China, though the practice is not carried to the same extent as in Persia, India, and other eastern countries, to commemorate remarkable events, for the literature of the people obviates the necessity. The smoothed surfaces of rocks *in situ* are, however, engraved with characters under the direction of geomancers, or *fungshwuy* doctors, when they lie in spots esteemed lucky; such characters are supposed to have some cabalistic influence upon the fortunes of the surrounding country. The pillars and door-posts of temples, and the entablatures of honorary portals are often inscribed with sentences and names; sometimes to commemorate distinguished or worthy individuals, and sometimes merely for ornament's sake; the skill displayed in cutting these inscriptions is at times almost inimitable. The government also employs this mode of publishing their laws and regulations, just as the Romans anciently published their Twelve Tables, which are, as the officers say, to be kept in everlasting remembrance; the characters are plainly and deeply engraven upon marble, and the slab is afterwards set up in a conspicuous station in such a manner as to preserve it from the effects of the weather. W.

ART. VI. *An account of the visit of the French frigate L'Artemise to the Sandwich Islands, in July,* 1839.

ONE account of this visit has already been noticed, in a preceding number; see page 372; and the pamphlet now before us was mentioned in page 600. We revert to the subject here, for the purpose of introducing two official papers, which need no comment. One is from the United States' consul; and one from the king.

[No. 1.] United States' consulate, Sandwich Islands, Oct. 26th, 1839.

Sir,—As the opinion seems to be to some extent entertained that American

citizens residing in the Sandwich Islands, as missionaries under the patronage of an incorporated institution of the United States, have exerted a controling influence upon the framers of the laws of this country, I have very respectfully to inquire, if they have ever had any voice in the passage of laws effecting the interests of other foreigners, and particularly whether they have ever had anything to do in the measures adopted by your government for the prevention of the introduction of the Catholic religion into the country. And whether, in the treatment which has been shown to any subject of the government of France, they have directly or indirectly recommended the course pursued by your government; and also whether in the attempts made under your authority to suppress the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion on the part of your own subjects they have countenanced those attempts. If they have in any of these respects controled the action of your government, will you be pleased to inform me very explicitly in what manner and to what extent. An early reply will be a favor. With the highest considerations, I have the honor to be,

Your majesty's most obedient servant, P. A. BRINSMADE, U. S. consul.

To his majesty Kamehameha III., king of the Sandwich Islands.

[No. 2.] Kaùwila House, present residence of king of Hawaii, Oct. 28th, 1839.

My respects to you, the American consul.

I have received your letter asking questions respecting the American missionaries, supposed by some to regulate the acts of my government under me; I, together with the chiefs under me, now clearly declare to you, that we do not see anything in which your questions are applicable to the American missionaries. From the time the missionaries first arrived, they have asked liberty to dwell in these islands. Communicating instruction in letters and delivering the word of God has been their business.

They were hesitatingly permitted to remain by the chiefs of that time, because they were said to be about to take away the country. We exercised forbearance, however, and protected all the missionaries; and as they frequently arrived in this country, we permitted them to remain in this kingdom, because they asked it; and when we saw the excellence of their labors, then some of the chiefs and people turned to them, in order to be instructed in letters, for those things were in our opinion really true.

When the priests of the Romish religion landed at these islands, they did not first make known to us their desire to dwell on the islands, and also their business. There was not a clear understanding with this company of priests as there was with that; because they landed in the country secretly without Kaahumanu's hearing anything about their remaining here.

When the numbers of the followers of the Romish religion became considerable, certain captains of whaleships told Kaahumanu of the evil of this way, and thus captain D . . . informed me of a great destruction in Britain in ancient time, and that his ancestors died in that slaughter, and he thought a like work would soon be done here. That was the company who informed us of the evil of the Romish religion, and also a certain French man-of-war, and a certain British man-of-war approved of what we did.

Inasmuch as I do not know of the American missionaries having had anything to do in my business with my chiefs, I have therefore inquired of them, the chiefs, and they say, no, in the same manner as I now say nō, to you.

Some of them, however, have told me of having known certain things done by certain missionaries; viz., what Mr. Bingham said to Kaahumanu, "I have seen some people made to serve at hard labor on account of their having worshiped according to the Romish religion. Whose thought is that?" Kaahumanu said to him, "Mine." Then he that spake to her objected quickly, saying, "It is not proper for you to do thus, for you have no law that will apply." When he said that, then Kaahumanu immediately replied to him with great strength, "The law respecting idolatry; for their worship is like that which we have forsaken." Mr. Clark also, and Mr. Chamberlain spoke to Kinau while Kaahumanu was yet alive, and objected to said conduct, and afterwards Dr. Judd. And at a certain time, Mr. Bingham and Mr. Bishop disputed strongly with Kinau on account of the wrong of punishing those of the Romish religion.

And now in Kekauluohi's time, Mr. Richards disputed strongly with Kekuanaoa, urging the entire abolition of that thing, and that kindness should be bestowed on them, that they might be pleased, giving them also an instructor to teach them the right way; and thus also he said to Kekauluohi and to me.

And afterwards when Mr. Bingham heard, by Mr. Hooper, that certain women were confined in irons at the fort, he went immediately and made known to Kekuanaoa the wickedness of their confinement for that thing; and when Kekuanaoa heard it, he immediately sent a man, and afterwards went himself to the fort to set the prisoners free, for their confinement was not by order of the chiefs.

Should it be said, by accusers, that the American missionaries are the authors of one law of the kingdom, the law respecting the sale of rum, or if not, that they have urged it strongly; I would say, a number of captains of whaleships commenced that thing, thousands of my own people supported them, and when my chiefs saw that it was a good thing, they requested me to do according to the petition of that company; and when I saw that it was really an excellent thing, then I chose that as a rule of my kingdom. But that thing which you speak to me of, that they act with us, or overrule our acts, we deny it, it is not so.

We think that perhaps these are their real crimes: their teaching us knowledge. Their living with us, and sometimes translating between us and foreigners. Their not taking the sword into their hand, and saying to us with power, stop, punish not the worshipers in the Romish religion. But, to stand at variance with, and to confine that company, they have never spoken like that since the time of Kaahumanu I. down to the time that the Romish priest was confined on board the Europa.

I think, perhaps these things are not clear to you; it would perhaps be proper, therefore, that the American missionaries should be examined before you and commodore Read, and us also. Thus I have written you with respect,

(Signed) KAMEHAMEHA III.

ART. VII. *Literary notices. Mowyih Tung Che, or A Comprehensive Treatise on Commerce.* 8vo. pp. 61. *With a chart.*

COMMERCE, in some of its principles and details, is well understood by the Chinese. They are exceedingly fond of it; and their domestic trade is very extensive, and is conducted in a great measure by barter. Industrious, economical, and possessing a vast extent of fertile lands, bordered by a long line of seacoast, and intersected with numerous rivers and canals, the Chinese may extend their foreign commerce to almost any amount they please, both in imports and exports: they *may*, if they will accede to and adopt the principles of free reciprocity, with requisite securities. Information regarding modern improvements they much need; and this treatise, written by the Rev. C. Gutzlaff, furnishes them, in a compendious form, much needed information,— as the table of contents will show.

"1st BOOK. The emperor Kanghe's remarks upon industry. Antiquity of commerce — necessity of trade arising from the mutual wants of mankind, the variety of climate and productions. Inland and foreign trade. Great advantages of commerce for increasing comforts, wealth, for strengthening foreign and friendly relations, as well as for promoting civilization. The merchant — unfounded national prejudice against this class of citizens — necessary qualifications — honesty the best policy. Companies — account of the Dutch and English monopolies, and free trade compared; the latter far more preferable.

"2d Book. A general view of the present state of commerce. Trade of China — domestic as well as foreign. Lewchew islands, Japan, Annam, Siam, British India, &c. England, Holland, France, &c. United States, British America, Mexico, &c. African colonies. Australian colonies.

"3d Book. Transportation of goods — by land, and by sea. Junks — superiority of our ships, steam-boats, steam-carriages. Roads, railroads, canals, those of China, Holland, England, &c. Charts, light-houses, buoys, description of the coast of China.

"4th Book. Currency of China, cash, sycee silver, dollars of other countries; exportation of bullion not injurious to a country, paper money, bills of exchange, insurance companies. Trading regulations — the greater the freedom the more flourishing the commerce. Tariff of duties, warehousing, &c. Necessity for extending the trade in order to increase the revenues of the country and wealth of the nation. Petition of the London merchants setting forth the true principles of commerce, piracy, protection, convoys."

The first books opens with the words of the emperor Yungching — not Kanghe — in royal style. He says: "We think that when the high heavens produced men, they appointed to every one an employment, as the means of personal support. Therefore, though men naturally differ as to knowledge and ignorance, strength and weakness, yet none should be without an employment. Having employments, all men have a proper duty to which they should attend, both that they may be profitable to themselves, and useful to the world." See Dr. Milne's translation, under maxim tenth. Other quotations follow, from the same imperial author, and form an apt introduction. The subject has necessarily been treated with great brevity; and to this perhaps, we must attribute a want of perspicuity, which the native reader finds in parts of the treatise; but which arise in part, no doubt, from the novelty and intrinsic difficulty of some of the topics — demanding separate and elaborate treatises. We hope the work will have a wide circulation, and erelong be followed by others.

Art. VIII. *Journal of Occurrences: release of the two Spanish prisoners; arrival of the Ariel; the American consul leaves Canton; new schooners and the Cambridge; Chinese troops in Macao; imprisoned opium smokers; approaching crisis.*

April 1st. In our number for September, page 271, the burning of the Spanish brig Bilbaino, and the capture of two of her crew, were mentioned; and again, on page 328, the ill success which had attended the endeavors of her consignee to procure their release. We also mentioned the arrival of an envoy from Manila, captain Jozé M. Halcon, R. N. for the same purpose. This day, Federico Gimenes the mate, and Ynocencio del Rozario the boy, arrived in Macao in the charge of a Chinese officer, and were delivered over to the procurador, who gave a receipt for their safe arrival. From the mate, through the kindness of his friends, we have learned some particulars concering this affair, and the conduct of the Chinese towards him and his companion. It appears, that on the evening of the 11th of Sept., four or five war-junks and some other craft, anchored very near the brig, while she was lying in the Typa, but without exciting much notice. At half past three o'clock on the morning of the 12th, a fire-raft, made of three or four boats chained together, drifted down towards the brig, but by the efforts of the crew it was avoided. Seeing this, the Chinese in the junks immediately came alongside and between 200 or 300 boarded her, and commenced

setting her on fire, both in the hull and rigging. They hauled down the Spanish flag, which had been displayed to show the character of the vessel, and also attacked the officer who pointed them to it, wounding him in the back and arms, and beating him with bamboos. Most of the crew jumped overboard as soon as the Chinese boarded, but were picked up, and together with some others on board, were put into the long-boat and set adrift, or were landed by the Chinese; three of the crew are supposed to have been drowned in leaping into the water. The mate, and Ynocencio a Súlú lad who refused to leave him, were then chained, and carried up to the Bogue. The burning vessel was discovered from Macao in the morning, but nothing could then be done to save her. On their arrival, they were led in triumphal procession, with music and accompanied by soldiers and cavalry and a large crowd, to the residence of the commissioner at Chunhow. There they were kept for about 25 days, and for 13, underwent a separate daily examination, being compelled to kneel for hours, while every means was tried to induce them to declare that the vessel was English. The officers declared that they knew her true character, that she was a smuggling vessel, and promised that instant liberation would follow a frank confession. At one time a drawn sword was held over the mate, and instant death threatened, if a confession was not made immediately; at another time, they were separated, and each was told that his fellow had confessed to her being an English vessel, and had received a box of dollars like that he saw before him, and had already left for Macao. Every means of extorting such a confession as the Chinese wished proving ineffectual, their chains were removed, and they were carried to Canton by water, and imprisoned in a temple near the governor's palace. The apartment was small and dark, being lighted by two small apertures which opened into a court, and there these two unfortunate men were confined for nearly six months, fed upon the coarsest food, without a change of raiment, and denied all communication with their friends. Soon after their removal to Canton, the consignee went thither, and contrived to convey a letter to Gimenes, who returned an answer; but a suspicion of the correspondence having come to the ears of the governor, both were searched and the room was narrowly examined, even to ripping up the bed on which they lay. On the arrival of captain Halcon, a memorial was transmitted through the American consul to the authorities at Canton, and by subsequent explanation and conference, and after the delay which usually attends all correspondence with the Chinese, the men were released. We are sorry to add that after arriving in Macao, Gimenes in a fit of derangement jumped out of a window, and narrowly escaped instant death; his derangement is evidently in consequence of the annoyances of the Chinese inflicted upon him while in their hands. He has since improved, and left for Manila. Captain Halcon is still in China, and will not leave, we suppose, until proper satisfaction and indemnity are obtained.

2d. The *Ariel*, captain Warden, which sailed from China on the 30th of May last, returned with dispatches from the home government.

11th. The American consul, P. W. Snow, esq. arrived in Macao from Canton. Soon after leaving Canton, his boat, on stopping at one of the military stations for the examination of her papers, was detained, and her people treated in a manner that in any other country would call for explanation. The object apparently was to extort money from the captain of the boat.

25th. Two or three schooners have just been launched on the river at Canton; they are built after European models, and are, we suppose, to be attached to the imperial navy. The Cambridge, last year an obnoxious "war-ship," has been purchased by the Chinese, and anchored opposite Howqua's fort in Junk river.

Two or three hundred Chinese troops, so called, are quartered in Macao. Beggarly looking men they are, without arms, undisciplined "just like rats."

The local magistrates of Canton are reforming the inveterate smokers of opium, on a large scale, by imprisonment. We have no space here for the details.

Another crisis is approaching. The present state of quiet and suspense cannot probably continue many weeks. The directors of the coming expedition have before them . . . . . (with reverence be it said) God only knows what. If directed by His wisdom, they seek those things only which are right and just, then may they triumph and have good success.

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